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# ***JPRS Report***

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# **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

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**UkSSR Council of Ministers Chief on State,  
Economic Restructuring**

*18000629b Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK  
in Russian No 3, Feb 89 p 5*

[Interview with Vitaliy Andreyevich Masol, chairman, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, by TASS correspondent: "A Choice of Strategy"]

[Text] Implementation of the general scheme for managing this republic's national economy, a process which was begun last year, will allow the ministries and departments of the Ukrainian SSR to free up the republic-level apparatus from operational-economic functions, to abandon the petty supervision of enterprises, and to concentrate on working out and deciding prospective questions of developing the sectors. We requested V.A. MASOL, Chairman of the UkSSR Council of Ministers, to tell us how this work is proceeding.

[TASS correspondent] Vitaliy Andreyevich! What are the initial results of introducing the new general scheme?

[Masol] If we fail to bring management closer to production, and if we continue directing the economy by having recourse to the outmoded command-pressure methods, perestroika will begin to spin its wheels. It's perfectly simple. And that's why the general scheme was based on making the transition to economic management methods. Provision was likewise made to create a flexible system of organizational structures.

What has been accomplished in the time which has elapsed? In accordance with the general scheme, the number of union-republic and republic-level ministries in the UkSSR has been reduced from 55 to 46. The following ministries have been formed: the Ministry of Transportation, based on the eliminated Ministry of Motor-Vehicle Transportation and the Main Administration of the River Fleet; the Ministry of Public Education, based on the Ministry of Education and the State Committee for Vocational Education. The UkSSR State Committee on Cinematography has been eliminated and its functions assigned to the UkSSR Ministry of Culture.

Simplifying the structure of the apparatus, along with turning over a number of management functions directly to enterprises and associations has allowed us to eliminate 450—almost half the administrations and independent divisions. We have abolished 54 positions of ministers, departmental directors, and their deputies. The number of management officials at the republic level has been cut in half.

Another important task is strengthening the basic economic unit. In order to do this, concentration of production has been intensified, and scientific forces have been concentrated in the basic unit. We have already created 30 scientific-production, 456 production, 62 production-trade, 23 planning-industrial-construction,

planning-construction-operational, and construction-and-installation associations, 56 agro-industrial combines and associations, 43 agro-firms and agro-trade enterprises. During a rather brief period of time the new structures were able to show a high level of results.

Thus, the planning-and-construction association that was created on the base of the Ivano-Frankovstroy House-Building Combine substantially improved its end-operational results as follows: in comparison with 1987, the total space of apartment houses put into operation increased by 36 percent in 1988, labor productivity—by 14 percent, and profits—by a factor of 2.3.

At the Nikolskiy, Donbass, Dnestr, Chuuyevskiy, Dnestrovskiy, and Ros Agro-Combines and the Kosovshchina Agro-Association last year the gross output, as compared with the average annual level of the previous five-year plan, increased by 15 percent. On the whole, for agro-associations and agro-combines which operated throughout the entire year of 1988 the profitability level reached 24.6 percent, which is higher than the average republic level.

[TASS correspondent] One of the important problems is how to more fully coordinate the interests of sectors and territories. Achieving this goal would seem to also require according the local soviets new functions and changing the organizational structure of the local organs of authority. What's happening in this sphere?

[Masol] Indeed, a number of functions have now been transferred to the local soviets, functions which they did not previously possess. In particular, these comprise: planning the balance sheet of monetary revenues from and outlays to the population, goods turnover, distribution by sectors and lines of capital investments which have been earmarked for developing the local economy, approving the balance sheets and plans for distributing certain types of output, construction, repair, and maintenance of highways and roads.

In order to solve these and other problems, we have formed 26 main planning-and-economic administrations for the ispolkoms of the oblast and Kiev City Soviets of People's Deputies. These administrations will begin to perform all planning and coordinating-economic activity with regard to directing the oblasts' national economy. Thereby, a close coordination is ensured between the interests of the region and those of the enterprises and organizations situated on its territory, regardless of their departmental subordination.

[TASS correspondent] But no matter how improved the scheme of administration may be, it's clear that it will not be useful or beneficial unless material-technical supply operations are put in good order. But the situation here was and remains acute....

[Masol] Yes, that's true. The material-and-technical supply system needs improvement, and this has been taken into account in restructuring the system of administering it on the UkSSR's territory. The principal trend here is becoming the achievement of a balance between the production and consumption of material resources. This problem can be solved by means of gradually developing wholesale trade in producer goods, by expanding and increasing the efficiency of direct ties.

Beginning with the present year, the overwhelming majority of the balanced products list belonging to the production-and-technical category has been transferred to wholesale trade, of which 40 percent will be to direct, unlimited, economic ties. Of course, this will require more precise work on the part of the supply organizations and enterprises.

So that the transition to wholesale trade may be completed in 1991, our republic is creating the necessary material base, organizing an automated data system for managing wholesale trade, direct economic ties, a balance between material-and-technical resources, their reserve supplies, and rendering commercial services. In order to solve these problems, we have set up main territorial administrations for material-and-technical supply in 18 oblasts, as well as the Kiev City Main Territorial Administration, and in 7 oblasts—associations for material-and-technical supply.

[TASS correspondent] New administrations? Won't this lead to an expansion of personnel staffs?

[Masol] Not at all. The total number of various administrative organs at the oblast level, for example, have been reduced by more than a third, while the number in the corresponding apparatus has been reduced by 32.4 percent. The apparatus of the ispolkoms of 20 rayon and city Soviets of People's Deputies has also been curtailed. The rayon division in the city of Kerch has been eliminated. And, on the whole, savings totaling 54.3 million rubles will be registered in the budget already in 1989 by means of reducing the administrative apparatus.

To be sure, we now have the problem of job placement for specialists being phased out. Basically, they are going into production work. Thus, by the end of last year more than 5,700 persons who had been phased out of the apparatuses of ministries and departments began working at enterprises and in organizations of the appropriate sectors.

[TASS correspondent] What problems have arisen in connection with implementing the new general scheme of management?

[Masol] Many ministries and departments, as well as a number of oblast-level organizations are in no hurry to master those operating methods which measure up to the new tasks. At times they manifested an unjustified caution in creating progressive formations and in deciding

questions of reducing administrative apparatus in the primary unit, where the principal mass of "managers" is concentrated. We are not yet satisfied by the pace of reducing the apparatus in the administrative organs of union subordination located on our republic's territory.

We understand that improving economic management is a continuous process. Therefore, proposals are now being prepared for further improving and simplifying the system of managing the republic's national economy.

**BSSR CP Central Committee on Election Campaign, Rehabilitation of Repressed Party Officials**

*18000629a Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 28 Jan 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "In the Belorussian CP Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] At its regularly scheduled session the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro discussed the results of the reports and elections in this republic's party organizations. It was noted that the accounts-and-elections campaign took place amid circumstances of a broad-based glasnost and democratism. There was increased activity on the part of many communists. Meetings were characterized by frank talk, keen discussions, a critical understanding of what has been achieved, and a quest for optimal operating methods under the present-day conditions. More than 220,000 critical remarks and suggestions were uttered. The personnel staffs of rayon, city, and oblast party committees were replaced by 62 percent, and secretaries of primary party organizations—by one third. Unsatisfactory marks were accorded to the work done by 54 party-group organizers and 70 secretaries of workshop and primary organizations.

Taking into account the suggestions and wishes of the participants in the reports and elections campaign, the Central Committee departments, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, as well as the primary party organizations were assigned the task of implementing measures to improve personnel work, to tie it in more closely with the key trends of socioeconomic development. The most important task of the party organizations is acknowledged to be nominating and promoting to the leadership of various operating sections active participants in perestroika—persons who possess organizational capabilities. We must dismiss inert officials, those lacking initiative, as well as timeservers. With this goal in mind, we recommend a more active transition to electing supervisory personnel at all levels, as a rule, from several candidacies.

Particular emphasis was placed on the need to further enhance the mobilizing role to be played by party committees as organs of political leadership, a decisive abandonment of administrative-command operational methods which are unsuitable to them, and replacing them with soviet, economic, and public organizations.

The task consists of ensuring the active participation by these organs in the process of perestroika, their close, reciprocal action and smoothly coordinated work with regard to implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 30th Belorussian CP Congress, and the 19th All-Union Party Conference, bearing in mind, above all, concern for human beings, improving the conditions of their work, everyday life, rest and recreation.

This session of the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro examined the measures worked out by this republic's government with respect to rendering aid to the Armenian SSR for the purpose of restoring and building the city of Kirovakan, the rayon center of Gugark, rural populated centers and production facilities of the agro-industrial complex in the Aparanskiy and Artikiyskiy rayons, which have suffered from the earthquake. Specific assignments were set for oblispolkoms, the Minsk Gorispolkom, as well as the appropriate ministries, departments, and planning organizations of this republic with regard to seeking out the necessary capital investments and material-technical resources, for building and putting into operation during the years 1989-1990 apartment houses, kindergartens, schools, cultural-educational and medical institutions, stores, production facilities, and processing enterprises of the agro-industrial complex in the Armenian territory indicated above.

After listening to the report by the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro Commission for Supplementary Study of Materials Linked with the Repressions which Occurred During the Period of the 1930's, 1940's, and Early 1950's, along with the report by the Party Contro, Commission under the Belorussian CP Central Committee on the results of examining the party qualities of certain persons who had been unjustifiably expelled from the party and condemned to the extreme capital punishment for belonging to the so-called "anti-Soviet, Trotskyite, diversionary-terrorist, and espionage organization," and who were later fully rehabilitated in the juridical procedure, the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro took the decision to restore them (posthumously) to the ranks of the CPSU. They comprise the following persons:

Kerzhanevich, Samuil Isaakovich, former secretary of the Belorussian CP(b) Vitebskiy Raykom, party member beginning in 1925 (expelled on 17 December 1937);

Kuznetsova, Mariya Ivanovna, who worked, beginning in 1934, as chief of the Minsk City Section for Public Education, party member since 1927 (expelled on 8 August 1937);

Litvin, Naum Isaakovich, former second secretary of the Belorussian CP(b) Minsk Gorkom, party member since 1917 (expelled on 8 October 1937).

The Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro examined other questions of organizational-party, ideological, and personnel work.

#### **BSSR Supsov Chief on Decentralization of Economic Administration**

*18000546 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 1*

[Interview with G.S. Tarazevich, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, by V. Roshchin, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent, Minsk: "Not Only a Strong Center"]

[Text] [Roshchin] Georgiy Stanislavovich, you head the deputy work group of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the preparation of proposals on delimiting the competence of the USSR and republics. What necessitates this work?

[Tarazevich] The presently existing practice of interrelations of the USSR and Union republics suffers from a number of significant shortcomings. First of all, there is an excessive concentration of powers in the hands of the center, which is based on an insufficient clarity in the definition of the competence of Union and republic bodies in the Constitution and other legislative acts.

[Roshchin] An increase in the independence and responsibility of republics for social and economic development presupposes their transition to cost-accounting principles, about which many discussions have been held recently.

[Tarazevich] Yes, the decentralization of administration, naturally, should be connected with the concept of regional cost accounting. We need precisely territorial independence in order to more fully meet our needs through our own efforts.

[Roshchin] Consequently, experiments are needed?

[Tarazevich] It is impossible to agree with some scientists, who propose that we first transfer one republic and then another to cost accounting—in brief, that we proceed at a slow pace. This will hamper restructuring. In my opinion, it is necessary to begin the realization of the initial stage in territorial cost accounting without delay.

Managing everything, including trifles, from the center fetters local initiative and gives rise to dependence and bureaucratism. If everything is predetermined and decided in Moscow, in localities, even when an elementary need arises, people do not think how to act and "raise questions" before the center. Long-drawn-out bureaucratic proceedings begin: an application, its examination, a rejection, and more often a semi-rejection (a rejection with some hope for the future). Time passes, the "office" writes, but nothing happens.

Take Belorussia. Although today, formally, it is impossible to make big claims against the work of industry, it must be admitted that the level of the population's provision is not improving.

Yes, a significant share of the goods is exported from the republic to other regions. Naturally, we also import some goods. The structure and volumes of import-export have been formed for years and are of quite a stable nature. Sometimes we hear voices, saying that, in order to replenish the domestic market, it is necessary to reduce export. In fact, this is the simplest and easiest way. However, the following question arises right away: Then to what region should less goods be delivered or not delivered at all? The principle of "reducing import" represents an infringement of the interests of another region and parochialism.

What then is to be done? How to introduce self-provision? Apparently, it will be fair if we fix the existing import-export structure (through the state order) at a certain moment and, in order to distribute annual increases in the production of goods, apply a principle, which would enable a region, first of all, to replenish its own domestic market.

[Roshchin] This is a general approach. However, specific questions arise here. The first: What is to be done with the subordination of enterprises located on a region's territory? Under whose authority should the production potential be?

[Tarazevich] In this respect many different suggestions, including the most extreme, are made. For example, the version of the placement of all enterprises under the authority of republic administrative bodies is being actively discussed in Baltic republics. I consider this a mistake. It is quite obvious that in this case the functioning of the economy would be even less efficient than now, when there is an almost full centralization. Apparently, the truth is somewhere in the middle.

A report by a commission formed by the government on the work done on the preparation of general draft principles of restructuring the management of the economy and the social sphere in Union republics on the basis of self-administration and self-financing was heard at a meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers in January of this year.

The commission proposed that enterprises and organizations of the agro-industrial complex, of light and timber industries (except for basic timber procurement republics), and of building materials be placed under the authority of republics. In its opinion, it is also advisable to resubordinate Union enterprises, which specialize in the output of consumer goods. However, also with a reservation: With the exception of those that produce technically complex articles and have a wide intrasectorial cooperative system and a developed network of firm services.

In other words, the proposed concept lies in dividing enterprises and associations into two groups. The first includes defense sectors of industry and the production of the means of production, which, naturally, are administered by Union ministries.

The second group, where the production of foodstuffs, industrial goods, and services for the public should be concentrated, is subordinate to republic and low-level administrative bodies.

[Roshchin] How to combine the principles of regional self-administration with the interests of Union enterprises on the territory of a republic or an oblast?

[Tarazevich] A legal mechanism of their interrelations should be created. Present legislation stipulates that the local soviet and the republic have the right to coordinate the activity of enterprises under Union jurisdiction in the part of utilization of labor resources, production of consumer goods and services for the public, environmental protection, development of the social sphere, and other directions. However, what the very concept "to coordinate" means and what stands behind it—no one can answer anything to this question. Apparently, it was very convenient in order to announce some symbolic rights, but, in point of fact, not to give them.

For example, the sector and the labor collective plan the production of consumer goods, whereas the local soviet with its right "to coordinate" at best coordinates, or, more accurately, begs both the enterprise and the sector to organize the output of some simplest item. So, this concept should be replaced. It should be legally replaced with something else. For example, the following should be said: The state order decides, administers, plans, or forms.

[Roshchin] So, let us assume that the production of the means of production will be in the hands of Union departments. As a rule, they are more powerful and technically equipped than the enterprises of sectors that will be placed under the authority of republics. It can be assumed that the problems of their retooling will be aggravated in this new situation...

[Tarazevich] There is no doubt that the resubordination of enterprises, especially at first, will produce negative elements.

Whereas thus far virtually all this—group A and group B—has been in the same hands (nevertheless, problems of retooling the second have been relegated to the background), the new situation can aggravate the matter even more. What is the way out? It is seen in granting republic administrative bodies the right to handle some capacities of Union enterprises and the right to a state order, for example, in the volume of 10 percent.

In essence, such a right of a region is predetermined by the well-known decree on increasing the role and responsibility of soviets of people's deputies for an acceleration of social and economic development adopted in 1986. True, according to the mentioned decree, the share of the capacity of an enterprise under superior jurisdiction, which a local body of power could use for solving its local problems, made up only 1.5 percent. At that time, however, the share of industry under local jurisdiction was also quite small.

In my opinion, the proposal by the governmental commission on the resubordination of timber, woodworking, and pulp-paper industry enterprises requires some amendments. Apparently, it is not quite correct to divide them on the basis of their location—in basic and not basic timber procurement republics. The following would be better: The entire raw-material base and the production of splint boards, semifinished products, and paper should be left to the center and enterprises for the output of finished products, that is, furniture, joinery, and so forth, should be placed under republic jurisdiction.

[Roshchin] Is it advisable to place the entire light industry under republic and local jurisdiction?

[Tarazevich] There is a great deal of risk here. As is well known, this sector's output has a big proportion in the output of nonfoodstuffs. Its raw-material base is not located uniformly in the country. Some types of raw materials and supplies have to be imported from abroad. Furthermore, a number of production facilities require the mastering of complex and sufficiently fine technologies.

Not by chance did the commission of the USSR Council of Ministers not raise unequivocally the question of abolishing the Ministry of Light Industry. The alternative of retaining this ministry is permitted if it is given functions of determining the prospects for the sector's development, conducting effective scientific and technical policy, and working out organizational and methodological matters—something resembling an institute.

What will happen as a result? Republics and labor collectives are responsible for production organization and market satiation. But a body in the center, which is new in terms of its functions, determines the strategy of their development and scientific and technical policy. It seems to me that something is obviously wrong here. Such a mechanism will not work. And even if it does, it will in a worse manner than thus far under dual jurisdiction.

I am convinced that it is more advisable to accomplish the task as follows: We should retain the Union Ministry of Light Industry and leave to it the direct management

of enterprises producing basic products for the sector, that is, fibers, threads, fabrics, leather, and synthetic materials, and place all the rest under the authority of republics.

[Roshchin] How to solve then the problem of distribution of produced goods?

[Tarazevich] What we have today can be called neither substantiated nor efficient distribution. In essence, centralism in a pure form exists. The USSR Ministry of Trade divides more than 80 percent of the commodity resources—virtually everything, including trifles.

What can be proposed as an alternative? We will begin with the proposals by the governmental commission. They boil down to the following: Union bodies should present "state orders for the delivery of key industrial and agricultural products, foodstuffs, and other consumer goods to the all-Union stock" to republics. Frankly speaking, this formulation lacks definiteness. The following question remains fundamentally important: Who determines the list of these "key" goods and when? Will it not turn out that the Gosplan and the Ministry of Trade will reserve for themselves the actual possibility of disposing of any commodity at their discretion?

Under present conditions another approach would be more acceptable: To divide the goods produced in the country into three groups. To include goods, the production of which is administered by the center through Union ministries, in the first. It should also distribute them throughout regions.

The second group of goods includes quite simple articles not complicated to manufacture, the output of which can be organized in any region. It can also include goods, the internal need for which can be met by a region with comparative ease by means of commodity exchange operations and on any other contractual basis. The region is responsible for satiating the market with them.

Finally, the third group—goods, the production of which is administered by the republic, but which should also be distributed (with the help of the center) to other regions. This includes both foodstuffs, that is, meat, milk, and grain, and industrial goods—furniture, clothing, footwear, and so forth. As the market is satiated, the first group will be reduced and the second will expand.

To be sure, the center should have the right to present to republics a state order for the delivery of such goods to the Union stock. However, this right cannot be unlimited. Retaining a direct dependence of the regional market's satiation on the efforts of the region itself is the most important condition, which in no way can be ignored.

When a state order is presented to a republic, it is sufficient to determine one indicator—what share of the increase is delivered to the Union stock.

The level of replenishment of the regional market will largely depend on the activation of interregional relations and ties. This includes a direct commodity exchange, purchase and sale of goods, mutual assistance, and exchange of experience.

[Roshchin] Such ties also existed previously...

[Tarazevich] Yes, but they were carried out mainly through the center, for the most part, in a depersonalized, formal manner. Precisely direct ties must work, as envisaged by the economic reform. After all, it is not only a matter of a mutually advantageous commodity exchange, but also of an expansion of contacts among people and intensification of mutual understanding and friendship. Precisely such ties cement and strengthen the unity and force of the multinational Union.

#### **Job of UkSSR's Permanent Representative to Moscow Described**

*18110048a Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA  
in Ukrainian 8 Jan 89 p 2*

[Article by RADYANSKA UKRAYINA special correspondent L. Halynskyy: "Moscow, Stanislavskiy Street....: Report From UkSSR Permanent Mission to the National Government"]

[Text] Sightseeing buses frequently stop by a detached two-story residence, built in a venerable architectural style, located on a quiet Moscow street. The tourists admire the elegant structure and a majestic stela of black marble, on which are inscribed the names of Bolshevik revolutionaries.

They died fighting for the cause of the October Revolution, the guide explains. The building now serves as the Soviet Ukraine's permanent mission to the national government.

The work day in the mission offices begins at nine, but permanent representative M. S. Pichuzhkin and his deputy, O. P. Tarushkin, are in their offices at a much earlier hour. When I asked them why they come to work ahead of office hours, both of them gave me almost the identical reply: every day there are so many meetings and discussions at government offices, and get-togethers with visitors from all parts of the republic.

Spending a day in these offices, from morning to evening, one gains a sense of a high level of intensity and a businesslike atmosphere. This atmosphere, dictated by the daily working routine, is accented from time to time by the ringing of direct-line telephones—calls from officials at the USSR Council of Ministers, calls from ministry and agency officials on various matters of business which arise.

My interviewees emphasized that it is impossible to assign the label "principal" or "secondary" as regards the activities of this republic's permanent mission: every item of business is of state importance, for the interests of the people are affected in one way or another. Nevertheless priority items exist, as they put it, in the daily routine of official business.

...Urgent business has brought to Moscow the chairman of the Odessa City Executive Committee, V. Symonenko: there is a need to step up the pace of housing construction in that city. This depends to a considerable degree on the performance of the local housing construction combine. Its present construction capacity runs 280,000 square meters. The combine is to undergo renovation, and its production is to be almost doubled.

Republic organizations are backing up the efforts by the Odessans. This is the reason for this visit to the permanent mission by the mayor of Odessa. Here he was given assistance by the permanent missions's expert personnel and officials. We should more closely define the verb "assist," for it involves a number of measures, in particular visits to USSR Gosplan and Gosstroy, and work on the draft decisions issued by higher authorities. And now V. Symonenko is returning home. Is he satisfied?

"Yes," the city executive committee chairman replies. "We have obtained in Moscow everything we needed to boost the production capacity of the housing construction combine to 450,000 square meters annually."

Items of business raised by local organizations from Chernovtsy, Krivoy Rog, and a number of other cities were handled equally quickly and efficiently. Renovation of housing construction combines will also commence in these cities. And this of course will help solve the housing problem more rapidly.

And here is an example pertaining to the ecology. In recent years the Crimean Peninsula has been having many difficulties with enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry. The fact is that local bodies vigorously opposed the extensive siting of chemical plants in the Crimea. Unfortunately, during the years of stagnation some national-level authorities, I was told at the permanent mission, ignored the justified demands of the Crimeans as well as republic party and soviet agencies. The ministry decided to locate a new production facility in the Crimea—the Tavriya plant.

But times are different now. In Moscow they listen attentively to local opinion. A national-government draft decree was drawn up, on prohibiting industrial construction in the Crimea. The people at the Ukrainian SSR permanent mission also worked on this document.

The arguments presented by the representatives of the Soviet Ukraine were irrefutable. In the past it would have taken the government a great many months to get such a decision through. Now the USSR Council of Ministers rather quickly issued a decree on ecological protection of the Crimea.

And of course the winds of perestroika have also touched the offices of the UkSSR permanent mission to Moscow. Promptness, businesslike efficiency, initiative and responsibility—the members of this mission's staff are guided by these criteria.

"Whoever is unable to work in the new manner," explained Oleksiy Petrovych Tarushkin, "flunks the test of the present day."

I was told about a unique incident.

When the Chernobyl tragedy occurred, the entire country came to the aid of our republic. In order to guarantee a pure water supply to the people of Kiev in case of complications, they began relocating the new Desna water supply pipeline, a complex water management installation. One night deputy permanent representative O. P. Tarushkin received orders from Ukrainian government officials: to locate posthaste a pumping station somewhere on the Volga, which had been built for a reclamation project in the southern part of the Russia Federation. It was moving slowly en route to its destination.

It was no easy task to pinpoint the location of a large floating pumping station somewhere along that great river and to arrange for it to be rerouted to a new destination. O. P. Tarushkin was assisted by officials from two union ministries as well as the Azov and Black Sea shipping companies. Somewhere near the city of Gorkiy the pumping station was halted, rerouted, and 10 days later entered the mouth of the Desna.

Is this your accustomed speed and efficiency? No, it is a feeling of responsibility for people's lives and for the interests of the republic. In addition, this incident is a typical example of what frequently lies behind such an accustomed term as "friendship of peoples"....

The perestroika era has made our lives more dynamic and open. It is a year now since the UkSSR Council of Ministers established the Ukrimpeks Association, which operates on the basis of economic accountability. It performs the role of middleman in negotiating contracts and commercial agreements with foreign companies. The Ukraine is more and more extensively entering the foreign market. The new association, in conformity with its status, works in close contact with the permanent mission of the UkSSR Council of Ministers. Ukrimpeks also maintains offices in Moscow.

Thus the people at the permanent mission now have additional duties in the area of foreign trade. In the last year alone, with the assistance of Ukrimpeks and the

permanent mission, contracts have been signed representing a total of more than 40 million rubles. Companies in Austria, Italy, Japan, and Tunisia have become partners of Ukrainian enterprises, associations, and scientific research institutes, and relations with socialist countries have greatly expanded.

...A model of a building of unique architectural design stands in the office of the permanent representative. Pointing to the model, M. Pichuzhkin noted: "Two years from now the Ukrainian SSR's Moscow cultural and economic center will rise next to our building. The republic government has delegated us to handle the contracting and construction of the center. In view of the fact that the timetable for building and opening this facility is rather tight, we have our job cut out for us."

The hospitable Ukrainian center will greet its first visitors at the beginning of 1991; business meetings will be held at the facility. Building construction will be in progress in parallel with designing the facility, in order to speed up the process of bringing the center into operation.

What will the new center look like? They described it in detail at the permanent mission. An attractive four-story structure resting on a plinth-type base will be built in the very center of Moscow, next to the building housing the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee. The people at the permanent mission stressed that this siting as neighbors is of rather symbolic significance. Kievans and the people of other Ukrainian cities have formed friendly relations with the working people of the capital. Establishment of a Ukrainian cultural and economic center in Moscow is one more evidence of the development of interethnic relations among the peoples of the Soviet Union. Construction of the center is also an event of sociopolitical significance.

**Official on USSR Central Election Commission,  
Election Laws**

*18110037a Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in  
Ukrainian 3 Jan 89 p 3*

[Interview with D. B. Holovko, deputy chairman of the USSR Central Election Commission, by RADYANSKA UKRAYINA special correspondent L. Desnyanets: "Everybody Must Learn"]

[Text] Day after day the editors' mail contains not only reports on how preparations are proceeding for the elections of USSR People's Deputies and the nomination of candidates. Our readers also ask us many questions connected with the new election law and interpretation of its articles and provisions. And many people would also like to know about the work being done by the Central Election Commission in conditions of radical revamping of the electoral system.

Our special correspondent asked a number of questions of D. B. Holovko, deputy chairman of the Central Election Commission on the USSR People's Deputy Elections and rector of the Kiev Technological Institute of Light Industry, who has just returned from Moscow from a meeting of the commission.

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[Desnyanets] Dmytro Bohdanovych! Our readers are certainly acquainted with the announcements about official meetings of your commission which periodically appear in the press. But these announcements are, if I may use the analogy, merely the tip of the iceberg representing the commission's considerable daily work, which presently differs radically from the activities of past years. Our readers, quite frankly, would like to know about everything: from the first meetings dealing with the forming of territorial electoral districts to... well, at least to the meetings at which the distribution of representational mandates among public organizations was discussed.

[Holovko] Yes, there is unusual interest in the activities of the Central Election Commission. There are plenty of new questions to be addressed and a lack of ready answers to each of them. But I can give the readers of *RADYANSKA UKRAYINA* at least a brief summary of the commission's activities and share with them what is today a matter of concern to the Central Election Commission. And, incidentally, today these are our common concerns.

Therefore, in addition to the announcements appearing in the press, which I am sure everybody has read with interest, I would like to mention that item which arouses the greatest interest—the nomination of candidates by public organizations. This provision of the Constitution was not only thoroughly discussed at the national level but was also acknowledged to be an important additional democratic element which makes it possible to consider in the broadest manner the interests of all public organizations and segments of this country's population. The draft bill has become law, a law which clearly mandates representation of the party, Komsomol, the trade unions, unions of creative artists, cooperative enterprises, etc.

It seems, however, that there are more national-level public organizations than we had realized. And, we are finding, they are making their presence known and displaying active political involvement for the first time in the preelection campaign for deputy's seats. It was just learned at the most recent commission meeting, for example, that there exist such public organizations as the Rossiya Association of Members of Cooperatives, an interregional cooperative association, and a nature conservancy societies movement.... The latter considers itself to be an alternative organization to the official organization existing at the present time. Well, it was not difficult to disqualify this movement, since it has no national-level bodies, and the legal specialists clarified

its status fairly quickly and precisely. The commission has assigned a mandate to the All-Union Chamber of Commerce and Industry which, as we determined, is in fact a public organization, although some people had forgotten about this.

In a number of instances the Central Election Commission has been forced to involve itself in distribution of mandates among related organizations.

The fact is that many new questions arise, decisions on which must be made promptly. For example, in connection with reorganization of the Academy of Pedagogic Sciences, the deadline has been extended for this organization: it has been given permission to register its candidates up to 15 February, while all public organizations must do this by 29 January.

You all know about the terrible misfortune which has befallen Armenia in connection with the disastrous earthquake. The entire country, including our republic, hastened to the aid of this brother people. Aware of the situation, our commission promptly revised the "boundaries" of some territorial districts and was willing to consider other matters, even postponement of the elections. But our Armenian comrades, carefully analyzing capabilities, have assured us that they will hold the elections on 26 March as scheduled. Of course we were pleased at this statement.

[Desnyanets] An unusually large number of questions of an interpretive nature are arising in connection with the new law. I would imagine they are also involving the commission.

[Holovko] They certainly are, and the Central Election Commission is doing considerable explanatory work, which I believe should be conducted at all levels, from top to bottom. For example, the following questions are continuing to be debated: how many votes does our voter have, if he is going to cast a vote on the basis of his locality of residence and, let us say, for a trade union candidate? We explain to people that he has just one vote, pertaining to his place of residence. And if a person also votes for a candidate at a conference, plenum or congress, in this case he is functioning as an elector credentialed by some primary organization.

[Desnyanets] Dmytro Bohdanovych! During discussion of the draft legislation even now a number of people are asking for clarification about whether members of the clergy, in particular of the Russian Orthodox Church, can be elected deputy, since the church has a national-level body, the Synod.... Was this discussed at all by the commission?

[Holovko] Of course it was. But the answer is very simple: Article 52 of the Constitution states that in the USSR church shall be separated from state. So how can it nominate candidates for representation? On the other

hand, a religious figure can be nominated by a public organization, such as the Soviet Charity and Health Foundation, which has five mandates. But that is the foundation's business.

Since many such questions arise, the Central Election Commission has sent out an advisory letter to all district commissions, which will enable them to have a clearer understanding on how to treat a given question.

[Desnyanets] At the beginning of the interview you stated that you would also mention some concerns of the Central Election Commission.... What is causing the concern?

[Holovko] We are disturbed by... yesterday's experience. As is attested by the initial practical activities involved in preparing for the elections, uncritical consideration of past experience is today entirely unwarranted if not harmful. A quite different election law is in effect today, and conditions are different. And these cardinal changes logically bring up the question: "Are we prepared to operate in this new environment?"

We are also concerned by a certain lack of action locally, with people waiting for "directive instructions." They should be showing some initiative and acting on their own.

For example, election precincts are supposed to be formed by 24 January. But this is a final deadline; they can be formed today, tomorrow... or yesterday. And they can get to work.

[Desnyanets] Dmytro Bohdanovych! Can you comment on the work being done by the district election commissions and agitation activities in conditions of competition among multiple candidates?

[Holovko] In general all of us would seem to be mentally and psychologically prepared for the stronger man, as they say, to emerge victorious in the preelection campaign. It is very difficult, however, to foresee the campaign process proper. Of course it must be carried out properly. But the forms taken by campaigning for and against candidates may be quite different from that to which we are accustomed; they may be different from anything we have ever experienced. Permissible forms which are not prohibited by law, however, should not shock us, and we should have a tolerant attitude toward them. But this does not mean that one must keep silent. The campaigning and campaign rhetoric should be closely watched. Demagogic declarations and deliberately deceptive statements, if such occur, should be countered with serious, convincing argumentation. One must have the ability to take part in debate, in unaccustomed new forms of direct broadcast, TV debates, and switched-on tape recorders. Of course one should not be cowed by ultimatums or threats to boycott the elections, for precisely on election eve somebody will attempt to snatch the election away improperly or will attempt to seek advantage at the expense of others.

In short, we must learn to live and act in a new manner, in conditions of democracy and glasnost, showing respect for the opinions of one's opponents, and we must learn to listen to productive, beneficial ideas, and of course we must learn to express our own ideas, but not necessarily presenting them as the ultimate truth.

[Desnyanets] One last thing, Dmytro Bohdanovych. Workforces, citizens in their locality of residence, and public organizations will be nominating candidates for deputy. A candidate is entitled to designate up to 10 campaign staffers. Who is supposed to campaign for candidates, if there are three, five, or more persons on the list of candidates?

[Holovko] The brunt of the campaigning for a candidate will most likely be assumed by the designated campaign staff. As I see it, however, the candidate himself should be doing the greatest and most persuasive campaigning. With all his knowledge, convictions, and abilities, he should listen to what people have to say, to their pain and joy, to their thoughts and dreams, and he should conduct a dialogue with them only on a foundation of truth. Perhaps bitter truth, truth which is not pleasant to all, but truth nevertheless. And this will be the best possible campaigning. Look at what bitter and painful truth the party has said about itself, and the people grasped this action correctly and responded to the party's word. And the people are ready and willing to proceed together with the party along the difficult but sure road of renewal and perestroika.

#### Turkmen SSR CP CC 14th Plenum

##### Information Report

18300379 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA  
in Russian 28 Jan 89 p 1

[Turkmeninform report: "Information Report of Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Sessions"]

[Text] On 27 January the 10th Session of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation was held in the Supreme Soviet Conference Hall in Ashkhabad.

At 10:00 a.m. O. Ovezgeldyyev, chairman of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet, and his deputies, O. Achilov and L. A. Maslennikova, took their places. The deputies greeted with applause the following members and candidate member of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro: S. A. Niyazov, R. A. Bazarova, A. Kurbanova, Yu. K. Mogilevts, S. M. Nesterenko, K. M. Orazov, V. K. Otchertsov, V. N. Rebrik, B. M. Sakhatmuradov, A. Khodzhamuradov, V. S. Chertishchev, Kh.Akhmedov, and Ya. P. Gundogdyev. Yu. A. Tomak, a senior official on the staff of the CPSU Central Committee, participated in the work of the session.

Presiding chairman O. Ovezgeldyev declared the 10th Session open.

V. G. Otchertsov, chairman of the credentials committee, delivered the committee's report verifying the authority of the newly elected deputies. A resolution was passed recognizing the powers of the following deputies elected to the TuSSR Supreme Soviet on 18 December 1988 in place of those deputies who left office: R. Menliyamanov (Dmitrovskiy Voting District No. 25, Ashkhabad); Z. K. Yelliyev (Surikovskiy Voting District No. 35, Ashkhabad); N. Ashirov (Tedzhenskiy South-East Voting District No. 43, Tedzhen); K. Nazarov (Voting District No. 56, Bakhardenskiy Rayon); A. Toychiyev (Tselinyy Voting District No. 34, Tedzhenskiy Rayon); A. Arabayev (Kulmachskiy Voting District No. 112, Kazandzhikskiy Rayon); B. A. Ishankuliyev (Tashauzkiy Voting District No. 201, Tashauz); G. Gugeldiyev (Goldavliniskiy Voting District No. 215, Kalininskiy Rayon); N. K. Durdymedov (Dyshkinskiy Voting District No. 216, Kalininskiy Rayon); K. Ilyasov (Aybovurskiy Voting District No. 235, Oktyabrskiy Rayon); D. Orayev (Kizyl-Baydaskiy Voting District No. 238, Oktyabrskiy Rayon); R. A. Murtazov (Neftezavodskiy Voting District No. 270, Chardzhou); V. S. Starodubtsev (50 Years VLKSM Voting District No. 273, Chardzhou); and S. Sh. Rakhimov (Boyrabapskiy Voting District No. 321, Chardzhouskiy Rayon).

At the suggestion of the chairman, sponsored by the Council of Elders, the Supreme Soviet established the following agenda for the session:

1. Report by the TuSSR Council of Ministers on the disposition of voter mandates [mandaty], proposals and criticisms made by deputies during sessions of the republic Supreme Soviet, and decisions with regard to deputy inquiries [zaprosy].
2. Report on the work of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet's Commission on Public Education and Science.
3. Regarding ratification of ukases of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Supreme Soviet heard the report of the TuSSR Council of Ministers on the disposition of voter mandates, proposals or criticisms made by the deputies during sessions of the Supreme Soviet, and decisions with regard to deputy requisitions. The report was delivered by deputy A. Khodzhamuradov, chairman of the TuSSR Council of Ministers.

The following deputies took part in discussing the matter: D. Babakuliyev, secretary, Chardzhou party obkom; Sh. Ashirov, lathe operator, Kizyl-Arbatskiy Rayon mechanization enterprise; B. Sh. Kerimi, merit pensioner; N. F. Baleshev, first secretary, Ashkhabad party gorkom; V. V. Reshidov, chairman, Tashauz oblispolkom; M. G. Aliyev, first deputy chairman, TuSSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; V. V. Petrov, general

director, Turkmenneft Production Association; O. I. Ishankupkepa, first secretary, Bayram-Ali party gorkom; G. N. Skidanov, second secretary, Turkmenistan Komsomol Central Committee; D. V. Potapov, chairman, Mary oblispolkom; A. V. Zhadan, crane operator, mobile mechanized tower No. 19, Chardzhoyremvodstroy Trust; K. Chagylov, TuSSR minister of public health; O. Ilbayeva, member, Iskra Kolkhoz, Oktyabrskiy Rayon; I. Dovletov, driller, Shatlykgazdobycha Production Association; and Dzh. Tanyrberdiyeva, member, Sovet Kolkhoz, Sayatskiy Rayon.

The Supreme Soviet enacted a decree with regard to the matter under discussion. It will be published in the press.

Deputy S. I. Muradov, chairman of the Commission on Public Education and Science of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet, reported on the work of the commission. Participating in a discussion that followed the report were M. Aliyeva, TuSSR minister of public education; R. Kazakov, director of Professional and Technical Training School No. 25 in Chardzhou; and A. Muradov, first secretary of the Leninskiy Rayon party committee in Ashkhabad. A decree was enacted with regard to the report of the permanent commission.

Then the presiding chairman introduced a proposal, sponsored by the Council of Elders and supported by the Supreme Soviet, with regard to relieving V. F. Belonozhkina of her duties as chairwoman of the Commission on the Work and Daily Life of Women and for the Protection of Mothers and Infants. Deputy Z. K. Elliyeva, a practicing pediatrician at the No. 8 outpatient clinic in Ashkhabad, was chosen chairwoman of this commission.

Changes were also made in the composition of certain permanent commissions of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet, the ranks of which were replenished with newly selected delegates.

The Supreme Soviet enacted a decree and corresponding law with respect to ratification of ukases promulgated by the Supreme Soviet Presidium during the period between sessions.

In response to requests and questions raised by deputies at the preceding session, Deputy V. Ye. Abramov, deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic Gosplan, discussed establishing a more realistic plan for the Bezmein Rug Combine in 1989. Deputy N. N. Zimenkin, TuSSR minister of local industry, spoke in favor of not closing the rug factory in Kazandzhik as an independent enterprise. V. V. Smirnov, head of the TuSSR Civil Aviation Administration, discussed increasing round-trip flights between Ashkhabad and Nebit-Dar. With this the 10th Session of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet completed its work.

On the same day, a regularly scheduled study program was held for the deputies of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "Tasks and Functions of Law Enforcement: The Role of Deputies in Strengthening Discipline, Ensuring Socialist Legality, and Safeguarding State Policy, Public Order, and Labor Legislation." The speaker was V. M. Vasilyuk, republic procurator.

### Election Results

18300379 *TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian*  
29 Jan 89 p 1

[Resolution of the Turkmen CP Central Committee 14th Plenum on Results of Reports and Elections in Republic Party Organizations and Tasks for Extending Restructuring in Light of Decisions by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference]

[Text] The plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee notes that the reports and elections which have held in republic party organizations mark an important stage in the practical implementation of decisions made by the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and the plenums subsequently held by the CPSU Central Committee and the 23rd Congress of the Turkmen Communist Party.

The reports and elections have exerted a marked influence on the democratization of intra-party life and the growth of social and political activity among communists. More than 30,000 proposals and observations on a broad range of issues have been made by those taking part in the meetings and conferences. Demandingness has increased with regard to the leadership of party organizations that have been slow in restructuring methods and style of operating and have permitted social and political processes to lag.

The report and election campaign has served to replenish party election organs with fresh forces. The composition of party obkoms, gorkoms, and rayons is two-thirds new, and more than 30 percent of party secretaries and party organizations and groups at the workshop level have been replaced.

The meetings and conferences have underscored the necessity of bringing about decisive changes in the operating methods and style of party committees and organizations and of increasing their responsibility for resolving mounting problems in satisfying the living needs and wants of the republic population and overcoming the lag in development of the social sector.

Party committees and primary party organizations have not been adhering to a sufficiently principled and consistent policy in dealing with urgent economic problems. The effort to eliminate unprofitable production and reduce the number of unprofitable enterprises is not proceeding vigorously enough. The greatest number of them are in Tashauz and Chardzhou oblasts under the TuSSR State Agro-Industrial Committee. There are still

tie-ups in the supply of provisions and public consumption goods. The demand for services is not being met. A marked acceleration is required in the tempo of housing construction and in the development of the construction production supply base.

The report and election campaign has revealed within the ranks of party organizations an absence of experience in operating under conditions of greater glasnost and democracy; and in knowing how to conduct discussions, how to persuade and convince people, and how to react to criticism in a correct and proper party spirit. A serious hindrance to work within the party is a predilection for the customary routines of existence and satisfaction with the status of mediocrity. It is primarily for this reason that party organizations often simply bear witness to the passage of events without showing any initiative in seeking out ways to resolve mounting problems. Many of the accounting reports did not respond in terms of substance to the spirit of the times. A number of the speeches bore the stamp of self-justification and unspecified criticism. And a lack of integrity was at times apparent in evaluating the activities of party election organs.

A number of party committees and cadres are not rejecting completely the old approaches to things and are not showing sufficient energy in acquiring political leadership skills. Conservative attitudes towards party work, together with bureaucratism, red tape, and an indifferent attitude towards people, are being overcome slowly.

By no means everything has been done to provide ideological support for the tasks of restructuring. Ideological and indoctrinational work still lacks depth and applicability in pertaining to actual circumstances; it does not always manage to probe beneath the surface of life or to rid itself of the burden of obsolete stereotypes. The interest aroused in people with regard to issues of historical and cultural heritage and linguistic problems is not always being satisfied. A radical improvement in moral education is required.

Instances of malfeasance, padding of accounts, theft, bribery, and speculation continue to exist. The law enforcement bodies are playing an inadequate part in the campaign to improve society. And the mass media has not been taking an active or aggressive position.

The following instructions are by resolution of the Turkmen CP Central Committee plenum:

1. Obkoms, gorkoms, party raykoms, and primary party organizations are instructed, on the basis of deep deliberation and analysis of the results of the report and election campaign, as well as of proposals and critical observations made, to take practical steps to establish new approaches to political and organizational work and

ideological indoctrination activities and to create a reliable system for the genuine involvement of all republic workers in the resolution of matters that pertain to the state and society.

They are to exploit the political and work upswing brought about by the reports and elections and ensure wise leadership of social changes; to resolutely strive to overcome outmoded management pressure tactics and obsolete stereotyped planning; and to adhere to political approaches of high demandingness and exactitude.

They are to work steadily to improve intra-party life and set an example of democratism, collectivism, high organization, and effective implementation of restructuring in terms of party political policy; to realize to a maximum extent the principles of glasnost in resolving all matters related to the vital interests of the workers; to repudiate those who would suppress criticism and all those who refuse to understand the profound changes called for in restructuring; to ensure a genuine renewal of forms and methods and the democratization of all worker activity; and to develop ways of choosing and electing leaders openly from the ranks, more fully utilizing principles of self-government.

2. Party committees are instructed to work jointly with party election activists to raise the level of militancy among party organizations; to assist in teaching communists how to prepare for and conduct party meetings and sessions of the party buro and committees to resolve intra-party issues; and to strive to have the party organizations prove themselves in actions as in words the political core of the labor collective.

They are to conduct during the first quarter of the current year a study program, designed for the first time primarily for selected party organizations, including secretaries of primary and workshop organizations and members of obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, as well as party activists. They are to display more initiative and single-mindedness in generalizing and incorporating progressive party work experience. They are to conduct a regular program once a month with first secretaries of party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms to study substantive problems of party organization and economics.

3. The Buro of the Central Committee, together with party obkom, gorkom, and raykom secretaries, are instructed to undertake more vigorously the restructuring of the party apparatus. The main criterion of the degree of activity by party workers must be concrete results in the work of party organizations and labor collectives. They must not tolerate replacements in soviet or economic bodies or brook interference in the operational activities of the labor collectives. They must direct the efforts of party committees to raising the effectiveness of party election organs and assure the participation of all members of election organs in discussing and arriving at the decisions adopted.

4. The commissions of the Turkmen CP Central Committee in the course of their meetings during the first six months of 1989 are advised to review and analyze the critical observations and proposals made by participants at the report and election meetings and conferences, addressed to the Turkmen CP Central Committee, the TuSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Council of Ministers, Gosplan, the State Agro-Industrial Committee, as well as republic ministries and departments; and they are urged to put an end once and for all to instances of reacting to criticism in a rigid, inopportune manner and making a purely formal rebuttal.

5. The Turkmen CP Central Committee commissions dealing with matters of social and economic development and the agro-industrial complex, together with appropriate departments of the republic party Central Committee and the party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms in conjunction with soviet and economic organs, are instructed to invigorate efforts with regard to restructuring the management of the economy, converting all sectors of the national economy to full cost-accounting and self-financing, and improving the economic indoctrination and education of the workers; and they must steadily strive to find available reserves and a comprehensive solution to economic and social tasks.

Acting jointly with leaders of the ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies, together with the heads of agro-industrial committees and associations, they are further instructed during the period 1989-1990 to carry out specific measures for improving the supply of food to the republic population. They are to take additional measures to speed the solution of the housing problem and to complete work on the special overall program dealing with disproportions and lagging in the development of building materials and structures. Acting jointly with soviet and economic organs, they are to carry out measures to increase the output of public consumption commodities and to extend the range of services.

They are to achieve the widespread introduction of contracts, leasing agreements, and other forms of cooperative economic management in all production links, and through this means try to raise production profitability and improve the financial situation of enterprises and organizations.

6. In accordance with the guidelines of the 19th All-Union Party Conference together with the November (1988) and January (1989) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, party committees, relying on communists working in the local soviets of people's deputies, are instructed to increase the role, the responsibility, and the authority of the soviets, to develop their initiative and their degree of activity in carrying out social and economic tasks, and to establish democratic principles in their work.

With regard to the changes made in the election system, they are to carry out the necessary organizational and propaganda activities connected with preparing for and conducting the elections for USSR people's deputies.

Members and candidate members of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, members of the republic party organization Auditing Commission, and leaders of party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs, ministries and departments, collective farms, enterprises, institutions, and teaching schools, are instructed to conduct meetings in February 1989 with labor collectives and with the local population at their places of residence, to acquaint themselves with the conditions of the people's work, daily life, and recreation, and to take measures to satisfy their needs and wants.

7. Party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms are instructed to improve leadership over the activities of law enforcement organs, strive to improve their operations, and rigorously safeguard the rights of citizens.

They are to intensify the struggle to uproot such negative manifestations as drunkenness, drug addiction, extracting unearned income, and other violations of socialist legality and the norms of communist morality.

They are to institute regular reports by the leaders of law enforcement organs to the people on measures taken by them to overcome negative phenomena, to improve law and order, and to provide widespread coverage of these activities through the mass media.

8. The commission on ideology and its counterpart department in the Turkmen CP Central Committee, together with party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and primary party organizations, are instructed to persistently promote restructuring through propaganda and mass political activities, striving to relate it as closely as possible to the conditions of life and to the tasks of speeding social and economic development. They must strive to infuse the social sciences and political studies, as well as lecture material and all forms of ideological and educational activity, with substantially new research. They must carry out cogent interpretive work among republic workers and decisively repudiate manifestations of alien morality, a lack of political commitment, or social demagoguery.

They must consistently strive to enrich the forms and methods of patriotic and international education of the people. They must instill firm internationalist convictions and achieve a high level of cultural contact between nationalities. They must work to create the conditions necessary for the further development of Russian and national bilingualism.

Special attention should be given to the education of the generation now growing up; to exerting a greater influence on elementary and secondary education, and to

democratizing the entire process of education of education and teaching; to the development of creative activity; and to raising the civic responsibility of the artistic intelligensia for the moral and spiritual enrichment of the people.

9. The mass media is instructed to make an unremitting effort to elucidate party policy, with special regard for the crucial and urgent problems of restructuring and from a politically sound standpoint, avoiding superficial and hasty judgments. Broader coverage is to be given to the daily activities of the party committees, primary party organizations, and their election organs; to progress in complying with the critical observations and proposals made during the reports and elections; and to supporting and making more widely available leading experience in all areas of public life.

10. The TuSSR Council of Ministers is instructed to review and decide matters concerning the power and gas supply systems, radio transmission, and retransmission of broadcasts by Uzbek Television, as well as satisfying other social, cultural and everyday needs, wants, and requirements of the people living in Farabskiy Rayon, Chardzhou Oblast; together with arranging matters with regard to similar broadcast relays of Uzbek television to other rayons of Chardzhou and Tashauz oblasts, and broadcasts of Turkmen SSR television to Octyabrskiy Rayon, Tashauz Oblast.

Reports regarding actions taken in compliance with these instructions will be made at the next plenary session of the Turkmen CP Central Committee.

#### **Khodzhamuradov Speech**

*18300379 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA  
in Russian 29 Jan 89 p 2*

[Unattributed report of speech by A. Khodzhamuradov, chairman of the TuSSR Council of Ministers, at the 10th Session of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation: "Report of the TuSSR Council of Ministers on the Disposition of Voter Mandates, Proposals and Criticisms Made by Deputies During Sessions of the Republic Supreme Soviet, and Decisions With Regard to Deputy Requisitions"]

[Text] Comrade deputies! The processes of revolutionary renewal that are now taking place in our society, in accordance with decisions taken at the 27th CPSU Congress, are penetrating ever more deeply into that crucial area of our existence—economics. We have reached the point of practical implementation of the new economic reform. The economic system is being radically reconstructed. During three years of the 12th Five-Year Plan we have managed to bring the negative tendencies occurring in our economy to a halt, and to give economic development the impetus to move forward. Qualitative improvements have occurred in the social conditions of people's lives in the republic. By

rejecting the lingering principle of using capital investments in the social sphere, it has become possible to bring about a marked improvement in the construction of cultural and communal facilities. Over the past three years through all sources of financing, 3.8 million square meters of living space have been made available; that is, 31 percent more than during a comparable period under the previous five-year plan. There has been an increase in the tempo of providing general education schools, pre-school facilities, professional training schools, outpatient clinics, clubs, and houses of culture. This trend towards improvement in the social and economic situation was further developed in 1988.

A definite positive role was played in producing these results by the implementation of voter mandates, and by compliance with the proposals or criticisms made by the deputies during sessions of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet, as well as by decisions taken in response to deputy requisitions, motivated by a concern for satisfying the growing material and cultural needs of the population.

In accordance with the requirements of the TuSSR Constitution and the Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On the Organization of Work in Connection With the Mandates of the Voters," the republic Council of Ministers, ministries, and departments are carrying out specific operations to carry out the mandates which were given by the voters to the deputies of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet in 1985. The authority of the deputies is running out this year, and this report of the Council of Ministers, which for the first time is being heard at such a high level, essentially represents the result of efforts to carry out the mandates in the course of the current convocation.

A total of 289 mandates were submitted to the TuSSR Council of Ministers. After studying their potential for implementation, 135 of these were accepted. A portion of them were set aside, primarily because their execution would entail supplementary capital investments above the limits and financial resources provided by the five-year plan, and because they were not provided for within the limits of the work under contract. Another portion of the mandates, the execution of which fell within the purview of the local soviets, was returned for action by the ispolkom concerned.

Certain of the mandates were taken into consideration in preparing decrees by the republic Council of Ministers with regard to developing branches of the national economy. The mandate of Voting District No. 1, for example, on including in the plan the rebuilding of an electrical products plant in Ashkhabad proved to be a basic element of the joint decree as drafted by the republic Council of Ministers and the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry entitled "On Developing the Electrical Engineering Industry in Turkmeniya." The draft has already been worked out, and the re-equipping of this enterprise is set to begin this year.

With regard to a mandate calling for organizing production of solar energy transformers in the republic, a decree of the USSR Council of Ministers provides for construction of a solar battery plant, the initial phase of which will go into operation in 1992 and provide for the production of photo-transformers and consumer goods worth 20 million rubles.

Of the 135 mandates accepted for implementation by republic bodies, as of today 82 have been fully carried out. Among these are the placement into operation of inter-city communications stations in Ashkhabad; the transfer of buildings of the Polytechnical Institute and the former building of the ispolkom in Ashkhabad to the Pedagogical Institute of Russian Language and Literature; the introduction of a three-hall motion picture theater in Ashkhabad; and the construction of a school, a stadium, and an enclosed market in the settlement Gaz-Achak. Gas supply systems are being installed in the rayon center of Serakhs, on certain farms in Tedzhenskiy Rayon, and in the settlement Kalinin in Tashauz Oblast, among other places.

A number of mandates have also been carried out that are connected with the development of the road system, repair points, boilers, and the manufacture of materials and equipment. A joint decree of the TuSSR Council of Ministers and the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry was recently signed to carry out installation work for the supply of natural gas to national economic projects, situated primarily in rural areas.

However, after critically assessing the state of affairs with regard to carrying out voter mandates, the speaker said, it must be acknowledged that there are more than a few grave omissions and shortcomings in this vital effort. The decree of the republic Council of Ministers on this matter, which was passed in 1985, still is being only poorly acted upon. Branch departments of the Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs have been oblivious of organizational work in executing their own decrees, with the result that 40 percent of the mandates remain in abeyance at the present time.

In the absence of sustained supervision of this work, the ministries and departments charged with carrying it out are tied up with inconsistency and red tape. For example, the above-mentioned decree charged the Ministry of Consumer Services with responsibility for carrying out the mandate to provide a repair and construction administration grinding machine in Dosluk. For three years the ministry insisted that the machine would be put there on its arrival. Later, however, when it was received, it was allocated to another enterprise since, in the opinion of the ministry, the repair and construction administration would not be able to make full use of it. Why, in that case, should assurances have been given that the voter mandate would be honored?

It is only because of a lack of surveillance over the department of transport and communications by the Council of Ministers that for three years a simple mandate to allocate a motor vehicle to the communications and signal service of the Ashkhabad Railway Department has not been complied with. Deputy V. I. Pomeltsov himself, who is in charge of this department of the railway, is not disturbed about this.

A large share of the blame belongs to the Presidium of the Council of Ministers and the Department of Construction and Municipal Services for the fact that mandates related to capital construction are being carried out extremely slowly. There has been no reduction in the number of overdue construction projects. For example, construction of the Turkmenkhabul Plant has been under way since 1977. And not once in the course of the Five-Year Plan have planned assignments been carried out in constructing the veterinary staff section of the Agricultural Institute imeni M. I. Kalinin.

Construction of departments for agro-industrial branches in rural areas is not being properly monitored. It was during the previous five-year plan that construction was begun on a school in Tedzhen by subdivisions of the former Karakumstroy. The cost was estimated to be 1.2 million rubles and construction time up to three years, but only from 40,000 to 50,000 rubles were allocated for its construction per year. The previous project became obsolete and was scrapped. The builders left the construction site. Now the State Planning Institute is in no hurry to redesign the project, and the new Goskombodselstroy still has not made up its mind whether or not to include the school in a five-year plan and, if so, which one.

For this disruption in complying with the mandates, we must speak out critically, and designating certain deputies, among them leading officials who are present on this occasion, including comrades Avdeyev, Dzhumakuliyev, Kushpel, Charyyev, and Polyakov. After this session the Presidium of the Council of Ministers will carefully look into the matter and call those responsible to account. I should also like to find out from Comrade V. V. Petrov: Is the mandate assigned to him by the voters with regard to construction of a trade center in the settlement of Kum-Dar, of which he himself is one of the executive officers, being carried out?

Wherever deputies, including rank-and-file workers, actively participate in the process of carrying out the mandates, demonstrating initiative and follow-through, mandates are carried out more effectively. Deputies Sh. Kakabayeva, G. Atayev, S. K. Tekayeva, and many others have been acting in just this way.

In the process of monitoring organized efforts to comply with mandates, the TuSSR Council of Ministers has been looking into matters regarding the implementation of mandates which were given to deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet of the

11th Convocation, within the republic Ministry of Communications. Subsequently, on the whole, a certain intensifying of efforts to carry out the mandates could be discerned, but so far there has been no radical improvement.

The ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies are also to blame for some of the delays in carrying out mandates. In a very short time the Council of Ministers will review the situation and hold ispolkom leaders of the soviets in Tashauz and Chardzhou oblasts strictly accountable for the red tape in connection with the mandate to provide estimate and design documentation for a building of the Bedirkent village soviet in Takhtinskiy Rayon, and in connection with the allocation of land for the construction of a motor vehicle station in Chardzhou, as a result of which the design and construction funds earmarked for this purpose were not used.

Serious complaints must be lodged against the republic Gosplan and Deputy V. E. Abramov personally. At one time Gosplan officially endorsed the completion of 69 mandates for which it was designated the agency of executive responsibility. Many of these mandates have not yet been carried out, however, although the period set for completion has elapsed. It is up to Gosplan to investigate this matter without delay and take the steps necessary to carry out the mandates in the remaining two years of the five-year plan.

In a spirit of self-criticism, the speaker said, it must be acknowledged that insufficient attention to this matter has been shown by the leadership of the republic Council of Ministers, by the Presidium, and by me personally as its chairman. Branch departments of the Administration of Affairs have held themselves aloof from organized efforts to either execute or monitor the execution of the mandates.

Summarizing work with respect to the critical observations and proposals made by deputies of the republic Supreme Soviet during sessions of the present convocation, comrade A. Khodzhamuradov noted that the Council of Ministers had been instructed to review 375 proposals and criticisms. The largest share of them consist of matters pertaining to capital construction, expediting the use of capital investments, and allocating additional funds for construction of new projects for social and cultural as well as for industrial purposes. In response to the requests, proposals, and critical observations voiced by delegates during the sessions, determinations are made which specify periods for completion and executor agencies or officials. The Council of Ministers reviews documentation received from the ministries and departments, and after reaching conclusions on the basis of them, informs the TuSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the deputies of the measures to be undertaken.

At the present time a third of the proposals, requests, and observations of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet deputies have been completely disposed of, and as a result many

issues have been resolved pertaining to the development of industrial production and agriculture, improving municipal, trading, and consumer services, material and technical supply, and improving and extending the network of social and cultural institutions.

A number of the proposals were taken into account when forming the yearly plans for the republic in social and economic development and the budget. Many issues raised by the deputies during the sessions have been provided for in decisions adopted by the government.

The TuSSR Council of Ministers, ministries, and departments, in response to proposals and criticisms received from the deputies, have formed a new trust within The TuSSR Ministry of Municipal Services for the construction of public health and municipal service facilities in Ashkhabad. The TuSSR Ministry of Local Industry has authorized the sale of rugs for export at retail prices, and 1.6 million rubles is earmarked for making up a shortfall in domestic circulating capital. The republic office of Gosbank has granted a delay in paying off short-term loans to the Chardzhou Silk Combine and the Ashkhabad Filature Factory.

At the request of deputies, Kugitangskiy State Reserve has been established with three exclusive state clients, and a school has been placed in operation in the 10th Five-Year Plan Kolkhoz accommodating 624 students. By decree of the TuSSR Council of Ministers "On Further Improving the Residential and Municipal Services in Ashkhabad," all public services in the capital city have been placed directly under the jurisdiction of the gorispolkom.

In the central budget 55,000 rubles has been allocated for medical supplies and transport to improve the medical services in Kizyl-Atrekskiy Rayon. The TuSSR Ministry of Public Education has approved a plan to provide additional measures for improving the teaching of the Russian language in national general education schools and pre-school facilities for children in the republic.

Of the total number of proposals, requests, and criticisms submitted by the deputies during sessions of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet, it is anticipated that 105 will be complied with in the remaining years of the present five-year plan. This decision is occasioned by the necessity of making changes in plans for the economic, social, and cultural development and the limitations placed upon capital investment in certain branches. Among them: the construction of a main-line water supply system; building the second phase of a sewer system and a hotel to accommodate 500 persons in Tashauz; continuing construction of a Young Pioneer Palace in Ashkhabad; the over-all construction of two sovkhozes; the construction of communal customer service centers and multi-service reception centers in kolkhozes and sovkhozes; and measures for environmental protection and the efficient use of natural resources.

In accordance with a decree of the TuSSR Council of Ministers and the Turkmen CP Central Committee "On Urgent Measures for Facilitating the Settlement and Use of Territory in the Khauz-Khan Massif," provision has been made for the continued construction of new sovkhozes, land reclamation, roads, and public utilities and service facilities at settlement points in the region.

Pursuant to requests and proposals of the deputies, plans have been made to arrange for the production of preserved food for child nutrition in a cannery at the Sovet Azerbaydzana Sovkhoz in Ashkhabadskiy Rayon. To improve the supply of milk products for pre-school children and nursing homes, construction will begin on a dairy products plant in Kizyl-Arbat capable of producing 15 tons of whole milk products per shift.

There are plans for construction this year of a branch of the experimental testing mechanized plant Krasnyy Metallist, scheduled to go into operation in 1990 for the production of school equipment.

For the purpose of improving sporting activity among the population, the plan for the current year includes provisions for the construction of three health and physical culture complexes in Chardzhou; one complex with a swimming pool in Tashauz; a model with a sporting all and a swimming pool will be established in Krasnovodsk; and one of the type called "Kislovodsk" will be established in Cheleken and the settlement of Bekdash.

Mindful of the urgency of the employment problem arising from available labor resources, which concerns many deputies, especially those from the western rayons of the republic, plans for this five-Year plan and the one to follow it include placing into operation a factory for sewn articles and knitted ware in Kizyl-Arbat; a rug combine and toy factory in Krasnovodsk; and a spinning mill and a plant for producing fittings and accessories in Nebit-Dag. By putting these facilities into operation, the possibility arises of opening branches and affiliated workshops in populated areas of Kizyl-Atrekskiy Rayon.

As instructed by the republic Council of Ministers, TuSSR Gosplan has examined the possibility of constructing a brick plant capable of producing 15 million standard bricks per year in the south-western region during the period 1990-1995. This will permit an accelerated solution of the housing problem in Kizyl-Atreskiy and Gasan-Kuliyskiy rayons.

Eighty matters raised by Supreme Soviet deputies during the sessions have been partially resolved. These include making arrangements for drug abuse departments at major enterprises in the former Krasnovodsk Oblast and also Mary Oblast; construction of permanent Young Pioneer camps and seasonal sports camps in the republic; transforming the city Water and Sewage Administration into an association with its own subunits in the

rayons of Ashkhabad; matters pertaining to expediting deliveries in the republic of certain kinds of light industry products; and improving the organization of construction in Ashkhabad.

Thirty-three requests and proposals made by the deputies during sessions of the Supreme Soviet appear to be impossible to accommodate in the course of the current five-year plan owing to the limited nature of capital investments and material and technical resources as well as an absence of design estimate documentation. Among them is the construction of a meeting house in Tashauz, a number of projects in Chardzhou Oblast related to social and cultural needs, a bath and communal service house in Bezmein, and the reclamation of 10,000 hectares of land for farming in the area of the Kara-Kum Canal.

The processing of 20 requests was considered inexpedient at the present time, including increasing the staff of the city court in Tashauz, and opening a burn center, a printing shop, and a branch arts and crafts workshop in the settlement of Gaz-Achak, because of the scarcity of the population, among other projects.

The objective difficulties associated with an absence of real opportunities to iron out problems raised by the deputies are further complicated by the fact that the republic Council of Ministers and the branch departments of its Administration of Affairs are poorly monitoring the implementation of deputy proposals and at times let matters take their own course without even attempting to secure from the ministries and departments proper responses to the proposals and criticisms. Certain leaders continue to regard the proposals and requests of the deputies and the instructions pertaining to them as matters of secondary importance.

The former Ministry of Construction, for example, which is now the republic Gosstroy, fulfilled only 50 percent of the requests and proposals by deputies. The attitude of these officials to complying with deputy requests is going to have to radically change.

The speaker further highlighted the fact that almost a third of all deputy requests and proposals were concerned with the necessity of allocating additional capital investments. Quite a few of the proposals made at the sessions will last into mid-year when social and economic development plans for the year will no longer be discussed. The republic Council of Ministers, TuSSR Gosplan, and the ministries and departments therefore have neither the right nor the opportunity to amend state plans as ratified by the deputies themselves in the Supreme Soviet. This makes unavoidable the rejection of deputy requests, which are often regarded as mere formalities. It is essential to make desires and demands truly commensurate with available opportunities.

At the same time, a number of economic managers and ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies are attempting to dispose of their unfinished work and planning through the medium of deputy requests made during the sessions. Many of these requests do not reflect ideas of the voters but rather represent ideas advanced by the departments, the enterprises, or collective farms.

Deputy M. Dzhumakulyyev, for example, at the Sixth Session of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet, criticized the low level of performance by production units of house-building combines and the lag in construction projects carried out by the production facilities of contract organizations and the building industry. But as you know the solution of this problem is among his official duties as a manager of the former Ministry of Construction, which is presently the republic Gosstroy.

Certain deputies, especially ones who are managers of ministries and departments, instead of resolving production matters that have arisen among themselves in the course of their work, broach them before a session of the Supreme Soviet in an attempt to foist their cares on others.

Circumstances such as these urgently call for suitable efforts by the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the TuSSR Council of Ministers to acquaint deputies with the procedure and suspense dates to be followed in forming, reviewing, and approving plans, so as to preclude the possibility of submitting proposals and requests which are untimely, insufficiently well founded, or not commensurate with available resources.

In this connection it is essential to regulate the work flow resulting from deputy proposals within the apparatus of the TuSSR Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs, and to maintain continuous and effective supervision of the status of this work in the ministries, departments, and ispolkoms of the soviets of people's deputies.

In addition to responding to the proposals and critical observations voiced by the deputies in the sessions, the republic government maintains oversight responsibility for actions taken in response to requisitions made by the deputies and permanent commissions of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet.

Seven requisitions were received during the reporting period. During 1988, in response to a requisition submitted by the Commission on Trade and Public Catering entitled "On the Inadequate Provision of Fruits and Vegetables by Republic Workers," a review of the structure of production was conducted as a result of which the area under cultivation for vegetables, melon crops, and early potatoes was increased by almost 17,000 hectares or 28 percent. This made it possible to increase procurements of melon crops and vegetables by more than 65,000 tons, and early potato production by almost 3,000 tons, by comparison with 1987.

The problem, however, is not yet solved. The TuSSR State Agro-Industrial Committee is still not complying satisfactorily with the plan in procurements of mixed vegetables, and there are shortfalls in the provision of carrots, garlic, eggplant, peppers, and late cabbages. No major improvement has taken place in the specialized vegetable-growing sovkhozes, and matters concerning the comprehensive mechanization of vegetable-growing and organizing the incentives and pay of the farm workers are being poorly dealt with. Inadequate attention has been given to the production of vegetables with average maturation periods as the most inexpensive kind.

Ispolkoms of the local soviets and collectives of industrial enterprises are not showing concern for improving the base of fruit and vegetable farming, in constructing refrigerated storehouses and food-processing shops, or in creating their own subsidiary farming.

In an effort to comply with the decree of the republic Supreme Soviet with respect to a deputy requisition concerned with unsatisfactory progress in building the road between Bekdash and Krasnovodsk, the Council of Ministers provided for the completion of the bulk of the work, although this highway belongs under the category of department roads and its construction is chargeable to the Karabogasulfat Association. Completion of the work is now being delayed by executive failures of this very association's management, headed by Deputy V. S. Grishenko. It is necessary for Comrade Kh. A. Akhmedov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, to investigate the matter diligently and deal severely with those responsible for this tie-up.

In the interest of persons living in the western rayons of the republic, two more requisitions are in the process of being attended to, one concerned with improving the drinking water of the residents of Kizyl-Arbat, and the other with expediting the natural gas supply for the settlement of Ak-Dash and the building materials combine in Krasnovodskiy Rayon.

Measures taken during the past year have made it possible to substantially improve the supply of water to Kizyl-Arbat. TuSSR Gosplan has earmarked the capital investment funds to finish the work completely in 1989. In terms of operations, three months after passage of the decree authorizing it, building and repair work on the gas supply line leading to the Krasnovodsk building materials combine has almost been completed. At the same combine, work is under way to lay the gas distribution lines. But the tempo of the work is now reduced because of a lack of project documentation from the client as well as a lack of necessary equipment.

In response to a requisition from commissions of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet to improve supplies to the public of commodities for children, the republic Gosplan has provided for increasing production and shipment of goods for children in 1989. Sales volume is increasing 42

percent above that of 1985. The network of enterprises providing goods for children is expanding. Last year the TuSSR Council of Ministers passed a decree "On Measures to Stimulate Production of Assorted Commodities for Children."

Action with respect to a deputy requisition to construct a trolley car depot in Ashkhabad has been dragging unforgivably. While assuring deputies of arranging for the work after the second half of this year, the republic Gosstroy has in fact assimilated only 12 percent of the allotted funds. TuSSR Gosstroy and Comrade A. D. Sviridov personally have been instructed by the government to include this construction project in the plan for 1989, and they have received assurances that this would be done.

A decree of the preceding session of the republic Supreme Soviet in November regarding a deputy requisition to expedite construction of the Sayatskiy Rayon Central Hospital likewise has not yet been acted upon.

The speaker noted further that the destructive earthquake which struck Armenia and took tens of thousands of lives caused great distress to people all over the country, who displayed genuine compassion and a readiness to share the misfortune of those who had suffered. The government of the TuSSR, he said, intends to mobilize the maximum amount of resources so that in the next two years construction and repair work, totaling more than 35 million rubles, may be carried out to rebuild the ruins in Armenia.

The siphoning off of funds and resources to aid the suffering victims requires corresponding alterations in our plans for the next two years. The building projects that must be put off until the next five-year plan include certain ones in deputy requisitions. Obviously, the voters will understand such obligatory decisions. But this in no way relieves ministries and departments of responsibility for fulfilling the mandates, proposals, and requisitions of deputies that remain in the plans.

It is required of the republic Council of Ministers, of its Presidium, and of its chairman personally, that they undertake to improve the style of administering social and economic development and the monitoring of compliance, while increasing the level of personal responsibility and demandingness of the ministers, state committee chairmen, and managers of other bodies.

We must all be more energetic and more impatient with regard to shortcomings, said Comrade A. Khodzhamuradov—leaders of the Council of Ministers, I personally as chairman, and my deputies, comrades Yu. K. Mogilevets, Kh. Akhmedov, B. Ye. Abramov, B. A. Annayev, T. Amangeldyyeva, and A. D. Sviridov. We recognize the critical comments on this subject directed last evening at the government during the Turkmen CP Central Committee plenum as entirely justified.

In conclusion, the speaker expressed assurances that the TuSSR Council of Ministers would reach the conclusions required as a result of the discussion of its report by the Supreme Soviet, and that it would take all measures necessary to raise the effectiveness of practical efforts to carry out the social and economic tasks for developing the republic.

#### **Decree on Education, Science**

*18300379 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA  
in Russian 29 Jan 89 p 3*

[TuSSR Supreme Soviet decree issued 27 January 1989: "On the Work of the Permanent Commission on Public Education and Science of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] After having heard and discussed the report given by Deputy S. N. Muradov, chairman of the Commission on Public Education and Science of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet, regarding the work of the commission, the TuSSR Supreme Soviet notes that in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic, and the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, and the February (1988) CP Central Committee plenum, the commission is carrying out a many-sided effort to implement the Law of the TuSSR on Public Education and to reform the system of public education in the republic.

Over the past three years the commission has met 13 times and has examined 28 issues, including a number of issues pertaining to problems of reforming general education and professional training schools and expediting organizational efforts to put them into effect by the soviets of people's deputies situated in Ashkhabad and Chardzhou oblasts and in Oktyabrskiy and Kalinskiy rayons of Tashauz Oblast. The commission has also examined such pressing issues as the activity of the Turkmen State University imeni A. M. Gorkiy in training, placing in jobs, and utilizing young specialists and the progress of the restructuring within the TuSSR Ministry of Public Education system. Decisions have been made jointly with commissions on women's work and daily life, protection of child-bearing mothers and infants, and youth affairs with respect to the educational rights of young students.

Every year the Commission on Public Education and Science, acting jointly with the Budget Planning Commission as well as with other permanent commissions of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet, does specific work in carrying out a preliminary review of the state plan for the social and economic development of the TuSSR and the TuSSR State Budget for the year ahead. Acting jointly with the Commission on Draft Legislation, it reviews the draft law of the TuSSR on public education.

The commission's activities have made possible a marked change for the better in public education within the republic. Local soviets of people's deputies and public education bodies have begun to come to terms

with the problems of secondary and higher schools in a more substantive way. The scale of construction of new school and pre-school facilities has markedly increased. A network of classes designed to extend studies in various fields is under way; 616 such classes have been held in 203 schools. Higher and secondary specialized schools and professional and technical training schools are now converting to a special-purpose contractual agreement to train skilled workers with partial compensation of expenses. The groundwork has been laid for democratic forms of managing educational institutions. Public education councils have been formed in 49 cities and rayons.

Nevertheless, the work of the Commission on Public Education and Science of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet still does not fully measure up to growing demands for deputy participation in the resolution of state tasks. Its efforts are not directed sufficiently at ensuring unconditional compliance with the Law of the TuSSR on Public Education or compliance with its own decisions; nor at putting into practice the far-reaching and profound transformations called for in the restructuring of secondary schools, secondary specialized and professional training schools, and higher education schools. Science teaching support and material and technical support for republic educational institutions still lag far behind current needs with respect to the general education and professional training of skilled workers. Every other school now operates in two shifts, and every other professional and technical training school is now located on premises built for another purpose. The supply of laboratory space for students is less than 50 percent of standard requirements. The level of supply of computers for educational institutions is extremely low.

Pedagogical conservatism and inertia are being overcome only slowly. A significant proportion of teachers and instructors have still not restructured themselves psychologically and are listless in their efforts to bring about a radical improvement of the teaching process.

Despite an acute shortage of skilled workers in a number of specialties, sufficient efforts are not being made to provide vital labor training and education, to orient youth professionally, and to recruit them in a timely manner into social production. Every year from three to four percent of school graduates spend a protracted period out of school and out of work.

The pernicious practice of luring students into agricultural activities beyond the periods prescribed for labor training has not yet been overcome.

The commission is still not making enough of an effort to effectively increase participation by the ministries, departments, and economic bodies in resolving the urgent tasks of public education. Recently, its attention to problems of professional and technical education as well as to secondary specialized education has waned.

The efforts by members of the commission are not properly directed at the practical side of matters, at making a greater individual contribution to implementing decisions taken, and improving the style, manner, and methods of their work.

By resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic:

1. The TuSSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Public Education and Science shall:

—Concentrate efforts, in accordance with decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 23rd Turkmen CP Congress, and the February 1988 resolution of the CPSU Central Committee plenum, on the execution of key tasks to extend the restructuring of public education in the republic, and carry out goal-directed measures for the radical transformation of its support in terms of science, teaching, personnel, and material and technical supply;

—Determine specific procedures for monitoring the efficient use of the state budget and capital investments to develop the material supply base for public education, and by all available means stimulate initial construction and promote the timely introduction of new educational facilities, especially professional and technical training schools, rural schools, together with an enlarged and expanded supply base for higher and secondary specialized educational institutions;

—Broaden the range of matters under observation, while continuing to focus attention on problems of professional and technical education, higher education, teacher training and placement, improved scientific methods, further specialization in fields of study, and increasing the impact of scientific research upon on the more important branches of the national economy in the republic;

—Maintain more consistent supervision of compliance with the TuSSR Law on Public Education and the commission's own rulings;

—Use its authority more broadly to involve state enterprises, institutions and organizations, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, cooperatives, trade unions, and other public agencies in developing the public education system, and render assistance of various kinds to the soviets of people's deputies with respect to public education and the implementation of the ideas and programs of the All-Union Educational Workers' Congress;

—Improve the style and methods of work by holding on-site meetings for the comprehensive study of conditions locally and by more targeted efforts conducted jointly with other permanent commissions, the TuSSR People's Control Committee, and social organizations; and more persistently engage in coming to terms with urgent questions concerned with the relations

between nationalities, as well as with improving the conditions of students and teachers and protecting the health of students and other young people.

2. The TuSSR Ministry of Public Education, together with the TuSSR soviets of people's deputies, shall:

—Focus the efforts of pedagogical collectives on the basic transformation of the school teaching process, providing for a high level of general education and professional training for youth, with progressive implementation of the concept of universal secondary education as a basis for subsequent training of qualified specialists and workers in all skill categories;

—Expedite measures to enlist student graduates promptly in further studies or productive labor;

—Resolve more assiduously the problems connected with establishing various types of schools and combined educational facilities to integrate higher schools, science, and production, and with fulfilling plans for the construction of public education projects to increase the network of public education branches.

#### **MSSR Second Secretary Details New Central Committee Commissions**

*18000643 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 2*

[Speech by V.K. Pshenichnikov, second secretary of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, at the Moldavian CP Central Committee Plenum held 22 February 1989]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! As you know, the 19th All-Union Party Conference acknowledged the feasibility of forming commissions from among members and candidate members of party committees in order to develop and implement party policy. The correctness of this step was confirmed at the September and November Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, which approved the appropriate commissions of the party Central Committee.

Let me remind you that in November of last year the 11th Plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee acknowledged the feasibility of forming the following commissions from among members and candidate members of this republic's CP Central Committee: on state and legal matters, on party-organizational and personnel work, ideology, on matters of socioeconomic development, and on matters of the agro-industrial complex. The plenum also approved the following persons as commission chairman: S.K. Grossu, V.K. Pshenichnikov, N.F. Bondarchuk, V.F. Semenov, and M.I. Snegur, who were assigned the task of formulating preliminary proposals for the membership. The Central Committee Buro has examined these proposals and prepared a draft resolution, which is being presented to us for discussion today.

First of all, something about approaches, about the logic of forming the commissions. With regard to their quantitative composition, let's assume that it should be quite flexible, within the proposed variant of 20-24 persons. The total number in the commissions is 112 out of the 175 members and candidate members of the Central Committee, i.e., 64 percent. It is proposed that they not include members of the Moldavian CP Auditing Commission, taking into account their sufficiently large load of monitoring and auditing work.

Eight commission members are not members of the republic-level party organization's electoral organs. They include the following chiefs of Central Committee sections: V.A. Kazyulin, L.A. Bolgarin, and K.A. Tampiza. I think that, in the given case, the logic of including the above-indicated comrades in commission membership is evident. They are responsible secretaries of commissions, and they should become the principal organizers of commission activity. Also included are N.K. Demidenko, A.A. Ryabov, D.I. Nidelku, D.P. Bragish, and I.K. Chobanu, as representatives of law-enforcement organs, trade unions, the Komsomol, and the creative intelligentsia.

Represented among the candidates being proposed for consideration are all the first secretaries of party raykoms and gorkoms, and all workers elected as members and candidate members of the Central Committee. Let me stipulate the following: from the workers—except for V.S. Odobesku, taking into account the fact that she is a member of the CPSU's Central Auditing Commission.

Also represented in the commissions are soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol officials, leading officials of republic-level ministries, State Committees and departments, economic managers, persons working in science, education, and the mass media, as well as comrades who are now living in well-deserved retirement, but with whom many of us have worked, side by side, for many long years; they are, so to speak, our gold reserve.

With regard to the geography of rayon and city party organizations, the communists who have been elected as members of the republic-level party organization's leadership organs, it is represented in the composition of the commissions by 36 of the 49 cities and rayons.

Such are the fundamental concepts which constitute the foundation for solving the given problem. We have at our disposal information to the effect that work on forming analogous commissions has now been inaugurated in the city and rayon party committees. I'd like to note that, in this connection, there is no need at all to repeat the approaches set out here on a "one to one basis." What is important is that the commission structure reflect the fact that the functions of all party organs are tied in with implementing party policy, organizing the

masses, providing ideological and personnel support. We need to proceed from the main factor—that every commission member be a working, active promulgator of perestroika.

Now let's move to the forefront a discussion of the character, designated purpose, and operating organization of these commissions to be under the Moldavian CP Central Committee. They participate, each according to its own line of activity, in studying problems thoroughly, working out a political strategy and tactics for restructuring processes in all spheres of life, attentively analyze the progress being made in carrying out the decisions of the party and the government, as well as the decrees of the Moldavian CP Central Committee. According to the results of this work, the commissions will introduce drafts of the appropriate documents and analytical materials to the Central Committee Buro, including those for consideration at its sessions and at the Central Committee Plenums.

The commissions carry out a comprehensive study of various aspects of the activities of party gorkoms and raykoms, as well as primary party organizations; they develop for them recommendations for improving the style, forms, and methods of work; they render aid in their implementation and in the active introduction of progressive experience in party work. An essential element in the commissions' activities is the regular providing of information to an elected group of activists and communists in the localities—information about the work being done by the Central Committee, its buro, and measures taken with regard to critical remarks and suggestions by communists and working people.

Such are the general tasks and basic trends of the activity of all the Central Committee commissions. If we were to speak about the contents of the work of each of them, we would assume that the key link in the contents of the work to be done by the commission on state and legal matters would emphasize the paramount importance of forming a state based on law, that is, the genuinely real supremacy of the law in all spheres of the republic's life.

We must achieve a situation whereby party committees consistently and assiduously perform work to ensure the strict observance of socialist legality and civil rights, constantly keep these issues in their field of vision, direct and coordinate the efforts of party organizations, state institutions, law-enforcement organs, and the entire public to institute the proper law and order.

The commissions should, obviously and urgently, make a thorough study of the situation which is evolving in this republic, prepare timely and constructive proposals to turn around, finally, the alarming trend in the growth of crime, and to normalize the situation. We need to create a system of effective party monitoring control on the work being done by the law-enforcement organs, upgrade

the responsibility of the responsible personnel for precisely exercising the functions assigned to them, without allowing, in this connection any interference in their operational activities.

The main thing in the activity of the commission for party-organizational and personnel work must be, in the first place, work with personnel. But not as understood in the old, narrow, nomenklatura sense. Under present-day conditions it must be filled with new, democratic contents. We need a system for recruiting, selecting, placing, and training personnel which will be based on democratic approaches, a multi-faceted working with reserves, and one which will have an effect on the short-term and long-term prospects of personnel. The commission must develop approaches for more profoundly studying this republic's personnel potential; it must learn how by itself and teach the party committees to stand up for the best candidacies by democratic means.

Nowadays, as never before, we need a comprehensive approach in our personnel work. But, up to now, we have encompassed only a few of its individual links. It seems necessary for the commission, jointly with the section for party-organization and personnel work, should work out, no later than the first half of the current year, a scientifically based concept of personnel work.

The commission is confronted with the full magnitude of the task of rendering practical aid to the local party organs and organizations for the purpose of accelerating the democratization of intra-party relations. The lag in developing intr-party democracy has led to an indifference among a good half of the communists with regard to the matters of their own organizations, and to a quality of inert sluggishness in some party activists.

We must frankly acknowledge that the root of many of our troubles lies in the weak work being done by the primary party unit. Remaining most frequently outside the field of vision here are issues of the vanguard role to be played by the communists, educating people, creating a healthy moral-psychological climate within the collectives. At the center of attention not only of this commission but of us all in the future must be the problems of purifying party life of everything superficial, obsolete, and stagnant, of bringing into line with the requirements of the times the style and methods of activities by the party units and their organizational structure.

We must achieve a situation throughout the republic whereby the communists will be, in fact, the masters in their own organizations, render genuine assistance to developing and implementing party policy. It is precisely the indifferent attitude on the part of many communists and of the party activists which has become one of the reasons for the complex political situation in this republic. We must be more active likewise in overcoming the negative tendency of lowering the rate of growth in the party's ranks, free ourselves from the indifference which

exists in some places—indifference toward the violators of the requirements of the CPSU Charter. We must employ all measures to intensify the struggle for purity among the ranks of the republic-level party organization.

Political reform presupposes a new quality of interrelationships between the elected party colleagues with the soviets of people's deputies, public organizations, trade unions, the Komsomol, veterans' councils, and women's councils. Their mutual actions must rid themselves completely of dictatorial attitudes, an attitude of subordination, and a pettiness in overseeing details. It's time to shape a tactic and strategy for a joint, partnership type of work with all the component parts of this republic's political system. It's also certain that, in doing this, we must not let go the thread of party leadership of the main, fundamental, and, above all, personnel matters.

Bound together in an organic unity, in the same row with the radical economic reform and democratization of public life are the problems of renovating the entire system of the party's ideological work. Under these conditions the ideology commission of the Moldavian CP Central Committee must have clear prospects for restructuring all ideological work. And this program of actions must be furnished to the performers in the briefest possible time period. We cannot agree with the concepts of this sphere of our party work as something huge and incomprehensible, as something which is not subject to being measured. Therefore, each commission member should have a precisely outlined circle of his own obligations. At the same time, this does not delimit but, on the contrary, even presupposes a broad initiative on the part of each.

The commission must channel considerable measures into ideological provisions for the plans of socioeconomic development, forecasting ideological circumstances, and planning the appropriate measures. Nor must we omit analyzing the contents of the work done by the mass propaganda and agitation media, coordinating the efforts of public organizations, ideological institutions for improving international relations, as well as international and patriotic education of this republic's population. At the same time, however, this commission will certainly retain that which we have assigned the principal devices of party activity—critically analyzing the work which has been done, summing up and propagandizing progressive experience, recruiting, selecting, and education ideological personnel.

There is here one fundamental factor to which I'd like to draw your attention. The chief weight of ideologically providing for perestroika has been placed on personnel who were formed under the conditions of the administrative system for running the society. To a significant extent, they retain the habits of working in the old way; they are not prepared to act by the methods of persuasion, and they're afraid to engage in open dialogue with other persons. This is a genuine manifestation of the contradiction between the requirement of perestroika—

to be up to the present-day level—and the degree of psychological preparedness of our body of personnel. We also see this distinctly in a number of our republic's cities and rayons. Formerly, if we were talking about personnel on the ideological front, we always employed thousands of figures from propagandists, lecturers, political-information specialists, and agitators. But when we needed to exert appropriate ideological influence on events which were unusual for us, to a certain extent, whether it was an "informal" meeting or simply a group of people, then we had only a few persons, or, at best, a few dozen who were prepared for this. We had, in fact, no party speakers capable of influencing the masses, setting them on fire, and carrying them with him. We had a clearly manifested habit of waiting for a command "from above," of swimming along with the waves of events. This is a bitter lesson, and we need to draw the necessary conclusions from it, moreover, the sooner the better. Otherwise, we will be forced to learn different ones.

A change in the socioeconomic thrust of public production also requires new approaches in the party leadership of these fundamental processes. The principal task of the commission on matters of socioeconomic development under the conditions of perestroika is implementing the party's economic and social policy, deepening the economic reform, introducing the new management methods, improving the mechanism for utilizing the potential of socialist property. In solving it, priority must be accorded to the issues of strengthening party monitoring on developing plans for the comprehensive, socioeconomic development of this republic's regions, cities, rayons, and villages, the introduction of territorial cost accounting, improving the organizational structures for managing the development of the cooperative movement.

Under these conditions we must accelerate working out a concept of the commission's work and determine the most acceptable methods and forms of its activity. Each member of the commission must know his own sphere of influence. In determining this, it's important not to attempt to encompass the unencompassable, but to approach this realistically, to take upon oneself those things that can be carried out and genuinely urgent tasks.

The requirement to become quickly involved in work on implementing the outlined tasks is dictated, above all, by the social necessity of making a real turnabout in the economy toward development of the social sphere, toward improving people's lives. After all, it's difficult nowadays to buy good footwear or clothing in the stores, especially inexpensive kinds, or individual items of the children's assortment, or for elderly persons. One senses a shortage of many types of cultural and household types of items. The pace of introducing new housing is inadequate.

This disturbs the population. It must be that this is our, party problem. Can we really remain on the sidelines, when we see how, in chasing after profits, the economic managers artificially inflate prices and reduce the output of inexpensive items which move well? We cannot put up with such a situation. The commission must constantly seek out effective forms for politically influencing the processes of production, distribution, and sales of consumer goods, development of paid services to the population, make maximum use for this purpose of existing reserves and local resources, as well the possibilities of leases, contracts, cooperatives, and individual labor activities.

We must thoroughly study and analyze the basic trends of economic and social development, reveal the causes of the existing disproportions and accumulated problems, justify proposed measures for eliminating the revealed shortcomings and forecasting future prospects. We need closer contacts with science, with our colleagues in other regions of the country; we must objectively study and disseminate progressive experience.

The principal thrust in the activity of the commission on matters of the agro-industrial complex must be placed on demanding that personnel increase the scientific-production potential created in this republic, using all measures to intensify production, improve its structure, widespread utilization of intensive technologies, the conversion of agricultural production to an industrial basis, and strengthening the material and technical base of the sectors of the processing industry.

Particular attention must be paid to carrying out a radical economic reform, to qualitative changes in the economic mechanism, to converting all labor collectives to full cost accounting and cost recovery, self-management, collective, leasing, and other progressive forms of organizing and stimulating labor. We must achieve a restructuring of people's economic thinking. Specifically teaching them methods of economic analysis is nowadays one of the top-priority tasks for improving economic work in rural areas.

In connection with converting kolkhozes, sovkhoses, inter-farm associations, and enterprises to full cost accounting and self-financing beginning this year, we must, first of all, look deeply into the financial status of this sector, and especially investigate farms which have been operating at a loss or with extremely low profits. In this connection, we must utilize the experience which has been accumulated in this country by the party leadership in the matter of strengthening the economics of the lagging farms. By using political methods of leadership, the commission must constantly monitor the most urgent problem—to provide the population with enough food. Principal attention must be paid to raising the level of organizational and political work in the labor collectives of the APK, the correct recruitment, selection, placement, and education of personnel, the training and retraining of the

entire body of personnel, increasing the demands upon and the responsibility for implementation of the party's agrarian policy, which will be worked out at the upcoming, March Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Such, to our way of thinking, are the aspects of the contents of the activity of the Central Committee commissions. Planning their work will be carried out by proceeding from the operating plans of the Moldavian CP Central Committee. Matters falling within the jurisdiction of the commissions must be discussed collectively and decided at their sessions. Such sessions, in our opinion, should be conducted as the need arises, but at least once every three months.

The support in the activities of these created commissions, their working organs, must certainly be the appropriate sections of the Central Committee, whereas their chiefs constitute links which ensure a businesslike partnership between them. We must proceed here on the basis of the fact that the party apparatus, being a part of the party's organizational structure, is called upon, above all, to be the instrument with the help of which the effective functioning of the elective organs is ensured. In this connection, it would not be amiss to recall the words of M.S. Gorbachev, which he spoke in his report at the 19th All-Union Party Conference: "Secretaries, buros, and, even more so, the party apparatus, must be monitored by the elective party organ. From now on we must never allow a situation to arise whereby members of a Buro or party apparatus would allow themselves to indulge in a command style in relation to the members of elective committees."

It should be noted that the need to render effective, highly skilled aid to the Central Committee in carrying out the new tasks confronting us, including also the activities of the commissions on the part of the party apparatus was taken into consideration even in its recent reorganization. Let's say, for example, the introduction into the structure of the Central Committee apparatus of consultants' posts also needed to be examined from the viewpoint of their utilization for the informational-methodological, scientific, and practical provision of the work being done by the commissions of the Moldavian CP Central Committee.

In conclusion, I'd like to emphasize once again that we regard the formation of the Central Committee commissions as an important measure, called for by all measures to facilitate the development of the collective principle in party leadership, to make fuller use of the abundant, practical experience of members of the elective organs of this republic's party organization in solving the problems of perestroika.

**Kirghiz CP CC First Secretary Masaliyev's 25 Feb 89 Plenum Speech**

*18300452a Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA  
in Russian 26 Feb 89 pp 1-2*

[Speech by First Secretary of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee A.M. Masaliyev at the Kirghiz CP Central Committee Plenum, 25 February 1989: "On the Tasks of the Republic Party Organizations in Strengthening the Political Leadership of Perestroika"]

[Text] Comrades! In implementing extensive democracy and political reform in the country, the Communist Party is radically altering the approaches to the leadership of the economy and sociopolitical development.

In accord with the decisions of the 19th Party Conference of the CPSU, the role and authority of the soviets are being seriously increased, while the labor collectives and the councils set up at the enterprises are acting as the fully-empowered managers of their plants. The independence and activeness of the trade unions, the Komsomol and the other social organizations are developing.

Under these altered conditions, in remaining the guiding and leading force of society, the party is in all areas improving its work, using political methods. "The essence of perestroika in party work," said Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, "consists in having each party organization—from the republic to the primary—struggle actively to carry out the line of the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and have it live in an atmosphere of search and renewal of the forms and methods of its activity."

In the report submitted for your review, the Central Committee Buro has posed the task of analyzing the first steps taken in our new approach to the work, and to collectively discuss the ways for more specifically mastering political methods of directing the republic's socio-economic life on the part of the party organizations. We must achieve a clear delimitation of the functions of the party, soviet and economic bodies so that each is concerned with his own job and be fully responsible for the results.

At present, it is possible to report that, in following the concepts of the CPSU Central Committee, the Kirghiz CP Central Committee is taking measures to change and democratize its work and the activities of the apparatus and party committees, to switch this into political leadership and abandon the previous stereotypes. We are restructuring, we are endeavoring to be closer to the people and the communists, in resolving major problems to seek their advice and take into account public opinion, the interests of the workers, all the nations and nationalities living in the republic and provide aid in the work of the party organizations. For these purposes the secretaries, the buro members and the heads of the Central Committee sections have begun to visit local constituencies more frequently.

On the other hand, there is more independence in the activities of the Council of Ministers, the other state bodies and the republic leaders. Many know how even very recently the agenda of the buro and secretariat of the Central Committee was full of extensive draft resolutions which fettered their initiative. The Central Committee, for example, has adopted decisions on conducting plenums of Kirgizsovprof [Kirghiz Trade Union Committee] and the Kirghiz Komsomol Central Committee. Each month up to two-score joint decrees of the Central Committee and Council of Ministers have been promulgated. The Central Committee Buro used to meet twice a month from 1000 hours in the morning until late at night with a large number of persons invited to attend. Now the session is held once from 1600 hours and the number of decrees to be adopted has been significantly reduced.

It is no secret that certain leading workers, instead of assuming responsibility, have waited for instructions from above. At present, they now have greater opportunities to take decisions independently and show initiative. While in 1985, the Central Committee adopted 1,414 decrees, in 1988 the figure was 680. There has been a noticeable decline in the summoning of leaders to the Central Committee and various meetings have begun to be held more rarely. The resolving of many questions has been turned over to the oblasts, rayons and cities.

These measures to a definite degree aid us in escaping from routine and to focus on key tasks in the republic's economic, social and spiritual development as well as improving personnel policy and ideological activities.

In the opinion of the Central Committee Buro, and this has been pointed out by the workers themselves, in the republic as in other regions of the nation, positive changes are occurring in the sociopolitical atmosphere and in democratizing internal party life. There are also advances in socioeconomic development.

Over the last 3 years, the industrial workers have met the quotas for the growth rate of the production volume, labor productivity and reducing product costs. The number of enterprises operating at a loss has declined.

The social sphere is developing at a higher pace than before and over one-third of the capital investments has been channeled into these goals. There is an increasing scale of the building of housing, general education schools, children's preschool institutions, hospitals and polyclinics. There has been an increase in the production of consumer goods as well as the volume of paid services for the public.

The gross output of agricultural product has increased by 358 million rubles or by 14 percent. It is very important that to a definite degree this has been achieved by an increase in livestock products. As a result, there has been something of an improvement in the supply of main food

products for the public and their per capita consumption has risen. The real income of the population has gone up and the size of the population over these years has risen by 6.8 percent.

Our task is to reinforce the designated positive shifts and give them a permanent and ongoing nature by more fully utilizing the existing reserves and opportunities and by decisively eliminating shortcomings. These exist in all sectors of the economy, in party political, indoctrinational and economic activity as well as in the work of each of us. We are still far from having all citizens working fully and conscientiously and all leaders acting as intelligent organizers and indoctrinators in their collectives. But how many instances are there of mismanagement, irresponsibility and violations of production and state discipline?

This is why we need perestroyka. Perestroyka is professional, profound and indoctrinating people in honest labor. The party heads perestroyka. The 152,000-strong army of Kirghiz communists is responsible for things in the republic. The struggle of the communists and all the workers for perestroyka is organized and directed by the primary party organizations, the rayons, city and oblast committees and the Central Committee of the Kirghiz CP. And this struggle will become effective only when there is a true vanguard role for the primary party organizations, the basis of our party. All of us, the Central Committee personnel and the leading cadres must constantly understand this and make a personal, effective contribution to accelerating the realization of this archi-important task.

For precisely this reason we have brought up for discussion at the given plenum the question of the mastery of political work methods by the party committees and their cadres. Comrades, it is not a question of abandoning the solution to economic and social tasks. On the contrary, it is essential to accelerate and improve their resolution but by party political methods. Here they must be paid constant, daily attention and the situation mastered.

Hence, what is a political method and how should we understand it in terms of our times and perestroyka?

A political method is primarily the working with people and a close link with the masses. The people should understand party policy and view it as their vital undertaking and fight for its implementation in life. Party policy in the most important areas of our social and economic development is determined in the decisions of the CPSU and its Central Committee.

The prime task of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee, the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms is to get across clearly and promptly the sense and significance of the party decisions through the primary party organizations, to intelligently define the areas of their practical work, the persons specifically responsible for their execution and

most importantly to fully achieve the realization of the set goal. Otherwise the decision is worth nothing. Unfortunately, certain of our documents often remain merely on paper and the supervising of their execution is not organized. The situation is not changing for the better. And it has also happened that before one decision has been carried to its logical end, another one is adopted. Under the conditions of perestroika, we can no longer work in this manner.

I want to reinforce this by examples. In 1987 and 1988, in implementing the ideas of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, the republic Central Committee and government adopted important decrees to accelerate housing construction and specific quotas were set up to the year 2000.

Or let us take the Decree of the 9th Central Committee Plenum adopted in May 1988 "On the Tasks of the Republic Party Organization in Implementing the Reform in the Secondary and Higher School and for Ideological Support of Perestroika in Light of the Decisions of the February (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee."

And completely recent is the Decree of the Central Committee Buro of 15 October 1988 "On the Further Development of Minority-Russian Bilingualism, Improving the Study and Instruction of Kirghiz, Russian and Other Languages of the Soviet Peoples in the Republic."

Seemingly, we have adopted concrete decrees on very acute sociopolitical questions involving the vital interests of the communists and citizens of the republic and have assigned them to specific individuals for exercising supervision over their implementation. But because of the existing unsuitable system, they, like many others, are not being carried out satisfactorily. This is of little concern to the corresponding Central Committee sections and secretaries. Thus, last year the plan for completing housing as a whole was overfulfilled chiefly due to individual construction. In the area of state capital investments, the quota was fulfilled by 91 percent, using the funds of the ZhSK [housing construction cooperative] by just 56 percent, with the funds of the public organizations by 44, and for the kolkhozes by 88 percent. Some 57 million rubles of capital investments remained unused and the workers failed to receive over 100,000 m<sup>2</sup> of housing. Of course, here there are also difficulties of an objective nature, but there are more than enough of our own shortcomings.

A particularly major lag has been permitted in the city of Frunze (Comrades U.K. Chinaliyev and G.S. Kuznetsov). It cannot be said that the party gorkom and the gorispolkom have not been concerned with housing construction. The crux of the shortcomings is that the question has been examined numerous times but they have not been able to carry out the planned measures.

Here largely to blame is the republic Gosstroy (Comrades Ya.Ye. Fisher and S. Ablesov) which has been little concerned with the development and strengthening of the physical plant of the construction organizations or increasing the level of labor and production discipline. It can scarcely be considered tolerable when the Monolitsroy [Cite-Cast Construction] Association which should put up housing using express procedures fulfilled the annual plan by less than one-third, while the Frunze-K-PDproyektstroy [Frunze Large-Panel Housing Construction Design Institute] Association had a figure of 74.5 percent. At the same time, the workers of these and other construction collectives have spoken indignantly of the poor state of the organization of labor and production, the constant rush work and the significant personnel turnover. Serious rebukes are merited by the Sverdlovskiy and Oktyabrskiy Party Raykoms in Frunze (Comrades Zh. Tumenbayeva and V.I. Silayev) where these enterprises are located. They have not delved deeply into the work of the primary party organizations and have not increased their influence on the strengthening of state discipline.

Certain party committees of the Issyk-Kul Oblast and the Alamedinskiy Party Raykom have done little to monitor the fulfillment of the housing program. An unsatisfactory situation has arisen in the construction of projects in the manufacturing sectors of the agroindustrial complex, particularly in the meat and dairy industry (Comrade Zh. Dzhaychibayev).

The Central Committee Secretary N.I. Semenov, who is responsible for capital construction, is to answer the Central Committee Buro for the arising situation. It must be admitted that we have still not been able to raise the responsibility of the communists who are leaders of the sector as well as the soviet bodies for carrying out the tasks confronting them.

There must be a critical analysis of the state of party leadership over the administrative bodies and the work in combating crime, drunkenness and drug addiction. It must be said that here for now we are still involved in general discussions and the holding of meetings and sessions. In the meanwhile the day-to-day situation does not improve, the crime rate is rising, the rate of exposing crimes is declining and there are more frequent road and transport accidents with human casualties. There has been a significant rise in the crime rate in Sverdlovskiy, Leninskiy and Pervomayskiy Rayons in the city of Frunze, as well as in the towns of Kara-Balta, Tokmak and in Alamedinskiy and Sokulukskiy Rayons.

The Central Committee Buro and the Council of Ministers tolerate this and have not shown the required exactingness for the communist leaders of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the procurator's office or the state of public order in the republic and in carrying out the party and government directives on the designated questions.

Individual party committees continue to be involved with the adopting of numerous decrees but in essence are not concerned with organizing their execution. Thus, over the last 2 years, the Panfilovskiy Party Raykom adopted four decrees for the Kolkhoz za Liniyu TsK KPSS and six for the Sovkhoz imeni Telman. But things have not improved on the farms.

In analyzing the effectiveness of the party decisions, the Central Committee Buro has concluded that they should be concise, clear and realistic. Decrees involving the interests of a specific region or body must be prepared with a visit on the spot and the obligatory involvement of those reporting. It must become a practice that even in the course of preparing a document the ways for implementing it are set out. The same group of workers which prepared the draft could travel to the region for providing help in the actual implementation of the decree.

With such an approach there is greater responsibility not only for the workers of the apparatus but also the elected aktiv, in particular the membership of the Central Committee which is particularly important. Each of us should take a direct part in working out the strategy and tactics of the republic party organization. At present, we must take a look at the question of organizing the Central Committee commissions involved on the questions of party organizational and personnel work, ideological, socioeconomic development and agrarian. We feel that all of this will provide an opportunity to more fully utilize the experience of the Central Committee personnel and more actively involve them in working out major questions as well as supervising the execution of the adopted decisions.

Under the conditions of the democratizing of society and internal party life, particular importance is assumed by the accountability of all the elected and appointed officials to the collectives and the public. Each such report should be accompanied by a professional discussion, by criticism and self-criticism, by constructive proposals and by a weighed assessment of the activities of the person reporting. This will be the realization in fact of Lenin's demand that the work of the elective bodies and the leaders be open for all and carried out in view. The reports undoubtedly will become a good schooling in indoctrination for the cadres. If we achieve this, many reasons for complaints and appeals from the workers will disappear.

In order to be a recognized leader of the masses and in order to organize serious supervision over execution, the party workers and leading cadres, as V.I. Lenin taught, should "live in the thick of things. Know the mood. Know everyone. Understand the masses. Be able to establish an approach. Win their absolute trust." In regularly being present in the collectives, it is essential to take an interest in the course of implementing the adopted decisions and their impact on the masses. Here an oversimplified, let alone demonstrative, formal approach will not produce the desired effect. After each

visit to the labor collectives, the questions raised must not be left overlooked, the state of affairs must be investigated critically and objectively, concrete proposals must be drawn for oneself and for the party committee, and the corresponding adjustments made in the work. This should become the rule for each of us, the party cadres.

Comrades! Life indicates that the mastery of political methods will be the more successful the more quickly we achieve high activeness, political maturity of the primary party organizations and a truly vanguard role for each party member. For this reason the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee called the primary party organizations the main element in the fight for perestroika and for acceleration, for here party policy is implemented by the efforts of millions of communists and involves the daily life, affairs and concerns of the workers.

As is shown by the results of the previous report-election campaign, many party organizations are endeavoring to develop new approaches to solving economic, social and indoctrinational problems, to define more precisely the main points of applying their efforts and improving the forms of organizational work.

There is much that is of interest to the score of the party organization at the production association Stankostroitelnyy zavod [Machine Tool Building Plant] imeni V.I. Lenin. The association's collective has set the following goal for itself: by the end of the five-year plan, to increase the production volume with a more rapid increase rate in labor productivity, and raise the technical level and quality of the produced machinery and equipment to the world level. Before the end of the 12th Five-Year Plan, to solve the problem of children's preschool institutions and by 1992, provide houses for all those on the waiting list at the beginning of 1987.

The communists have actively set to providing the party political support for this task, having focused their attention on accelerating scientific and technical progress, on a consistent transition to economic management methods as well as priority development of the social infrastructure. Each primary and shop party organization and party committee has defined its place in this work.

New approaches are actively being sought for solving social and economic problems by the communists of the Kirghizmebel [Kirghiz Furniture] Association, the Garment Mill 40 let Oktyabrya, the motor transport enterprises, the association producing computer equipment, the knitwear association and other enterprises in the city of Frunze.

Many rural party organizations are noticeably increasing their role in the fight to carry out the Food Program. They have begun to be more concerned with the personnel, in seeking solutions to social questions.

However, far from every primary organization operates now as a leading political force in perestroika in its collective and this tells seriously on the work. This is particularly true of the construction collectives. We are primarily concerned by the passivity of many party members in the work of the party organizations. We have spoken about this frequently, but still are doing very little.

Both the Central Committee, the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms are concerned with the primary organizations in an unsystematic and superficial manner, and do not have programs for raising their role and impact on perestroika. This is our most serious oversight and it must be rectified without waiting.

In this context, the immediate and constant task of the Central Committee sections and party committees is to carefully analyze the activities of the primary party organizations, enterprises and economic units, primarily where things are going poorly and the state orders are not being met. We must ascertain the reasons and set measures to increase the activeness and results of the work done by the communists, the party organization as a whole. This work must be turned into a system. The Central Committee Section for Party Organization and Cadre Work (Comrade M.F. Vasilenko), the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms must organize this and provide supervision. Together with the secretaries of the primary party organizations, they must do everything so that the party members in fact become political fighters and have an impact on resolving the important questions in the life of their collectives. For this we must move from roundtables for the party organization secretaries to regular meetings with the rank-and-file communists.

Let us make it a rule that each of us without any exception works systematically in a certain primary organization, aiding it in becoming the actual political vanguard in its collective. We can and must be concerned with this question. Certainly we, as just the top workers of the Central Committee, the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms are more than 1,300 persons.

Among the other factors in increasing the militance of the primary party organizations, the main one is the problem of the party leader, his authority and competence to lead the communists. An analysis of the previous reports and elections, the meetings with the communists in the course of preparing for the current plenum have shown that many party organization secretaries do not have a clear notion of their functions under the new conditions. The task of the Central Committee, the party obkoms, raykoms and gorkoms is to help them in mastering the art of political work.

When the issue arises of the greater role and authority of a party organization, one often hears: take the released worker, assign him a car and increase his wages. Yes, these problems do exist and the CPSU Central Committee is reviewing the proposals being received on these

questions. It can be stated that in principle the question has been resolved of allocating a portion of the money from the receipt of membership dues for the needs of the primary party organizations and, in particular, for carrying out mass political work, for encouraging the unreleased party aktiv, the party veterans and for providing material aid to the communists and certain others.

Clearly, we cannot resolve all the problems in the near future. But, comrades, let us give to the secretaries what we can and must now, that is, our knowledge, experience, support, advice and, finally, simply attention and understanding.

At a roundtable meeting at the Frunze Party Gorkom, one of the secretaries said with sincerity: be attentive to our needs and at least give a kind word when we do something right. The party group organizer, Comrade A.S. Suranova, a milkmaid from the Kolkhoz imeni Telman in Naukatskiy Rayon, criticized the party apparatus workers for the fact that in visiting the farms, they were only concerned with the fulfillment of plans and obligations. She pointed out with resentment that everyone knew her as a milkmaid but not as a party group organizer.

Delegates from the Mayli-Say City Party Conference and the Leninpolskiy Rayon Party Conference said that the workers from the party committees were still infrequent guests on the grass-roots level. As a result, many communists do not even know by face the leaders of the party committee sections.

It is impossible to raise the militance of the primary party organizations, as was already said, without a substantial rise in the activeness and professional authority of each communist in perestroika and without a strengthening of party member discipline. We must do serious work in this area.

A most important factor in strengthening the party organizations is the filling of them out with fresh, healthy forces. However, there are instances of a refusal to join the party ranks. For this reason last year, some 145 persons were excluded from the party. The party organizations proceed correctly when they objectively and profoundly study such actions by the people. But such a phenomenon cannot be viewed as anything but a failure in party work. We must improve in every possible way recruitment into the party and admit worthy persons who are not afraid of difficulties.

Lenin said that a party member wins a leading role by his own personal participation in work, by his example and model. He should be ahead of all the others. But he must not only politically sketch out great tasks but also practically carry them out. Otherwise, he commented, "the simplest worker...will say: 'Why do you constantly point out what you want to do, rather show us in fact what you are able to do. If you cannot, there is no place for you and get thee hence!' And he will be right."

This is how Vladimir Ilich so sharply posed the question of the vanguard role of the communists and party workers. No one more than us can be concerned with this and let us take an active part.

Comrades! The Central Committee Buro sees one of the crucial conditions for strengthening the political leadership over perestroyka in a fundamental improvement in the work with leading cadres.

We are working in this area. The Central Committee has a comprehensive program for improving the recruitment, placement and indoctrination of the cadres. We have begun to show a more responsible approach to carrying out this very complex task.

The Central Committee nomenklatura has been reduced. Over the last 2 years, many young, growing workers have gone through the reserve schools under the party committees and subsequent training and a portion of them has been promoted to leadership work. In the aims of improving this question, in the promoting or transferring of cadres, they study the opinion of the aktiv, the party committees and the Central Committee members. Their ethnic composition has been shaped in a more balanced manner, and attention has been strengthened to persons coming from a worker environment. Double the number of cadres is being trained through the superior party schools and courses under the Kirghiz CP Central Committee.

At present under the conditions of democracy, the recruitment of cadres is more and more frequently carried out on an alternative basis in a situation of glasnost. But the past report-election meetings and conferences were still not an arena of competition for the party leaders. It turned out that the members of the elective bodies were not prepared psychologically for the sponsorship and defending of alternative candidacies and both the Central Committee and the obkoms showed excessive caution on this question and were overprotective of themselves.

The newspaper PRAVDA last year criticized the Sokulukskiy Party Raykom basically for this. In the local press, the raykom had published "Proposals of the Primary Party Organizations" on the candidate secretaries. In actuality many of these proposals had not been discussed in the inferior levels. On the list were those who learned of this for the first time from the publication as well as haphazard and unworthy persons.

The key to resolving the cadre problem is in more profound and systematic work in training a viable reserve and the tempering of this in practical deeds. The party committees have begun to be more actively concerned with this important undertaking. For example, in Aravanskiy Rayon in recent years over 40 persons were trained in the reserve school under the party raykom, and of this number 16 have already been promoted to

responsible positions. This is done publically, with reliance on the primary party organizations. The candidates for promotion are published in the rayon newspaper.

The new approaches have had a positive effect on accelerating the socioeconomic development of the rayon. Over a period of 3 years, the output of gross agricultural product has risen here by 41 percent in comparison with the same period of the previous five-year plan and eight schools were built, a maternity home, a polyclinic and two feldsher-obstetric stations. The domestic, trade and cultural services for the rural workers have improved.

But still a significant portion of our cadre program has not yet been carried out and it needs serious additional work and supplementing. Unfortunately, poor workers still fill certain crucial areas and ultimately things suffer from this. Responsibility for this is born by the secretariat, the buro, the section for party organizational and cadre work and the other Central Committee sections. I, as the first secretary of the Central Committee and Comrade G.N. Kiselev as the second secretary of the Central Committee must accept these shortcomings primarily as ours. We should be more thoroughly concerned with cadre policy, hold a firmer position and prevent errors.

The Central Committee Buro and the sections will exercise control over the correct solution to the cadre question in the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and provide them with practical aid as for now not enough is being done. At present, concrete aid is needed by the Keminskiy, Panfilovskiy, At-Bashinskiy, Toktogulskiy, Dzhumgalskiy, Sovetskiy, Toguz-Torouskiy, Ak-Talinskiy, Ak-Suyskiy, Chatkalskiy and Alamedinskiy Party Raykoms, the Naryn and Sulyukta Gorkoms which have serious work to do in order to raise the level of the socioeconomic development of their rayons.

The Central Committee sections and the party committees, having decisively abandoned the questionnaire approach to cadre work and on-the-spot auditing trips, should emphasize a comprehensive analysis of the work of the party organizations. By their personal example, the responsible workers of the Central Committee must create an atmosphere of professional, party comradeship in the party committees and organizations, they must combine trust with a principled approach to things and in every possible way help in improving the situation.

The Central Committee Buro will assess the work of the cadres not only from the collected responses and statements by individuals but chiefly from how things are going in the region or sector, how the tasks of socioeconomic development are being carried out, and what is the situation among the workers. Alien to us are subjective, biased approaches to the workers, bootlicking and opportunism.

In the aims of raising the educational level, the skills and expertise of the party cadres, the Central Committee Secretariat and sections within a month must work out a plan for conducting studies with them, including the secretaries of the primary party organizations and the workers from the apparatus of the party committees.

In order to give concreteness and purposefulness to the efforts of each worker, the Central Committee Section for Party Organizational and Cadre Work is planning to assign a base party organization to each of them. The level of its work should be raised to a height which would permit a study of the cadres and the party aktiv from the experience of this organization. The role of the responsible organizers will be significantly increased. We are aware that the activities of the party raykoms and gorkoms are largely determined by the level of preparation and by the personal qualities of the first secretaries, by their ability to organize collective work and employ the levers of political leadership.

We have party committee secretaries who meet these demands. For example, the First Secretary of the Lyaylyakskiy Party Raykom, Comrade A. Saparbayev, organizes his work in a creative manner. We have already spoken of the initiative of the Lyaylyakskiy residents in building sociocultural projects. At present, I would like to emphasize that the secretaries and buro members of the raykom operate by using political methods through the primary party organizations and the communists. A party raykom on the basis of a thorough study of public opinion and employing the possibilities of the mass information media and proposals from the public, actively settles the questions of the socioeconomic development of a rayon.

The main work methods are explanation, indoctrination and persuasion of others. For these purposes in each population point agitation and information houses have been built basically using the personal savings of the workers and the "ashar" [providing labor force and livestock] folk method. Operating under them are the councils of war veterans, activist women and representatives of the party, soviet and other social organizations.

Among the raykom workers a taste has appeared for vital work with others. The moral and psychological climate has been improved in the rayon and the crime rate has dropped. The economy has grown stronger and last year alone profitability of the economic units rose by an average of 13.6 percent.

Unfortunately, not all our cadres are searching for new approaches in their work. As was shown by the study, the secretaries of a number of party committees are working without personal well-conceived plans the visits to the collectives are not prepared for and they are frequently conducted in a spontaneous manner, without the required benefit. As they say, time is golden and it must not be wasted.

With the primary leaders of the party committees and their reserve, it is essential to carry out a great deal of sound work, to help them, to instruct and promptly correct. This will be the concern of the buro secretaries and members, the heads of the Central Committee sections and the oblast party committees.

Certain comrades have voiced the proposal of setting up professional meeting clubs in the regions, where the first secretaries could exchange work experience, discuss general problems and tasks, as well as collectively seek out the ways for resolving them. We must support this and the Central Committee sections must determine a procedure for organizing and holding such meetings.

Such an approach is clearly essential in the work with the primary leaders of the state, economic and social organizations. It would be a good thing if the Council of Ministers, Kirghizsovprof and the Komsomol Central Committee would examine the given question.

Comrades! In the system of political leadership methods, an exceptionally important place is held by well-conceived and effective ideological and indoctrinational work among the public.

Let us say directly that in this crucial and acute area of party activity, much remains to be reassessed, altered, improved, in linking it together with the carrying out of economic and social tasks.

Democracy and glasnost have caught many of our ideologists by surprise, including the workers of the Central Committee section. They have been unprepared for the changing situation and for the requirements of perestroika, they are unable to conduct a direct, frank dialogue with others, they are unable to convince them and continue to work in the old manner. The ideologists lack concreteness and competence.

At present, in the party committees they have set up ideological sections and the co-workers here should above all themselves learn to work under the new conditions and help others in mastering democracy, glasnost and the new political culture. They are being given an opportunity to prove themselves in the current election campaign underway throughout the nation.

The Central Committee Ideological Section is still taking timid steps on this level and is not setting an example in work for the party committees. Our section must abandon the nonexistent agitators, the sham lectures, the "paper" participants in amateur artistic activity, athletes and so forth. We must put an end to petty interference, to the scattering of forces and departmental restrictiveness. We must concentrate, for example, on major, fundamental problems such as the development programs for public education, culture, the conducting of

profound historical research, and the study and propagandizing of the republic's history. Scientists and cultural figures must be widely involved in this work. We must reestablish the center for the study of public opinion.

Closer attention must be given to the questions of improving interethnic relations. In this sphere numerous problems have built up. They, as is known, will be examined at the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. But there are also questions which can and should be settled right now. For example, to develop more actively minority-Russian bilingualism in the republic. Something is being done in this area. Frunze has opened a Kirghiz school, the network of nurseries and groups with a mother tongue of instruction has been broadened and measures are being taken to improve the teaching of Russian. Upon the initiative of the Issyk-Atinskiy Party Raykom they have begun teaching the Turko-Meskhetin nationality in their own tongue. At the Osh Pedagogical Institute, groups have been organized where teaching is done in Uzbek.

We are carrying out measures to strengthen the economic and cultural ties with the fraternal republics and primarily with our neighbors. Recently, meetings were held with the leaders of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. In the course of these we discussed urgent questions of common interest and proposals were elaborated which would broaden and deepen our ties. The republic Goskomizdat [State Publishing Committee] has concluded a contract with the Uzbek Goskomizdat on the mutual exchange of books and textbooks. The state committees for radio and television broadcasting in the Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan have signed an agreement to improve the quality of the joint TV program "Screen of Friendship."

Interethnic relations have been negatively influenced by shortcomings in economic development, by neglect of the sociodomic sphere and by flaws in ideological work. A number of urgent questions is being solved in an extremely slow and incomplete manner due to the fault of specific workers from the Central Committee and Council of Ministers.

Thus, at many major enterprises and organizations, regardless of the wishes of others, circles have not been organized to study the Kirghiz language, the names of streets, institutions and visual agitation have not been systematized everywhere, and simultaneous translating is not provided. There is a delay in the putting out of the necessary textbooks and teaching aids and dictionaries in Russian and Kirghiz. It has been said repeatedly that in rural localities there are not enough books in Kirghiz, records and cassettes with recordings of national music.

In benefiting from our errors, various sorts of demagogues have endeavored to deprecate the party's course and its strategy as well as the solidity of our multinational state. Such, pardon our saying, "educators" are

literally attracted like a magnet to the youth, where externally effective and pseudoscientific arguments are accepted as the real thing. Here the truth about the so-called "blank spots" in our history is mixed together with a flagrant distortion of socialist reality.

A group of young persons, for example, who had joined the Demos Political Club on the pages of the newspaper KOMSOMOLETS KIRGIZII voiced their views, dubious ideas and rash political assessments. However, neither the Komsomol Central Committee (Comrade T. Tabyldiyev) nor the Central Committee Ideological Section promptly rebuffed those who under the slogans of democratization doubted our socialist values or the victories of the Soviet system.

The Central Committee Buro and the party committees are actively supporting all the new initiatives and campaigns aimed at strengthening socialism. At the same time, we decisively repudiate all attempts to distort the essence of our democracy and we will unmask the falaciousness of the appeals to establish so-called alternative formations or people's fronts for supposedly defending perestroyka.

The Central Committee Ideological Section and the party committees must effectively analyze the situation and work out measures to counter the unhealthy trends. We must prepare the ideological aktiv for political fights and uncompromising debates. We see the main purpose of this work in explaining persuasively to others that precisely the Communist Party, in relying on the broad support of the people, has commenced perestroyka and it is its organizer, inspirer and dependable guarantor. The driving forces of perestroyka are the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the labor intelligentsia who by their sweat and intelligence create the material and spiritual values.

In this context I would like to draw your attention to the fact that certain mass information media as before are extolling meeting democracy and the representatives of the working class spoke of this with concern during a recent meeting at the CPSU Central Committee. To our great regret, individual workers of the press and television by their politically immature acts have led others away from the urgent tasks of perestroyka.

A rashness of views and conclusions and incompetence have also been permitted in certain actions of the republic and local press. In particular, in the newspapers SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, KYRGYZSTAN MADANIYATY and VECHERNIY FRUNZE. The editors of these publications and the editorial boards must critically review their deeds and draw conclusions.

It is not an issue of reducing the intensity and scope of criticism but rather one of raising the ideological level and balance of each action and the responsibility of the journalist for the quality of the material. The Central Committee Secretary, Comrade M.Sh. Sherimkulov, and

the leadership of the Ideological Section, Comrades Zh. Saadanbekov and A.I. Malevanyy, must assist the editorial collectives and pay more attention to personnel questions. Together with the primary party organizations of the editors of the newspapers, magazines, television and radio broadcasting, they must strengthen the ideological-theoretical and practical training of the journalists and provide them with information more regularly. The meetings of the secretaries and members of the Central Committee Buro with the press workers and appearances of all levels of leaders in the press and television should become a system.

The old disease of ideological work is the gap between word and deed. Let me give an example. Scores of representatives of various organizations have visited the winter pastures of Kenes-Anarkhaya where livestock raisers from the farms of six rayons in the Chuyskoye Valley spend the winter. The Central Committee agitation train also visited here. They all studied the problems, they recorded the requests and desires of the shepherds and promised help. But there were no marked improvements in the cultural, trade, medical and domestic services for the livestock raisers. Newspapers and magazines do not arrive here and because of the lack of batteries the radios often do not operate and television cannot be seen everywhere. The book holdings of the libraries are not filled out. And all of this is repeated year after year. The situation is no better at certain other remote pastures. What sort of ideological work, what shaping of an active personality of the working man or the indoctrination of a feeling of command in him in the given instance can there be if everything comes down to mere promises? Our Central Committee has held a serious discussion about the official missions of the secretaries, section heads and their deputies. We want the official missions to have a planned and effective nature and be full of meetings in the labor collectives with the communists and nonparty persons and contribute to improving things on the spot.

The official trips should be integrated and new approaches are required here. For instance, a group of comrades visits a rayon or city, inspects the state of affairs, provides aid to the party committee and primary organizations in organizing the work, turns out recommendations and gives assignments. Subsequently, after 6-8 months, this same group could revisit the spot and ascertain what has changed, how effective its recommendations have been and make the necessary adjustments. Thus, it would be possible to prevent frequent inspections and visits of the various areas without preventing people from working.

Under the conditions of perestroika, a greater role is played by the scientific and creative intelligentsia in the ideological-political and moral indoctrination of the workers. In speaking at a meeting with scientific and cultural figures, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had

high praise for the contribution made by the intelligentsia to perestroika and to establishing a new moral and political atmosphere in society.

In our republic there has been something of an activation of spiritual life due largely to the efforts of the scientists, writers and representatives of the creative unions and organizations. However, it must be said that individual scientific and cultural leaders are continuing to waste their energies on reciprocal criticism and the settling of scores instead of conducting creative work fruitfully. In taking advantage of glasnost, some are bringing their personal insults into the pages of the press and are diverting others from the main concerns which beset the republic.

We are decisively against demagoguery and irresponsible judgments. Glasnost and a pluralism of opinions should serve not confrontation but rather a consolidation of forces and a unifying of the people.

Comrades! The successful mastery of political methods is impossible without a higher role played by the soviets, the trade unions and Komsomol in perestroika.

As we know, the political reform presently being carried out provides for restoring the complete power of the soviets. It is a matter of a clear definition of the functions of the party and soviet bodies. Even on the eve of the 11th Party Congress, Lenin wrote: "...It is essential to delimit much more precisely the functions of the party (and its Central Committee) and Soviet power; to increase responsibility and independence of the soviet workers and institutions and leave for the party overall leadership over the work of all the state bodies together, without the present too frequent, irregular and frequently changing interference."

In the aims of increasing the role of the Council of Ministers and excluding duplication in our work, we have begun to make it a practice of discussing individual major and important current questions in the government with the participation of the corresponding Central Committee secretaries, including the first secretary. Such an approach, in our view, has proven effective and frees the Central Committee from purely economic problems.

Recently the level of work of the soviets has increased somewhat by a strengthening of their membership with well-trained cadres. At present, around 12,500 communists have been elected to the soviets. This is a major political force which must actively carry out perestroika in the soviets.

At the same time, the style of party leadership of the soviets is changing slowly and there have been instances of taking over for them in carrying out economic tasks. Many party workers, in arriving in a village or settlement, leave the local soviets on the sidelines and do not meet with their leaders.

Here was what was said at the Osh Oblast Party Conference by the chairman of the Narimanovskiy Rural Soviet in Kara-Kuyskiy Rayon, Comrade Khavitakhunov: "We frequently hear valid complaints addressed to the chairman of the rural soviets that they are merely the errand boys of the economic leaders. Let us show more trust for the rural soviets. The representatives of the superior party and soviet bodies, in visiting the farms, should consult more with them. Let us recruit for here more competent comrades and then the soviet will go to work." This is very correct and we must consider this in our work.

At present, a Law Governing Local Self-Administration and the Local Economy is being prepared and this will strengthen the soviets in legal and material-financial terms. But without waiting for this law, we must help the soviets and their executive committees in more boldly assuming the solution to local problems and in showing more initiative and entrepreneurship.

Instructive in this regard are the activities of the Prigorodnyy Rural Soviet and its chairman, Comrade Yu.N. Vozhzhov. Here is a brief list of its specific undertakings. Of the 43 streets in the village, 38 have been graveled, they are lighted, the approaches to stores have been asphalted, 1,100 m of water line have been laid, the cemetery has been fenced, and at the expense of the residents they are preparing to provide central gas supply for their houses. And all of this is the result of its constant work.

There must be a major improvement in party leadership over the trade union organizations the potential of which is little employed in the questions of perestroyka, particularly in fighting for labor discipline and safety, strengthening worker control in the service sphere and in improving the sociodomic conditions of the workers.

Many letters and complaints received by the superior bodies concerning infractions of social justice as well as the legal, labor and other guarantees of the citizens show that the trade unions far from everywhere are carrying out the assigned task. People still are not feeling that we have organized true worker control over trade, public dining and other service spheres, although the CPSU Central Committee and the AUCCTU have voiced very decisive and unanimous demands on this score. Responsibility for this is born by Kirghizsovprof (Comrade E.A. Abakirov) which has been slow in adapting the style and methods of work.

A good deal is being done to strengthen state discipline by the people's control bodies. At the same time, they are involved in red tape, the measures undertaken by them often do not achieve the aim and the instances of mismanagement and waste continue to occur in the economy. The People's Control Committee (Comrade V.K. Kandakov) must raise the effectiveness of the work done by the people's controllers.

An equally important task for the Central Committee and the party committees is the active involvement in perestroyka and the developing of the initiative, independence and effectiveness of the youth and the Komsomol organizations.

In recent years youth has taken a more active part in economic and sociocultural construction. In the republic there are six self-financing centers for the scientific and technical creativity of youth, in the summer they organize "student bazaars" following the principle of the self-supporting "field-to-shop" farm conveyer and the MZhK [youth housing complex] movement is developing. The social activeness of the young men and women is growing but there still are parasitic attitudes. This was confirmed by the recent meeting of the Central Committee Buro members with the Komsomol aktiv of the VUZes and specialized secondary schools in the capital.

Such meetings are useful, they help bring out the urgent needs and requests of the youth as well as explain to them party policy and provide information on the activities of the party and soviet bodies. Certainly the numerous confusions, harsh judgments and immature attitudes among the youth are caused primarily by a poor knowledge of life, as well as a lack of information on the occurring changes. The Central Committee Buro views such meetings with the youth as an important party undertaking and intends to hold them regularly.

At the roundtable meetings it was pointed out that the party committees are overlooking such an important question as raising the authority of the Komsomol worker. An attentive attitude toward the Komsomol cadres is not only a moral question but also a political one. It is essential to instruct the youth in modern management methods, to be truly concerned about the life and leisure of the young men and women, help build housing, nurseries and creches as well as improve working conditions. Here the support and attention of the communists and elder comrades are indispensable.

Comrades! On behalf of the Central Committee Buro, I have set out certain main areas in the work of mastering political leadership methods for economic and sociopolitical life in our republic. We have not pursued the goal of taking up all the questions of this complex question. We feel that what has been said can be used as the basis by each party committee in creatively approaching its job and in defining its specific actions on this level.

The main thing for which we are striving is in improving the style and methods of party leadership and in delimiting the functions of all the management bodies, the economic, state and social organizations, to carry out the major tasks confronting us in perestroyka more effectively. I would like to mention some of these.

In the first place. The extensive introduction into production of new economic work methods such as cost accounting, the contract, progressive production methods, raising the economic education of the workers and ensuring highly profitable operations of all the production enterprises. On this basis, the republic is to be prepared for converting as of 1991 to full cost accounting, as was stipulated in the Draft Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "Basic Principles in the Perestroyka of Leadership in the Economic and Social Sphere in the Union Republics on the Basis of Self-Management and Self-Financing" and which will be published in the press for nationwide discussion.

Secondly, in carrying out constant organizational and political work and in raising the responsibility of all levels of cadres, we will work to ensure greater production of agricultural products on all the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the subsidiary farms of the enterprises and organizations and the private plots of the citizens in order to really increase the per capita consumption of meat, milk, vegetables, potatoes and other food products.

Thirdly, the Central Committee Buro, the Council of Ministers, the republic ministries and departments, the local party and soviet bodies and their appropriate leading cadres are to establish monthly effective control over the course of the construction of housing, sociocultural projects, the manufacturing sectors and ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the planned quotas for the completion of capacity.

Fourthly, the Central Committee Buro and the Council of Ministers are to set additional measures to significantly increase the production volume of consumer goods and the providing of paid services to the public. We intend to extensively involve in carrying out this task all enterprises located on republic territory regardless of their affiliation. We must also expand fully the scale of producing building materials, in fully utilizing the local resources and opportunities and maximally satisfying the requirements of the citizens for these.

Supervision over the implementing of these integrated problems will be provided by the Central Committee Buro members, Comrades A.M. Masaliyev, A.D. Dzhumagulov and N.I. Semenov, the Central Committee secretary who will be in charge of the questions of the agroindustrial complex and which we will elect today as well as the Central Committee members, Comrades U.S. Sydykov and Ya.Ye. Fisher.

And now a couple of words about our routine matters. For the rural workers this is the organized execution and concluding of the wintering of livestock, the breeding work in sheep-raising and the preparations for spring field work. During the current year, the republic has an opportunity to obtain at least 100 lambs from each 100 ewes. The workers of the market dairies can and are already increasing the production and procurement of

milk. But here the party, soviet and economic bodies have some work to do. Equally important for us is to ensure stability in the operation of industry, transport and particularly the construction complex. We must establish an attitude in the labor collectives so as everywhere to increase production output, improve its quality and not allow lags.

The election campaign for the elections of the USSR people's deputies is reaching its final stage. As you know, the current elections are being conducted following new principles and will be carried out in a new political and ideological situation. Some 373 candidates have been put up for the 41 electoral districts, 74 have been registered by the district electoral commissions and 41 deputies will be chosen. Moreover, 13 candidates for USSR people's deputies have been registered from the social organizations.

The task for the party organizations is during the remaining time to conduct organizing and explanatory work, employing all proven forms of political and ideological action so that the people's deputies will include the most advanced, most worthy persons who by their labor and by their attitude toward things would move perestroyka forward and would help to improve the life of the people and strengthen the economic might of the nation.

In concluding the report, we urge you to take an active part in discussing it and make your own comments and proposals for working out the corresponding decision of the Central Committee Plenum.

#### **Turkmen CP CC Plenum on Election Process, Perestroyka**

##### **Information Report**

*18300347a Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA  
in Russian 27 Jan 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Information Report on the Turkmen CP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] On 26 January, the 14th Plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee was held.

The plenum discussed the question "On the Results of the Reports and Elections in the Republic Party Meetings and the Tasks of Intensifying Restructuring in Light of the Decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference."

S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, gave a report.

Participating in the debates were B. Tagandurdyyev, first secretary of the Chardzhou Party Obkom; G.M. Shpak, first secretary of the Bezmein Party Gorkom; O.K. Valiyeva, physician from the Krasnovodsk City Children's Hospital; O. Aydogdyev, secretary of the Mary

Party Obkom; P.I. Iutin, brigade leader of the Ashkhabad Industrial Design Construction Association SMU-1 installation workers; G. Abayev, permanent representative of the Turkmen Council of Ministers at the USSR Council of Ministers; Ya.P. Gundogdyev, first secretary of the Turkmen Komsomol Central Committee; T.K. Guychgeldyyev, first secretary of the Takhtinskiy Party Raykom; I.N. Klychev, USSR People's Artist and chairman of the Turkmen Committee for the Defense of Peace; Dzh. Rozybayeva, milkmaid from the Kolkhoz imeni 21st Party Congress in Deynauskiy Rayon; D. Khalmuradova, brigade leader from the Komsomol-Youth Brigade of the Kolkhoz imeni Frunze in Garabskiy Rayon; and T. Kishzhikov, first secretary of the Kazandzhikskiy Party Raykom .

The plenum adopted a resolution on the question discussed.

The plenum reviewed the question of the elections of secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee and which were conducted on a competitive basis with two candidacies.

The following candidates described their programs to the plenum participants: N. Ashirov, first secretary of the Tedzhenskiy Party Raykom and B.M. Sakhatmuradov, first secretary of the Karakumskiy Party Raykom . After a thorough discussion of the candidacies in which the Turkmen Minister of the Communal Economy M.K. Shabasanov, the First Secretary of the Chardzhou Party Gorkom E.E. Achilov, the Director of the Karsnovodsk Oil Refinery V.I. Gubanov, the Deputy Chairman of the Turkmen Gosstroy M. Dzhumakuliyev, the Chairman of the Teze el Kolkhoz in Karakumskiy Rayon G. Annaliyev, the President of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences O. Ovezgeldyyev, the Chairman of the Turkmen State Committee for Labor and Social Security N. Alovov, the Chairman of the Board of Turkmenpotrebozoy [Turkmen Consumer Union] N. Nurklychev, the Chief of the Political Section of the Turkmen MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] B. Dovletov, the Second Secretary of the Tashauz Party Obkom A.V. Loyko, the First Deputy Chairman of the Mary Oblispolkom and Chairman of the Oblagroprom [Oblast Agroindustrial Complex] A. Kurbanov, the Secretary of the Chardzhou Party Obkom Dzh. Babakuliyev and the Secretary of the TSPS [Turkmen Republic Council of Trade Unions] T. Ashirov, by secret voting and by a majority of votes, B.M. Sakhatmuradov was elected the Secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee. Some 65 persons voted for him and 58 for N. Ashirov.

The plenum confirmed the membership of the commissions of the Turkmen CP Central Committee.

Participating in the work of the plenum was Yu.A. Tomak, responsible worker of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus.

### Niyazov Speech

18300347a Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA  
in Russian 27 Jan 89 p 1-3

[Speech by S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee at the 14th Turkmen CP Central Committee Plenum "On the Results of the Reports and Elections in the Republic Party Organizations and the Tasks in Deepening Restructuring in Light of the Decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference"]

[Text] Comrades! As you know, recently reports and elections in the party were completed. In our republic party organization they were over before the new year. The reports and elections have confirmed with new strength the determination of the republic communists to firmly carry out the line commenced by the party in April 1985 to renew society as well as the practical work to implement the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

This has given the restructuring processes a new impulse and has enriched the party organization with a better understanding of the problems and unresolved questions which are of equal concern to the communists and nonparty persons. For this reason the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro has brought up this question before the Central Committee plenum in the aim of collectively discussing what has been learned and what has been shown by the meetings and conferences held in the 2,395 party groups, 9,035 shop and primary organizations as well as in all the city, rayon and oblast party organizations.

Of course, here our approaches should be party ones, from the standpoint of political work and political and ideological methods. This was mentioned by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the 28th Conference of the Moscow City CPSU Organization.

It is important for us to sum up the results precisely now, when the new in social life is still intertwined with the old, and when at times we lack experience under rapidly changing conditions, and when day by day the demand of the workers for tangible, practical results from restructuring and a return from it for the good of man becomes stronger and more persistent.

If one speaks generally, the results of the report election campaign have shown that a new political and moral atmosphere has been established in the republic, democracy is broadening and deepening, while a pluralism of opinions and an open comparing of ideas and views are gaining broad development. Labor, political and social activeness is growing and obsolete stereotypes and dogmas are collapsing.

As a whole, the republic has been gathering experience in employing democratic principles in personnel work. Proof of this is the just examined question of electing the

secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee. No one has any doubts that an objective choice has been made on a basis of a truly collective, democratic discussion.

What are the main traits in the renewal of the republic party organization? In the first place, the party committees and the primary organizations are constantly mastering the methods of political leadership. Secondly, intraparty democracy is developing dynamically, discipline is deepening and political activeness of the communists is growing. Thirdly, in the activities of the party organizations there has been more professionalism, a focus on the specific result, a realistic approach to phenomena in social life and a creative attitude toward solving the tasks of restructuring. Fourthly, we have established a critical assessment of the results of our work and there has been an abandoning of sham, ostentation and self-delusion of success. We in the Central Committee have felt that the republic communists are experiencing a feeling of dissatisfaction with what has been achieved. Finally, glasnost in party work has been significantly broadened. This rests on the initiative of the masses, a constant link with them, a knowledge of their pertinent tasks and unsolved problems and a sharp about-face to satisfying the needs of the people.

These and other positive changes can be seen most starkly and have undergone further development in the course of the report-election campaign which has become a true battle review and a responsible test for all elements of the republic party organization.

What should we bring out first here?

The distinguishing features of a majority of meetings and conferences has been a specific, critical analysis of the course of restructuring and most importantly they have effectively discussed how to accelerate the solving of concrete problems. Moreover, now there is less idle talk. It is possible to give examples where those who tried to give self-serving reports were literally "removed" from the rostrum. And the communists acted correctly as the people were fed up with the boring, completely irresponsible, empty morality. But when the conversation got around to business, they listened with interest.

The communists at the Ashkhabad Cotton Cloth Combine imeni Dzerzhinskiy took up the most acute questions at their report-election meeting. In the speeches one could feel the pain for the instances of the violating of discipline, the difficulties in introducing the new management methods and in solving social problems. In them criticism was directly addressed to the party committee as it had done little to combat the passivity of the communists in posing principled questions and there still was not enough glasnost in the activities of the social organizations. But I want to emphasize that the harshness of the criticism and its broad coverage did not prevent a constructive focus to the discussion. The

communists proposed establishing a party committee commission to ensure glasnost in the activities of the leadership and the social organizations of the enterprise.

It would be possible to give many such examples.

It must be pointed out that in the course of the reports and elections being discussed, a serious attempt was made to give up the old tradition of a narrow discussion of questions divorced from real vital processes. At the center of attention was man with all his diversity. The current vision of the problems urgent for the party organizations has become significantly deeper. There has been a turn toward a "extrasectorial" analysis of problems. The communists have raised the questions of separating the functions of the party committees and state bodies, eliminating the mechanism of inhibition in the economy, introducing leasing and a family contract, ecology, relations between nationalities, as well as the history and state of monuments of antiquity.

We have begun to abandon the practice of using the same professional speakers. The floor has been taken by communists who had never spoken before. Let me give certain data. On the debates on the accountability reports the following percentages of communists present at the meetings spoke: 75 percent in the party groups, 58.3 percent in the shop organizations and 41.4 percent in the primary party organizations. Certainly this shows the greater activeness of the communists. As never before there was a high share of speaking delegates at the conferences. The voices of the workers, kolkhoz members and middle-level leaders rang more confidently and convincingly. And although some of them did not speak very smoothly, they did talk about the main thing. We are pleased by the openness, the principledness and the diversity of opinions and by the desire to make a concrete contribution to further improving our work. More than 30,000 critical comments were voiced in the course of the reports and elections and of these two-thirds have already been carried out.

Even quite recently there would not even have been an idea of having the report-election meetings and conferences attended by nonparty persons. Now some 155,000 nonparty persons participated in the report and election campaign and over 4,000 of these spoke in the debates, showing an enviable interest in internal party life and the decisions being taken. Thus, the senior engineer of the Central Asian Shipping Company, V. Nikora, spoke ardently to the delegates of the Chardzhou city party conference on the existence of artificial barriers in admission to the party and the need to improve the practices of recruiting and replacing leading personnel. Following the speech of the inspector of the passenger motor transport enterprise, Ye. Tsybenko, the delegates of the Krasnovodsk city party conference incorporated in the resolution an important supplement on improving the operation of public transport.

Among the positive changes we must also put—as a consequence of the greater activeness—the much stronger exactingness placed by the communists on their leaders. And not only on the party organization secretaries but also on the bureau members. Thus, last year the ranks of the party group organizers and the secretaries of the shop and primary party organizations were almost one-third replaced. The people showed true interest in having their leaders be communists who were principled, enterprising and capable of assuming responsibility as well as active supporters of restructuring. Long before the meetings candidates were proposed for the future members of the bureaus, party committees and secretaries. For example, the voting list at the report-election meeting in the Chemistry Institute of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences included only those who had been named by the communists in the course of a poll conducted just before.

For the first time there has been the promoting of candidates to superior party bodies. From the party groups and shop organizations proposals have been received on the membership of the party bureaus and party committees of the primary party organizations and from here on the membership of the party raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms. All of this is proof of the deepening democratization of internal party life.

Elections where two and more candidates contended for the positions of secretaries were held in over one-half of the party groups, the shop and primary party organizations.

Many party conferences in the rayons, cities and oblasts were carried out in a situation of strong exactingness. The party bodies have been shaped differently. This involves alternative elections and a preliminary extensive and public discussion of the reports, draft resolutions and candidates for election to the committees and bureaus. This was the first time that the diverse arsenal of democratic standards and procedures was so widely used. All of this is visible examples of the real changes and of the broadening of internal party democracy.

The elections of the first secretaries of the Deynauskiy and Kizyl-Arvatskiy Party Raykoms and the secretary of the Krasnovodskiy Party Raykom were held with two candidates. At the first organizational plenum of the Bakhardenskiy Party Raykom, the chairman of the rayispolkom A. Niyazberdiyev was elected in the elections of the bureau members.

Significant changes have occurred in the memberships of the party committee bureaus. In comparison with the results of the previous elections, workers and kolkhoz members are much more widely represented in them. In a number of the party committees such as the Proletarskiy and Leninskiy Raykoms of Ashkhabad, and the Khalachskiy, Vekil-Bazarskiy and Kazandzhikskiy Party Raykoms, teachers, physicians and scientific workers for the first time have been elected bureau members.

Virtually all the accountability reports and many speeches reflected the question of the development of material production, its technical reequipping as well as the renewal of the management system and methods. This is completely understandable and explainable as the economic reform touches most directly on the interests of all the republic workers.

In assessing the results of national economic development in the first stage of restructuring, the communists were unanimous in the opinion that as a whole the work of improving the economic mechanism and the introduction of economic management methods had provided tangible practical results. In actuality, in the republic economy the influence of the intensive factors has increased somewhat. A majority of the plan quotas for the 3 years of the five-year plan has been fulfilled, and for a number of major indicators they have been surpassed. The average annual increase in industrial production has increased by 1.6-fold and labor productivity by 3.6-fold. For comparison, I would say that the growth rate of industrial production over the 3 years was as much as over the entire previous five-year plan. The decline in the return on investment was halved.

Important significance is being given to ensuring a fundamental change in the development of the republic agroindustrial complex [APK]. Intensive farming methods and the collective, family and lease contract are being evermore widely employed. As a result it has been possible to increase the production and sale to the state of cotton, meat, milk, eggs and vegetables.

The pace of capital construction has risen and freight and passenger shipments have increased.

Positive processes are also occurring in the social sphere. For the development and strengthening of its physical plant in the republic over the 3 years, 316 million rubles more of capital investments have been employed than in the corresponding years of the 11th Five-Year Plan. As a result, the proportional amount of allocations into the social sphere in the total volume of capital investments has increased by almost 5 percent. All of this has made it possible to surpass the average annual level of completing housing by 23 percent in comparison with the previous five-year plan, while the figures for schools and children's preschool institutions is 80 percent and for hospitals and polyclinics by almost 3-fold.

Thus, in the first stage of the economic reform, the foundation has been laid for successfully carrying out vitally important tasks in restructuring as well as increasing the prosperity of the people.

It must be emphasized that the most important results have been achieved where the party committees and economic bodies are actually restructuring, where they have been able to correctly recruit and place personnel and release the initiative of people. This is precisely how they work at the production associations of Turkmenneft

[Turkmen Petroleum], Turkmenmineral [Turkmen Minerals], at the Ashkhabad Garment Mill No. 1, the Shatlyk Gasfield Administration, the Karakumgidrostroy [Karakum Hydraulic Construction] Trust, the Tashauz Industrial Production Construction Association as well as the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin in Sayatskiy Rayon, Kizyl Yulduz Kolkhoz in Kunya-Urgenskiy and the Karakum Kanal Sovkhoz in Karakumskiy Rayon.

Nevertheless, at the report-election party meetings and conferences the criticism of the communists was valid that we have been unable to reach the goals set by the Second Plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee.

People judge the efficiency of party organizations from the level of satisfying their daily needs, from the improved supply of food products and commodities and from the shortening of the lines to receive housing. We must look the truth in the face as we have not yet been able to bring about fundamental changes in these questions.

For many years we have had two types of evaluations. The people have evaluated us from what has been done for their good in the cities, rayons and settlements. But for the leadership the main thing is how the plan was fulfilled. The leadership reports only on this. We must reduce these two evaluations into one finding out whether the people are satisfied with our work or not.

Is it tolerable that last year some 149 republic farms reduced the amount of meat procurement by 3,500 tons, 72 reduced the amount of milk procurement by 2,500 tons and 100 farms reduced eggs by 5.5 million units?

Or how should we view the fact that with the most acute shortage of meat products in the cities of Chardzhou and Kerki and the worker settlements the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the oblast failed to deliver 2,400 tons of livestock and poultry, having fulfilled the annual plan by 88 percent? As a whole, the plan for purchases was overfulfilled by the oblast due to the consumer cooperatives and their proportional amount in the total procurements was 15.7 percent. Because of this the urban population failed to receive around 1,000 tons of meat and 100,000 tons of sausage products.

Particular tension in the development of livestock raising has come to exist in Tashauz Oblast. Milk yields per cow here in 1988 were 2,305 kg, the average weight of livestock delivered to the state was 345 kg and the number of eggs laid was 114. As an average, from 100 cows 68 calves were obtained, 93 lambs from 100 ewes and this is significantly below the republic average level.

The situation is no better in Mary Oblast, in a number of rayons of Chardzhou Oblast and in Kazandzhikskiy, Kirovskiy and Serakhskiy Rayons.

Unfortunately, many party organizations, secretaries and the leaders of various bodies still waste a lot of energy on seeking out justification for the laxness instead of putting on pressure and solving the problems.

The 12th Turkmen CP Central Committee Plenum adopted a decision to bring in 1989 the procurement of livestock and poultry to 93,000 tons, milk to 204,000 tons and eggs to 225 million. The addition to the 1988 plan was significant: by 10,000 tons for livestock and poultry, 37,000 tons for milk and 30 million for eggs. The procurement volumes will also grow in 1990. These tasks, it must be said directly, are complex and it is simply impossible to carry them out by the old approaches. There must be the most serious organizational work by the party committees.

Many reserves remain unused and above all we have not yet been able to fully master all the elements of the new management mechanism.

As you know, last year 60 industrial enterprises and all the trade and communications organizations operated under the new management conditions. But at many there was no substantial improvement in the economic indicators. The level of fulfilling contracts and the reduction in costs, the growth rate of the production volume and labor productivity at these industrial enterprises were even lower than as a whole for the sector.

It must be emphasized that restructuring is being carried out slowly in the sectorial staffs themselves. The members of the Central Committee and the leaders of the Gosplan, V.Ye. Abramov, the Gosstab, S.G. Bagramov, the Minfin [Ministry of Finances], E.K. Nazarov, as well as the sectorial ministries and departments of the republic have done little to analyze the course of the economic reform and are clearly not sufficiently concerned with such major problems as a restructuring of the economy, an improvement in the material-technical supply, the balancing of the planning quotas, the development of direct economic ties, the coordinating of sectorial and territorial planning, and a greater influence for financial and credit levers. The local soviets are not fully exercising their coordinating role in resolving economic problems.

It must be said that the republic government, the member of the Central Committee Buro and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, A. Khodzhamuradov and his deputies Comrades Akhmedov, Sviridov, Annayev and Mogilevets have been slow in overcoming the difficulties of the transitional period, they have not fully assumed leadership of the economy and have shown slowness and inefficiency in resolving economic questions.

During the current year, all the production sectors of the republic economy have converted to full cost accounting and self-financing. This imposes particular responsibility on the economic leaders, the specialists and the economic services for increasing the level of production

profitability. A solution to this problem is impossible without introducing internal production cost accounting. Understandably for this it is essential to organize everywhere accounting for the employment of all types of resources, as well as ensure the involvement of all the workers in production management. If one can believe the reports, the brigade form for organizing labor in the republic economy now covers 66.5 percent of the workers but the financial and economic situation in them has actually not changed. Here is something to think about and we must actively introduce effective management forms and above all a lease contract.

Our republic has a large number of small enterprises with fewer than 100 employees. In industry alone, these make up 18 percent. These enterprises must be bolder in being leased to the collectives themselves or cooperatives, for now they merely impede the work of our industry and hold back its development. The party committees and the primary party organizations must conduct more active explanatory work on the essence and advantages of these management forms and assist in more widely introducing them in fact.

At the past report-election party conferences, there was sharp criticism of the situation which has developed on the questions of employing scientific and technical achievements. As before, a strange practice continues to occur, when funds are allocated to many scientific organizations not for completed results but rather derive from the subjects and numbers found in them. The plan for science and technology, in essence, is a set of isolated measures which at times are insignificant in their importance. Their introduction does not provide a tangible economic effect and does not in practice solve the tasks of sharply increasing the technical and quality level of production. In the republic 67 percent of the enterprises did not carry out measures to improve their technical level, 77 percent were not concerned with introducing new technologies and 88 percent disregarded mechanization and automation.

The 13 republic specific integrated programs for the development of the republic economy are being carried out poorly. And this has happened because they were not coordinated between themselves, the interests of the territory and the sectors are not reconciled and we do not have an effective system for managing this process. It is essential to be seriously concerned with working out a management system for science and scientific-technical progress. The President of the Academy of Sciences O. Ovezgeldyev, the Chairman of the Republic Gosplan V. Ye. Abramov, together with the concerned ministries and departments, under the leadership of the Central Committee Secretary V. N. Rebrik, must work out specific proposals and submit them for review to the republic directive bodies.

The sorest point in the life of our society, the participants of the report-election meetings and conferences emphasized, is the food problem. How are we solving it?

To judge from the figures, things are not going so badly in the agrarian sector. But the people quite rightly judge the work of this complex not from the percentages of plan fulfillment or the increase in product output but rather from the opportunity to purchase the main food products. Per capita consumption of foodstuffs in our republic has virtually not grown and comprises 41 kg for meat and meat products, 199 kg for milk and 97 units for eggs; this is significantly below the Union-wide indicators.

There has been no decline in the acuteness of the question of supplying the republic populus with vegetables, melon crops, grapes, fruits, potatoes and canned fruits and vegetables. On a per capita basis, the republic produces only 170 rubles of foodstuffs and this is 2.7-fold below the average Union level.

What is the reason for this? In the Central Committee, we know that certain communists feel that we frequently criticize the leaders for shortcomings but do not obtain any major changes from this. Clearly we must agree with the criticism. The party committees, in affirming the principle of glasnost and seeking advice from the labor collectives, must promote leaders who are capable of heading the collectives and achieving tangible practical results.

As you know, presently preparations are underway for a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which will examine the questions related to the implementation of agrarian policy. We are also preparing for this plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Even now it can be seen that the fulfillment of the Food Program is being thwarted primarily by the unsatisfactory use of production potential on the republic kolkhozes and sovkhozes, by the low yield of the agricultural crops and by the slow turning of our leading cadres to introducing the lease and family contract.

Last year, 5,100 production subdivisions worked under all types of contract and this was 40.7 percent of their total number. Some 47,500 families are working on a family contract. A lease contract has been introduced on 52 farms. We have examples of its skillful employment. Thus, the contract unit from the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Turkmen-Kalinskiy Rayon last year obtained 84 quintals of corn grain per hectare. The cost of 1 quintal was 5 rubles 30 kopecks. The Geldyev family from the Kolkhoz imeni XXI Syezd KPSS in Sakar-Chaginskiy Rayon obtained 40 quintals of cotton per hectare, against 18 in the ordinary brigades. On the Kolkhoz imeni 40-Letiye TSSR in Tashauzkiy Rayon, where they have converted to a family contract in all sectors of crop raising, the net income, in comparison with 1987, increased by 2 million rubles.

However, if one judges as a whole from the end results of the year, it becomes obvious that in many instances formalism and oversimplification are concealed behind these figures.

On all the farms it is essential in a decisive, competent and energetic manner to set to introducing the family and lease contract and economic accountability and to convert all the kolkhozes and sovkhozes to wages out of gross income. This will make it possible to rectify the financial position in the APK system and increase production efficiency. Certainly at present in the republic there are 60 kolkhozes and sovkhozes which operate at a loss or have low profitability. A particularly unsatisfactory financial state has come into being in the trade and procurement organizations, in the food enterprises of Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee] and the subdivisions of the Goskomvodselstroy [State Committee for Water Management and Rural Construction].

This issue was raised by communists at the report and election meetings. We feel that if indebtedness has formed in the procurement organizations, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes should establish direct ties with the consumers.

The communists who head Gosagroprom, Goskomvodselstroy, the oblistpolkoms, with the participation of the Agroprombank [Agroindustrial Bank] and the Turkmen Minfin, must carry out comprehensive measures to eliminate the losses at each enterprise and farm during the current year.

In a word, during the remaining 2 years of the five-year plan very much must be done in the APK. The lagging farms should be a matter of particular concern for the party obkoms and raykoms, for the oblistpolkoms and rayispolkoms and they should be given maximum aid.

But not that aid which is being requested by the republic Minister of Light Industry S. Samadov, some 10 million rubles for rectifying the situation in his sector. How are the available opportunities employed here? For example, the Bezmein Carpet Combine is working only at 60 percent of its capacity. How much product has it failed to produce, while the minister for the third year is requesting aid? How much help can be provided? We will institute rigid control over the work of such leaders. If they cannot handle the assigned job, they should be able to admit this and not be plagued further.

But we will help those who produce a return, use all opportunities and seek out reserves.

Comrades! The housing problem is presently among the most important. The participants of the report-election meetings and conferences voiced the need to significantly increase the pace of housing construction. For providing each family with an apartment or separate house by the year 2000, during the 12th Five-Year Plan the plan is to increase the volume of housing construction by 27 percent and using all financing sources to complete almost 6.5 million m<sup>2</sup> of housing and another more than 33 million by the end of the current century.

The existing rates for resolving the housing problem in no manner can satisfy us. At present, the republic has in effect the specific Program Housing-92. An analysis shows that the quotas set by it will not carry out the posed task and lag behind the growth rate of the population; in a number of instances they are even lower than the annual plans. Moreover, the funds being allocated are not being completely used. The Chardzhou Oblispolkom (Comrade Achilov) has been extremely slow in taking up this question. Last year the state capital investments and enterprise funds for housing construction were not used, around 3,000 m<sup>2</sup> of housing were not completed as well as a hospital. The completion of housing has not been met in the town of Nebit-Dag (Ye.P. Akentyev and A.R. Faizmamedov) and Serakhs-kiy Rayon (N. Orazgeldyev and Sh. Nurlyyev). Cooperative housing construction is rising slowly in the cities of Ashkhabad and Tashauz.

We feel it advisable to demand from the leaders of the Council of Ministers that immediate measures be taken to ensure the fulfillment of the Program Housing-92. The Turkmen CP Central Committee has also the right to demand that the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms deal strictly with the nonfulfillment of its quotas by communist leaders working in the local soviets and heading the construction agencies and organizations.

The successful solution to the housing problem, like the tasks of capital construction as a whole, depends directly upon the level of leadership in the sector and upon creating the necessary production, personnel and social base.

We have spoken about this repeatedly. However, the leaders of the Turkmen Gosstroy, the Turkmen Goskomvodselstroy and a number of oblasts and cities, particularly Tashauz Oblast, as well as the cities of Ashkhabad and Krasnovodsk have shown inertia and have been concerned with this most important undertaking in an extremely insufficient manner and this jeopardizes the fate of the plans for socioeconomic development.

The aggravation of the housing question is also caused by the fact that for an extended period of time the republic has not paid sufficient attention to individual construction. Thus, in Tashauz Oblast during the years of the current five-year plan, the plans have not been fulfilled once for this indicator and as a result more than 124,000 m<sup>2</sup> of housing were not completed. And this has happened when there are 15,600 families on the list to obtain apartments. Due to the passive position of the Kerki Gorispolkom (Chairman Yu.K. Yumayev), last year of the 400 applications to confiscate land plots for individual construction, only 67 were granted. At the same time, over 800 families are on the list here to receive state apartments. After this, need one prove the legality of the right of the executive committee of the city soviet to head this?

The time has come to put an end to parasitism and to utilize all the opportunities of the labor collectives, the public and the local construction resources. It is essential to do everything so that the elaborated housing program does not remain another piece of paper not reinforced by deeds.

Social questions in the countryside are being settled poorly and here a significant number of the population points does not have clubs or public health facilities not to mention a water system and central gas supply.

Is it tolerable that last year, the subdivisions of Goskomselstroy fulfilled the plan for the construction of preschool institutions by 82 percent, for hospitals by 83, for polyclinics by 57 and for clubs by 73 percent. For now no one bears any responsibility for this.

The ministries, the departments and the local soviets must fundamentally change their attitude toward solving such important questions. Considering the political significance of this problem, in March of the current year there are plans to review the tasks for accelerating social development in the countryside at a meeting of the republic party-economic aktiv.

In our republic there is the acute problem of ecology and supplying the public with drinking water. The Tashauz Oblispolkom must accelerate the solution to the question of building a water main from the Tuyamuyunskiy Canal to Tashauz in order to supply the people with normal drinking water. This is a difficult question but it must be settled. Money must not be stinted for this because it will be a benefit. It is merely essential to show more tenacity and initiative in achieving the plan.

There is also an alarming state in Mary. We have spoken repeatedly about this to the oblast leaders. We have sufficient water but its quality is far from satisfactory. For this reason we inquire why the number of illnesses is rising in our republic, particularly among children. It is essential to build water treatment facilities. We will provide the funds for this.

We have signed a contract with a French firm to build a plant producing drinking water in hygienic containers. This should go into operation at the end of the current year. This water will be supplied to the population in the republic's rural areas.

Comrades! The saturating of the market with diverse goods and services requires intense efforts by the party, soviet and economic bodies and all the labor collectives, as was emphasized in the course of the report-election campaign. Over the 3 years, their volume has increased, respectively, by 26 and 82 percent. All the same, the situation here is not simple. Regardless of the measures taken by the Central Committee and government, the

solvent demand of the public for goods and services has not been satisfied. Here the excess of income over expenditures is increasing and last year reached 305 million rubles.

This is largely explained by the continuing underestimation in the republic gosplan, ministries and departments of the socioeconomic and political importance of developing consumer goods production as well as of the insufficient coordination of this work on the republic level and on the spot. This obviously can explain the fact that in the republic not all of the enterprises and organizations are involved in producing consumer goods and many of those who do produce them do not meet the plans or reduce their production volumes. There are many such enterprises in the cities of Ashkhabad, Nebit-Dag and Krasnovodsk. Quotas below what was set in the Comprehensive Goods and Services Program have been established for a number of ministries and departments such as the Turkmen Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry], the Turkmen Minbyt [Ministry of Consumer Services] and the Turkmenmebel [Turkmen Furniture] Association.

We all know what a scarcity has developed with washing powder. But the leaders of the Krasnovodsk Oil Refinery point to all sorts of reasons such as they have not received orders or there are no raw materials for this. As a result, they take no measures to rectify the situation.

If a leader does not promptly sound the alarm and is not concerned with creating the necessary stocks, hence he is not a master of production. I feel that in such instances we should draw the appropriate conclusions.

The production of goods for the public at enterprises of the A group causes serious concern. In holding more than 40 percent in the total volume of industry, their share in the producing of consumer goods is 7 percent and many of them do not fulfill these minimal plans. Among them are such major enterprises as the Krasnovodsk Oil Refinery, the Turkmen Nitrogen Fertilizers Plant and the Turkmenrybprom [Turkmen Fisheries Industry] Association and the Ashneftemash [Ashkhabad Petroleum Machine Building] Plant.

These and other oversights in the planning and economic activities have led to a situation where in terms of per capita production of consumer goods Turkmenia holds last place among the Union republics. Under these conditions the actions of the republic Council of Ministers and Gosplan are incomprehensible as they have set quotas for the production of nonproduction goods below the targets of the Comprehensive Program and this, naturally, has led to a lag of 90 million rubles over the 3 years.

Many enterprises, having taken advantage of the cost accounting rules, have ceased to produce inexpensive goods and are endeavoring to rectify their financial

affairs by producing costly items. This faulty practice occurs at enterprises of the light and local industry, the consumer cooperatives and Gosagroprom.

Such an approach scarcely does anything for restructuring. And the argument that the labor collectives, having gained independence, have the right to use it for reinforcing their own financial position by increasing prices, cannot be considered justified. Moreover, it runs counter to the essence of the Law Governing a State Enterprise which states that the demands of the consumer are obligatory for the manufacturing enterprise. The executive committees of the local soviets must unswervingly follow this provision. And not merely be guided by it but here show the necessary firmness and tenacity. The trade union bodies and the people's controllers should also find their place in this.

As for developing the sphere of paid services, here the task is by broadening the types of services to ensure their virtual doubling in the 12th Five-Year Plan and in 1995, to reach 770 million rubles. For comparison, let us say that last year the republic population received services totaling 346 million rubles. We have reserves for broadening paid services.

We are behind the average Union indicators for services in communications, passenger transport, consumer services, physical culture and sports as well as tourist-excursion and sanatorium-resort facilities. As before, there is a large difference in the amounts of services between the republic oblasts and rayons and this reaches 1.5-2-fold and more. For example, in 1988 in the city of Ashkhabad the total for these services on a per capita basis was 259 rubles, while in Tashauz Oblast just 92 rubles while at the same time the plans are not fulfilled here.

In eliminating the shortage of services, we must increase the role of all the enterprises, particularly those of the Union level. Last year they failed to provide a million rubles of services. One out of two did not meet the plan for this indicator.

In the service sphere it is essential to fully utilize the extensive opportunities of the cooperative movement. For it must be pointed out that at present the initiative of the public in setting up new types of cooperatives is growing. Last year in the spheres of production and services their number rose by almost 4-fold and exceeded 440. They produced products and provided services to the public for a total of 22 million rubles. But this is significantly less than the existing opportunities. Here the reason is that many local soviets and economic leaders are not creating the necessary conditions for the broad development of cooperatives and they view the cooperatives as some burden and not as a form of management which corresponds to socialist entrepreneurship.

The Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers B.A. Annayev who is in charge of studying this matter must delve more deeply into these questions.

In the course of the elections and reports, a great deal was said about how the trade enterprises and organizations are not studying the demand of the public properly, they poorly forecast needs and do not pay attention to the rational placement of commodity stocks in the organizations and regions. This is one of the reasons why during the current five-year plan the annual commodity turnover plan was not fulfilled once. The greatest lag has been in Mary and Chardzhou Oblasts (respectively, 76.2 and 72.7 million rubles).

The instances of the lack of the most essential daily necessities for sale can only be explained by negligence, inefficiency or even criminal negligence. In the category of scarce items are to be found matches, salt, soap, washing powder, vegetable oil, bakery articles and other goods.

Interruptions create a situation of confusion and this plays into the hands of the swindlers and various rogues. This happens because leading positions are often entrusted to poorly prepared cadres, without a sufficient study of their professional, political and moral qualities. And these oversights, undoubtedly, are the main reason for the numerous instances of theft and waste, shortages and other violations. For this reason now, when we have completely converted to the principle of electing our leaders, we must not allow principledness to be replaced by a utilitarian attitude, that the interests of the rogues prevail over public ones or that demagogues and careerists reach the leadership. And such instances are found in our republic.

The participants of the report-election meetings and conferences spoke with particular irritation about this and demanded, finally, that exhaustive measures be taken to eradicate these negative phenomena.

On personnel questions, in all spheres and particularly in the service sphere, it is important now to have the closest cooperation between the party bodies and the councils of the labor collectives.

We must not allow the party organizations to be removed from joint work with the councils of the labor collectives. Since the party has assumed leadership over restructuring, it is essential to realize this leadership from the grass-roots levels. But what happened, for example, at the Krasnovodsk TETs? Here 18 percent of the workers is communists. But on the council of the labor collective which has 49 members, there is only 1 CPSU member.

I want to emphasize again, comrades, that concern for the cadres is primarily a party matter. And each communist should bear responsibility for the purity of the party ranks and for his party comrades.

The executive committees of the local soviets, the ministry of trade and Turkmenpotrebsoyuz [Turkmen Consumer Union] must in the near future work out specific programs for improving work while the party committees must take their fulfillment under unflagging control.

Comrades! The participants in the report-election meetings and conferences did not overlook such a social evil as crime. The Central Committee Buro is seriously concerned by the fact that because of the unsatisfactory work of the law enforcement bodies, criminals frequently act in collusion with corrupt elements and develop ties with certain leading cadres. A strong defense has not been provided against such negative manifestations by the party and soviet bodies and in the activities of these there has been a noticeable decline in carrying out the decisions of the VI Central Committee Plenum.

Just last year more than 6,000 thefts of state and personal property, speculation, robberies and hold-ups as well as assaults with the use of weapons occurred. Is this not the active response of criminal groups to restructuring which was mentioned at the July CPSU Central Committee Plenum?!

But do the leaders of the party, soviet and administrative bodies on the spot share this concern in fact? It is difficult to answer this question satisfactorily.

As analysis shows, the speeches at the rayon, city and oblast party conferences by leaders from the internal affairs bodies and the procurator's office were of a superficial nature and in them virtually no room was found for a self-critical analysis of the state of affairs or for showing measures planned in this area. It must be said that a majority of the party committees has not shown proper demands for the communists working in the law enforcement bodies. In the reports of the Tashauz Obkom, the Ashkhabad and Nebit-Dag Gorkoms, the Kaakhkinskiy, Kirovskiy, Krasnovodskiy and certain other party raykoms, the problem of the unsatisfactory combating of negative phenomena was not given proper analysis and evaluation.

The state of the struggle against crime requires specific, effective measures. At the same time, many of our party, soviet and administrative bodies and their leaders frequently have not mastered the situation and permit serious mistakes and at times show complete impotence. Inherent to a number of them are complacency, a lack of initiative and an attempt to find justification for shortcomings and not ways to eliminate the arising difficulties.

Recently, the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro reviewed and judged unsatisfactory the work of the communist leaders in the law enforcement bodies in combating violations. A strict decision was adopted. A

number of leaders who could not handle the assigned area were released from the positions they held. The Central Committee members were informed of this decision.

We expect that the communists working in the law enforcement bodies will understand the seriousness of the demands of the Turkmen CP Central Committee and will draw the correct conclusions.

In the course of restructuring sociopolitical life, high demands are being placed on the content and quality of ideological work. Many of the report-election meetings and conferences emphasize that the party committees and the primary party organizations have not seen to it that all the means of ideological indoctrination are aimed at implementing the revolutionary changes and reforming the economic and political system, at activating the human factor. The communists rightly pointed out that the restructuring processes have touched this area of party work least of all.

However, can one speak about the results of ideological work, for example, in Maryskiy Rayon if, in the peak of the harvesting season, here there was not a single communist in harvesting the cotton? The secretaries of this raykom A. Gaipov and A. Ashirov talk more about restructuring than they do for it. And on the fields there are numerous posters with general appeals. Here is there not to be found the main reason for the fact that Maryskiy Rayon chronically fails the plan to sell raw cotton to the state? Among the ideological cadres there are those who are better at discussing everything as a whole and nothing concretely. The people need not general arguments but rather specific replies to the most acute questions posed by life.

An ideological worker cannot and should not feel at ease if in a medical institution discipline has been left on a low level, if in the schools, nurseries and cultural institutions, in libraries and sports fields there is no proper order in setting up the work. If we wish to achieve significant changes in the economy and spiritual life it makes a great deal of difference who will work in the assigned area and how.

The indoctrination of a Marxist-Leninist ideology in the communists and all the workers of the republic in the present situation is assuming particular significance and it has been and remains a most important task for the party organizations and for all the workers on the ideological front.

In the course of the reports and elections many communists demanded that the party committees increase the level of leadership over the mass information media. And we feel that this is right, for it is a question not of reducing the intensity and scope of criticism but rather

increasing the responsibility of the journalists, the quality of their work and the inadmissibility of tendentiousness in the assessments of phenomena of yesterday and today.

There is no doubt about it that presently the responsibility of the press, radio and television has increased extraordinarily. The journalists and writers can stir people, raise them to restructuring as well as increase the level of criticism and the importance of glasnost.

The CP Central Committee regards this highly.

The publication runs of TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA and SOVET TURKMENY have increased. Quality has improved and the number of listeners has increased for the broadcasts of the republic television and radio. Many publications and broadcasts cause a broad response and help the party organizations in conducting organizational and indoctrinational work in the labor collectives.

At the same time, a portion of the materials in the republic mass information media does not focus the workers on concrete undertakings and in other publications there is still a great deal of sensationalism to the detriment of ideological content and one also finds hurry and, at times, incompetence and rashness in the conclusions and judgments. Group passions and personal ambitions often appear in the publications. These shortcomings are most frequently encountered on the pages of the newspapers *Edebiyat ve sungat* and *Yash kommunist*.

The Central Committee Secretary Kh.D. Durdyev and the recently organized ideological section of the Central Committee must take energetic action to mobilize the ideological cadres to alter this situation. All of us must, as they say, on the march learn to conduct ideological indoctrination under conditions of democracy and glasnost, bearing in mind Lenin's thesis that only the party truth and not the half-truth which shamefully overlooks difficult problems clears the way to the future and provides a new impetus for our progress.

The party committees and the primary party organizations, as the reports and elections have shown, pay close attention to the questions of patriotic and international indoctrination of the workers. Their activities have noticeably picked up since the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference which set out clear political guidelines in the work of improving relations between the nationalities. At present, the oversimplified notions are being overcome of a certain "problem-free nature" of the nationality question, the forms and methods are being improved and the experience of international indoctrination is being made.

In the cities and villages noticeably greater attention has begun to be given to the representatives of all nations and nationalities living in the republic. Their representation is being broadened in the party and soviet bodies

and the public organizations. Conditions have been established for the fuller satisfying of the requirements of the national minorities in the sphere of education, science, literature and art.

However, comrades, it would be wrong to assert that we have solved all the questions in the sphere of internationality relations. The delegates from the Mary and Tashauz Oblast and the Ashkhabad and Krasnovodsk city party conferences said correctly that the shaping of an international way of life is presently emerging in the rank of the most important political problems. Certainly the slightest lessening of this important work for an inattentive attitude toward the just demands and needs of all the nations and nationalities living in the republic can lead to undesired consequences.

At present, it must be said frankly that certain leaders, putting it mildly, have lost their political vigilance and stand on the sidelines in settling the questions of improving the level of internationality relations. For these purposes not enough use is made of the indoctrinational capabilities of multinational labor collectives, the mass information media and ideological institutions.

In the next few years we have a great deal to do for further developing Turkmen-Russian bilingualism. For this purpose, a number of decrees has been adopted, a specific integrated program has been worked out and an Institute of Russian Language and Literature has been established, but the results of the work done is still slight.

A good deal of the republic indigenous population, particularly the rural, has poor command of Russian which is the most important means of international contact. It is time to move from words to deeds and bring about a fundamental change in the quality of studying Russian in all schools. It is essential to establish all the necessary conditions so that national-Russian bilingualism develops in a harmonious and natural manner and becomes a need for each republic inhabitant.

In preparing for the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the questions of internationality relations, the party committees should carefully approach the solving of all problems relating to the international and patriotic indoctrination of the workers and see to it that the citizen of any nationality have in fact complete rights in any region of the nation and that he can realize his rights and legitimate interests anywhere.

The interests of all nations are equally important and dear to us internationalists and here there cannot be any other approach. This is why the tragic consequences of the earthquake in Armenia evoked pain and sympathy in each republic inhabitant. Our selfless aid to the victims of the natural disaster was a clear manifestation of the real fraternity of peoples.

As we see, the assets of positive changes which have occurred in the practice of conducting the reports and elections are rather great. But it would be wrong to assume that everywhere the winds of change are freshening the atmosphere brought to us as a heritage from the years of stagnation. Certain party committees still have not escaped from the old approaches and stereotypes and from the desire for overorganization bordering on formalism. There has been a lack of experience in conducting a debate, a low political culture in a part of the elected aktiv and poor professional training of certain leading cadres. Many accountability reports still do not meet the spirit of the times either in terms of form and particularly in content.

For example, could one find a profound analysis of the work done and the involvement of the communists in restructuring in the report by the secretary of the primary party organization from the nonautoclave gas concrete products combine in Kalininskiy Rayon, Kh. Shirmedov, if he prepared in a great hurry directly on the day of the meeting? The party organization secretary of the production shops for remote signaling and communications at the Ashkhabad Division of the Central Asian Railroad A. Umnov did not prepare at all for the main meeting of the year as he did not have any report. A number of speakers attempted to avoid critical analysis, political evaluations and limited themselves to a primitive retelling of the work done. There was also an open search for compromises. Or the party committee secretary at the Kumdagneft [Kumdag Oil] NGDU [Oil and Gas Producing Administration] A. Ashirov in his report initially sharply criticized the party committee members Kh. Khanduliyev and A. Kovshakov for poor work with the assigned shop party organizations and then...praised them for the conscientious execution of all party committee assignments.

Individual reports left a strange impression with the delegates of the Ashkhabad and Chardzhou city party conferences. Their provisions, particularly where it was a question of shortcomings, were of an informative nature, without a proper analysis for the reasons of the failings. No mention was made of the names of the specific guilty parties for the failings allowed in work. Generally, they were written in a self-pardoning tone. Obviously they were to show how difficult it is now for the party workers to live. In Bakhardenskiy, Karakumskiy, Farabskiy, Turkmen-Kalinskiy, Shalachskiy and Oktyabrskiy Rayons particularly often one encounters routine, old patterns, global political appeals which ring from the humble rostrum of not only a primary party organization but also a party group.

There were also instances of schoolboy "cribbing" and using the texts of last year's reports with slight corrections. Unfortunately, this phenomenon occurred not only in the lower levels of the republic party organization but also in its city, rayon and even oblast subdivisions.

For example, the report of the Mary Party Obkom contained a complete packet of problems and instructions voiced at the last conference. Some are inclined to view this as a lamentable failing and the unconscientiousness of the persons preparing the materials for the conference. Of course, it is not a question of promptly spotting instances of plagiarism. It is essential to look at the essence of the matter. And this is that once one can boldly copy the list of problems from the previous reports (and these problems actually have remained) it means that the adopted decisions have not been carried out and have remained good intentions on paper. They should try to analyze the reasons for the existing situation and the activities of each bureau member in the reporting period. As they don't, they again attempt to divert the delegates from restructuring and force them to discuss the same old vexing problems.

For a number of the party leaders the atmosphere of democracy and glasnost which has been established in internal party and social life has largely been unacceptable. The reports were prepared by them in a situation of strict secrecy and their main provisions were not discussed with the bureau members or the aktiv. And in the primary party organization in the izdatelstvo of the Turkmen CP Central Committee even the commission specially selected for this purpose at a party meeting remained on the sidelines of preparing the report.

In such instances the reports, as a rule, do not succeed in covering the entire spectrum of the existing problems or provide an exhaustive description of the restructuring processes occurring in the party organization. This, in turn, has led to a situation where the speeches by the communists have the form of self-reports, unfocused criticism and demagogic arguments. It must be pointed out that such a thing happened when the speaker proposed for the communists a direct, open and honest analysis of the work for discussion. For example, regardless of the rather good report with profound analysis, the entire course of the Maryyskiy Rayon party conference confirmed the vitality of the old stereotypes apparent in the monotonous reading of the texts of the speeches from a sheet of paper and in which it was hard to seek out the answer to the main question of the agenda. What is the reason for this? I feel that it is difficult to answer this question in a single manner. There is no pat solution of how to increase the activeness of the party workers. Certainly this is daily, painstaking work not with the masses but rather with specific individuals and the complete abandoning of leadership from the offices.

In the last report-election campaign, the work of 25 party group organizers, 39 secretaries of shop party organizations and 41 primary organizations was judged unsatisfactory. Such an assessment, comrades, undoubtedly shows the strictness of the approach as well as the real state of affairs in these structural party units. Nevertheless, it would be valid to ask: what were the superior party committees engaged in, why had an evaluation of ineffectiveness not been given before and why do we

learn about much in the life of the party organizations after the fact? Does the root of all these problems lie solely in the leaders of the unsatisfactorily working party organizations or the corresponding party committees? I feel that it does not. The activities of one or another party organization depend largely upon the activeness of its specific members. And at present it is wise to say that in many party members vacillation has grown stronger and political inertia and passivity have not surrendered their positions. This has an extremely negative effect on the militance of the party organizations and on the authority of each CPSU member. Moreover, the permissiveness and indifference, if they are not promptly stopped, grow into something more, and they lead to violations of labor, state and party discipline and at times to an isolating of the party organizations from life.

Why has the question of the responsibility of the communists been posed so sharply? Because without a strict demand, without a check on execution and without the highest authority of each party member in the people it is difficult to count on success. Particularly now, under the conditions of restructuring, when the scale of the tasks confronting us has grown and the organization of production and all social life have become more complex.

At times, the opinion is heard that the Central Committee is too harsh with the ministers and a number of leaders. We feel that under the conditions of restructuring, objective exactingness is essential, particularly for those who have been entrusted with responsible positions. All the more if they do not work with proper responsibility. We will not lessen the demands placed on such cadres. What sort of condescension can it be if due to the fault of certain leaders, negative phenomena have survived in the republic? How much we can say that it is time to put trade in order. This is disorder when the store shelves are empty and the people are forced to pay triple the price to speculators for the most essential items.

The law enforcement bodies have reduced their activeness in combating all sorts of violations. Today you have read the decree published in the press of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro on this question. In Tashauz Oblast the police workers concealed over 100 crimes from the record. What sort of order in the internal affairs bodies can there be if the chief of the oblast UVD [Internal Affairs Administration], in holding this post for almost 3 years, has never visited the city police department?

It is fundamentally important for the Central Committee sections, the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and their inspection bodies to strengthen the struggle against inertia, bureaucracy and other phenomena alien to socialism, and place strict demands on any leader or any communist for the unconditional observance of the demands of the CPSU Bylaws, one's official duty and the standards of communist morality.

The Central Committee is seriously concerned by the fact that recently a number of labor collectives with the connivance of the party committees, in being deluded by an insignificant drop on the working time losses, shifted disciplinary questions to the background. As a result of this various sorts of violations and antisocial actions are again beginning to make themselves felt. Frequently communists are also amongst the violators and they, according to their party duty, should be in the vanguard of the nationwide struggle for exemplary order and discipline. Here are some data. Last year for various violations 1,165 persons were brought before the party and this included 347 communists leaders, among whom were 208 first secretaries. Here we must say directly that these leaders are working against restructuring and are doing irremediable harm. After such a phenomenon how can we persuade the rank-and-file members of the need for restructuring?

Does the punishment everywhere fit the crime, does it not depend upon the official position and former services? The reply here must be that the facts of a liberal approach to discussing infractions by party committees and primary party organizations still can be found. In 1988, the party committees strengthened 465 rulings of the inferior levels and half of these came from the party organizations of Mary and the former Ashkhabad Oblasts. Certain primary party organizations and party committees in their liberalism go so far as to leave in the party ranks persons who have committed criminally punishable crimes. Last year the party committees, only after intervention from the Central Committee, reviewed the personal files of 29 communists and of this number 21 were expelled under Article 12 of the CPSU Bylaws.

Here are the facts. The Vekil-Bazarskiy Party Raykom (T. Nurmuradov) left in the ranks of the CPSU some 14 middle-level leaders who were guilty of the theft of state funds in large amounts by padding. The Chardzhou Obkom left D. Baltayev in the party and who was responsible for permitting the escape of the arrested and twice-condemned A. Khudaykulov who subsequently maliciously murdered an instructor from this party committee, Kh.K. Rozybayeva. Unfortunately, such condescension has not been eradicated now.

There are also extremes of the reverse nature, when excessive hurry is shown in lifting reprimands. This applies fully to the Kirovskiy Raykom (K. Meredov) and the Proletarskiy Raykom (V.A. Solovyev) which were guilty of a superficial approach in settling these questions and at times a direct violation of the requirements of the CPSU Bylaws.

Also inadmissible are attempts by certain party committees and primarily the Chardzhouskiy, Deynauskiy and Kirovskiy Raykoms, the Cheleken and Bayram-Ali Gorkoms which remove the communist leaders from responsibility to the primary party organizations.

We must not forget the role of the primary party organizations in increasing the effectiveness of party reprimands and much was said about this in the course of the reports and elections. In many party organizations there still is no precise system of working with the communists and candidate members of the CPSU who have been held responsible to the party.

As a result of serious flaws in individual work with the communists and in their indoctrination, as a whole for the republic in 1988, 140 candidate members of the CPSU were expelled. This can also explain the trend for an increase in the number of communists expelled for isolation from the life of the party organization. All of this shows the need for a fundamental struggle against such shortcomings. Concern for the pure and honest appearance of the communists should in the future be the prime task of each party organization in the republic.

Comrades! We must constantly remember Lenin's words that the party has no more effective implement than its high organization and discipline. Before demanding efficiency and the elimination of laxness and mismanagement everywhere, we must instill order in our own party ranks and create an atmosphere of self-purification and mutual exactingness and responsibility for the right to bear the title of a communist.

Criticism and self-criticism play a special role in this matter. Do they correspond to the current increased criteria? An analysis shows that more than one-half of the critical comments voiced at the report and election party meetings concerned economic questions. Often the communists, not wanting to aggravate relations within a collective, prefer to remain silent, leaving "outside" the fundamental questions of internal party life.

Such a desire to reduce a party discussion to an economic or numerical basis fundamentally contradicts the idea of the 19th All-Union Party Conference to politicize the problems being solved. And this means that we must look at everything from party positions, through the prism of party work. For instance, the delegates of the rayon party conference learned about many economic problems from the report of the First Secretary of the Takhta-Bazarskiy Party Raykom, B. Chollukov. But how the party organizations were living, were they learning to act in the new manner, were words being backed up with deeds and was the authority of the party committee rising—the delegates did not hear anything about this and many other questions of internal party life.

Not all the speakers and reporters could give up the old approaches. Thus, the communists in the shop party organization of the grain raising brigade at the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin in Kizyl-Atrekskiy Rayon and the primary party organizations in the Ashkhabad Meat Canning Plant as well as the Petroleum Machine Building Plant

imeni 50 Letiye SSSR, the PMK-3 [mobile mechanization column] from the Khauzkhanremvodstroy [Khauz-Khan Water Management Construction] Trust as, incidentally, many others linked the overcoming of the arising difficulties to the expectation of ready-made solutions from above, and demanded increased attention to themselves from the various levels of leaders. Not enough specific criticism was directed to comrades at work. If in a party organization there are no principled relations and if the communists are engaged in talking about general questions, then one must not expect any real success from restructuring.

In the course of the reports and elections, many shortcomings became apparent in personnel work. Sometimes the party organization secretaries were elected not because of professional, moral and political qualities but rather by the principle of being less employed in the principle job. At individual report and election meetings there was a lax approach to assessing the activities of the elective collective bodies and their leaders.

Unfortunately, there were attempts to nullify the democratic nature of the elections, and to put certain "convenient" persons in the elected bodies. In particular, instances of violating the Instructions of the CPSU Central Committee "On Conducting Elections of Leading Party Bodies" were noted in the party organizations of the Oktyabr Kolkhoz in Kalininskiy Rayon and the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov in Takhta-Bazarskiy Rayon. The lists of candidates for the secret voting for the elections of the leading bodies in these party organizations were drawn up in Camera, without considering broad public opinion. In the course of the elections flagrant pressure was put on the communists. These instances were reviewed by the bureaus of the appropriate party committees, the results of the elections were canceled, new elections were conducted and those guilty of restricting democracy were strictly punished. At the same time, their existence reaffirmed that the forces of inhibition really exist and the opponents of restructuring use any opportunity for reinforcing their positions. Here is what we must eradicate in life.

In the course of the reports and elections, more complicated tasks confronted the party committees. The carrying out of the democratic principles of recruiting and promoting cadres is impossible without an ability to influence the situation and the mood in the party organizations. This should impel us to master the new forms and methods of work. As never before the high turnover of the secretaries and members of the collective bodies also requires, without slowing down but also without excessive bustle, help to the comrades who have been elected for the first time to responsible positions in mastering the fundamentals of party work. In this matter it is essential to activate all opportunities including from seminars in a party committee to personnel retraining courses under the Turkmen CP Central Committee.

We have resolved each month to receive at the Central Committee the first secretaries of the party raykoms for working talks with the bureau members and to examine various unsettled questions. This will also be a sort of study.

The restructuring of the political system the need for which was raised by the All-Union Party Conference and the strengthening of the party's role as the political vanguard require major changes in the style, methods and forms of the party's work. The report and election campaign showed that on this question, regardless of certain shifts, far from everything is going well. For example, in criticizing the style of the party workers, the delegate from the Bezmein City Party Conference, a worker from the reinforced concrete products plant A. Ivanenkov pointed out that the gorkom second secretary, A. Kanayev, in visiting the enterprise, was only interested in the course of fulfilling the plans, here giving a number of promises and not fulfilling them, while the gorkom secretary V. Bondarenko prefers an office style of work. At the meetings and conferences they said directly that a portion of the party workers and even the secretaries employs conservative methods, continues to assume administrative and dispatcher functions, replaces the soviets and endeavors to command the economic leaders. In declaring a decisive struggle against such flawed practices, we should proceed from Lenin's instructions that taking over for the party workers merely confuses them and corrupts the economic personnel.

I would like to come back to the question of the taking over of the functions of the economic bodies by the party committees. The party bodies should demand that the economic leaders fulfill the established plans and quotas but not dictate how this is to be done.

At virtually all the meetings and conferences the communists spoke about the presence of problems in a major area of party work, the forming of the party ranks. The tomorrow of the party depends upon what persons are now admitted to it. However, as was correctly pointed out by the participants of previous discussions, we have allowed substantial oversights on this question.

In giving up rigid control, many party committees and bureaus have run to the other extreme and have completely taken themselves out of this work. In 1988, 838 party organizations in industry, construction, transportation, communications, kolkhozes and sovkhoses were not involved at all in admitting members and this led to a deterioration in the quality of the republic party organization.

Yes, it is possible to argue that before persons were admitted to the party by order and rarely by a person's merits and according to questionnaire data, at present there is a process of self-purging and that while we may

be fewer in numbers we will be more united and so forth. All of that is the case. Nevertheless, we must not let the questions of admission to the party drift.

Each communist is responsible for the growth of the new party members and for the purity of its ranks. By all forms of political and organizational work it is essential to see to it, as the well-known Leninist thesis states, "...to raise the title and significance of a party member higher, higher and higher...." In this work we should strictly be guided by the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee on the Tashkent Oblast Party Organization and by the decisions of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Plenum on the given question.

Comrades! The report and election campaign of last year provided enormous material for conclusions and for working out measures making it possible to accelerate our advance. It is our duty to use them as a step by which we should move farther forward. And ahead of us is an equally crucial task, the elections of the people's deputies of the USSR. This is a major sociopolitical event.

The January (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee adopted a pre-election political platform for the party. This is set out in the Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee to the Party and to the Soviet People. This is a full-scale party program in the area of domestic and foreign policy for the period of the powers of the new superior authorities of the nation. It is essential that the party organizations, the ideological workers, the agitators and propagandists and the mass information media take an active part in the work of explaining and propagandizing this document.

The party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations must do everything possible toward democratizing the electoral process. It is important to correctly determine one's policy and tactics, to firmly carry them out and be in the vanguard of events. We must not allow the party organizations to end up in the role of the also-rans as happened in the city of Krasnovodsk in the last elections to the local soviets.

I feel that here there is no need to speak about the importance of the question of forming the deputy corps. It must be pointed out that this stage in the electoral campaign has been carried out in a situation of democracy and glasnost. The absence of any preset electoral lists and the discussion of several candidates and not just one, as was the case before, have had a particular influence on this.

As of today the putting up of candidates for people's deputies has ended for all of the 7 territorial and 32 national-territorial districts in the republic. Some 173 candidacies were discussed and 107 persons were put up as candidate deputies in meetings which were held in 128 labor collectives and at the place of residence of the

voters. They are the most active and authoritative persons possessing the necessary quality of independent thinking, they are predisposed for state activities and have the ability to defend the interests of the people in any situations.

As for the quality of the deputies, life itself has put everything in its place. Workers and kolkhoz members, representatives of the intelligentsia, party workers and women have gained proper representation among those put up.

A fundamental innovation in this electoral campaign is the electing of one-third of the USSR people's deputies from the public organizations. This is very important. The public organizations encompass virtually the entire population. Through them, as through the territorial and national-territorial formations, all categories of the Soviet people will be represented in the bodies of power.

Some 19 republic social organizations have submitted their proposals on the candidates for election to the people's deputies. They have proposed a total of 33 candidates. And all of this work has been carried out from below. For example, the proposals for the election of candidates as deputies from the CPSU have been reviewed in 2,448 primary party organizations in the republic, where 411 candidacies were discussed. After their discussion, on the level of the party gorkoms, raykoms and obkoms, 23 candidacies were submitted for review to the Turkmen CP Central Committee. After a thorough discussion of the proposals received from the party committees at an enlarged Central Committee Buro, a proposal was forwarded to the CPSU Central Committee for 3 candidacies and from which at the January (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee the drilling master from the Southern Turkmen Exploratory Drilling Administration of the Turkmenburgaz [Turkmen Gas Drilling] Trust under the Turkmengazprom [Turkmen Gas Industry] Production Association, Atabally Bapbayevich Shalyyev, was named the candidate for the USSR people's deputies by the CPSU. Of the other republic social organizations, another 11 candidates received support and were put up at sessions of their union bodies.

The electoral campaign is entering a new stage. Each day brings up many new, interesting questions and unusual

tasks. Serious organizational and political work by the party committees is needed for implementing these.

The leaders of all levels must spend more time in the labor collectives and meet with the people. We propose declaring February to be the month for meeting with the republic workers. Let the leaders talk with them, let them visit homes, schools, nurseries and hospitals and become better aware of the moods of the people and their urgent needs. This will be a very necessary and useful form of work on the eve of the elections.

Comrades! The past reports and elections evoked a significant political upsurge and activeness in the republic in the area of realizing the tasks of restructuring. At present it is clear that the communists and workers have accepted restructuring. And for this reason there is a great responsibility for all the party cadres in actuality to show its vital necessity in ensuring the republic's socioeconomic development, its accomplishments and enormous possibilities. At present it is important for each Central Committee member to realize that the people are expecting concrete and constructive actions and results and not merely an analysis and assessment of negative phenomena.

Efforts should be focused on eliminating these phenomena and not permit a transformation under a different name, in actually moving forward the enormous economic and spiritual potential of the republic.

The main thing is that in the course of the report and election campaign the communists realized that in carrying out all the forthcoming tasks of a revolutionary renewal, each communist and worker should in fact constantly affirm the clearness of his positions and show firmness in carrying out the party line.

Many new people have entered the leadership of the primary party organizations and party committees and they are capable of giving a new quality to party work and raising the militance of all levels from the party group to the party obkom, while the older cadres have gained experience. And this is the guarantee that the republic party organization will actively carry out the tasks posed by restructuring and by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

**Publication of Academy of Sciences, Education  
State Committee Weekly Planned**

18000464 Moscow *IZVESTIYA* in Russian  
12 Feb 89 p 6

[Text] Preparation has begun for the release of the first issues of the weekly **SCIENCE AND HIGHER EDUCATION** - an organ of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR State Committee on National Education, and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of National Education and Science Workers.

What gave rise to the necessity for a new publication? Recently, the statements of scientists in newspapers and magazines have been arousing a significant social response. In the process of renewal, which is coming into our lives not at all simply, we consider with special attention the opinion of economists, ecologists, sociologists, jurists, and representatives of the hard sciences. Secrecy in the taking of the most important decisions and disregard of the opinion of scientists costs the country dearly. The new publication will become a platform where leading scientists will be able to express opinion on the most important problems of the life of the country.

Scientists long dreamed of their own press organ. One may, for example, by way of illustration, suppose that if they had had the opportunity for broad public discussion, so many passions would not have boiled around the nomination of candidates for people's deputies from the Academy of Sciences. The weekly intends to give a great deal of attention to the problem of the democratization of life in scientific institutions and in higher education.

From the very first issues, the weekly will begin to regularly acquaint its readers with articles, statements, and letters of the most prominent Soviet scientists and teachers which were not published earlier.

The weekly will be published in eight type pages of half the format of the newspaper *PRAVDA* - this is the size of the popular publication *ARGUMENTY I FAKTY*. The editorial office of **SCIENCE AND HIGHER EDUCATION** will be located in Moscow. Bureaus will be organized in the country's largest scientific centers: Kiev, Minsk, Leningrad, Riga (Baltic republics), Alma-Ata (Central Asian region), Tbilisi (Transcaucasus), Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Gorkiy, and Vladivostok.

The initial circulation of the weekly **SCIENCE AND HIGHER EDUCATION** will be 250,000 copies. The index of the publication is 50095. Subscriptions for the year 1989 are being taken in all communication divisions until February 15. The first issue will be published in the second quarter of this year.

**Tajik Scholars Take Issue With London Journal  
Analysis of Soviet Muslim Status**

18300398 Dushanbe *KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA*  
in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by A. Mukhtarov, corresponding member of the TaSSR Academy of Sciences, L. Dodkhudoyeva, candidate of history: "Some Scientific Articles in Foreign Journals Must Be Read With a Grain of Salt"]

[Text] The number of publications in which the role of the national minorities confessing Islam in the social and political processes of various countries is analyzed is growing from day to day. Investigators here try to determine the degree of influence of this part of the population on the alignment of class and social forces and on the domestic and foreign policy of the individual states.

In 1976 the Institute for Affairs of Muslim Minorities was created in London—for the purpose of "the encouragement, support and expansion of the study and dissemination of knowledge about the conditions of the life of Muslim minorities" living in various regions of the world. A short time later, it began to publish a journal with publications devoted to research in the sphere of the politics, economics, education, history, literature and sociology of Muslim minorities throughout the world. It should be acknowledged that the selection of the material in the journal is, indeed, impressive in terms of the breadth and the geography of the publications. In its pages, the position of the Muslim minority in Yugoslavia and China, India and Greece is analyzed—today and in the remote Middle Ages. Great attention is being devoted to the survey of literature on a given subject matter, and there is also brief, effective information on current questions.

In the pages of the journal one also finds articles devoted to the life of Muslims in the Soviet Union. As a rule, they are written by foreign authors, and it was so much more pleasant to encounter in one of the journals the article of the well-known Soviet ethnographer V. N. Basilov "National [narodnyye] Forms of Islam in Central Asia and Kazakhstan." In it there is a splendid knowledge of the folklore of the Central Asian peoples, their customs and superstitions. There is even a unique description of the "zikr" [Arab: shirk(?) = idolatry] rite, which is performed in the Central Asian milieu, where elements of sufism and shamanism were whimsically interlaced.

The article of V. N. Basilov is prefaced with an introduction by the editor-in-chief Sa'ud Z. Abedin (Saudi Arabia). Welcoming the appearance of the first study of a Soviet scholar, S. Z. Abedin notes that "this gives readers of the journal the opportunity to look at questions of the life of Muslim peoples, as it were, from within. Soviet Muslims have been the object of special attention by the journal from the moment of its establishment," the author of the introduction writes, "but the greater part of the publications that have appeared in

its pages has been the result of, even if remote from the subject, nevertheless highly professional and purposeful efforts of scholars examining these questions from the side. In spite of the efforts expended, such publications rarely met with an echo or hint at acknowledgement or corroboration."

The last issue of the journal sent from London (No 1 for 1988) published the article of Mukhammed M. A. Khan "Muslim Minorities in the Soviet Union. Facts and Invention." A very promising title, as we see. What does the reader, who wanted to distinguish reality from invention, find out from this article? Let us leaf through the pages of this investigation.

The article opens with complaints about the difficulty of the selection of precise date about the number of Muslims in the Soviet Union, since, in the opinion of the author, "... religious membership is stated neither in the passport, nor in the any other document. . . . Until 1917 the nationality of a citizen was noted in the passport, but at the present time "Soviet"(?! ) is written in the column "nationality"."

Not bothering to troubling himself with citations to the source of the information, the author proceeds with a short description of the events that led Muslim Turkestan into the sphere of interests of czarist Russia—with the same "competence" and author's responsibility.

A survey of the data of the last census of the population of Russia (1897) is made, which included information about the religious membership of citizens. At that time the figure of 16 million Muslims was given, which came to about 12.8 percent of the total population of the population of the country. In the opinion of the investigator, the only possibility of studying the demographic processes transpiring in the midst of the Muslims of the Soviet Union is the analysis of data for every individual region or republic with their subsequent generalization.

The author constructed the material with regard to three factors: The contribution of the republic to the all-union economy, its area, and the numerical size of the population. A part of the investigation, which is supplied with a dozen tables, contains the parts "Uzbekistan" and "Tajikistan." Let us get acquainted with them.

Let us say at once: Very appreciable is the difference in the volumes of information, which the author had at his disposal about the two republics. The part "Uzbekistan" includes not only tables, but also a summary of historical data. Here we find a mention of the czarist general Chernayev, whose activity with respect to the Muslims of Turkestan the author compares with the policy of Napoleon in Egypt. Emphasizing the acuteness of the inter-national conflicts that flare up at times, M. M. A. Khan recalls the events of 1964, known in the foreign literature under the name of "Pakhtakor." The author is quite surprised by the fact that "the most friendly relations developed among the Uzbeks with the

Tajiks"(!), that marriages between the representatives of these two peoples are frequent here. What is more, in general the presence of Tajiks in Samarkand and Bukhara, the wide dissemination of the Tajik language here—all this calls forth open perplexity in the investigator.

The historical part of "Tajikistan" is extremely short, but impressive one. "In spite of the ethnic differences, Tajikistan shared with Uzbekistan the historical fate since the 6th century. The Tajik people accepted Islam in the middle of the 7th century and at the beginning of the 8th century took shape as a separate Muslim people. As a small people, it did not play an important role in the development of the history of Central Asia."

How is that? The abundance of terminological, historical and semantic errors in this citation is indicative of the kind of incompetence of the author which does not leave any desire to engage in polemics with him. Indeed, if for an investigator such concepts as "Tajiks" and "Tajikistan", "Uzbeks" "Turki", and "Uzbekistan" are identical—what do you say here, you perhaps make a helpless gesture in bewilderment. What is striking is the ease with which the author determines the role of the people in history in accordance with its numerical size. Apparently, he does not have at his disposal, what is more he cannot have at his disposal data on the Tajik population in various stages of the development of the region, but the data which he cites for today—2 million Tajiks outside the boundaries of the USSR—are so remote from reality. According to the most modest calculations, about 6 million Tajiks live in Afghanistan alone.

The author did not consider it necessary to explain the phrase belonging to the well-known woman investigator Sh. Akiner, according to whose conception rulers of Turki origin came to power after the Samanids. But in so doing, the question is omitted about the culture of which people remained dominant in the presence of the "kaleidoscope of changes" of the politics in this region. An enormous number of studies, both of Soviet and foreign investigators, has been written on this question. We will cite only one fact. When the enlightened Turki Makhmud Kashgarskiy in the 11th century proceeded with the creation of the first book in the Turki language, he noted in the foreword to it: "The Turki must have their own books, you see the Arabs and Tajiks have many books."

In this phrase is reflected, on the one hand, the recognition of the significance of the cultural-historical mission of the Tajik people, on the other—the understanding of the fact that it proved to be easier for the Turki to seize, and then to retain, power, and to fortify it with the corresponding level of their own culture. For the sake of fairness it should be said that this situation remained for centuries.

M. M. A. Khan frequently points to the absence of statistical data and the small number of special studies of Soviet investigators. This is true, and we will talk about

this. However, it is logical to expect in that case a more intent look, by the author, at the small number of Soviet sources that do exist. But here, too, disappointment awaits us. The tables, according to the assertion of the author, were put together from the materials of two Soviet books: V. I. Kozlov, "Natsionalnosti SSSR. Etnodemograficheskiy obzor" [The Nationalities of the USSR. Ethno-Demographic Survey], 2nd ed., Moscow, 1982, and "Sovetskaya demografiya za 70 let. From the History of Science" [Soviet Demography: 70 Years], collection of articles edited by T. B. Ryabushkin, Moscow, 1987. There are even citations to individual pages, but it is not necessary to uselessly lose time to become convinced: [They are] faked citations. Moreover, in one of the books mentioned there not data at all on the problem touched on, and the data from the other were subjected in a number of cases to a sort of insignificant "corrections," but "corrections" nevertheless!

Several times the author inquires: "Can one have confidence in the data of the censuses conducted in the USSR?" So I would like to put a counter-question to him: "Can one have confidence in the sources which supplied him with the following information: "In Ordzhonikidzeabad the first results of the campaign for family planning being conducted by the Soviet leadership are present. Here, in the Muslim milieu, there has been a decrease in the birth rate."

But here is what provides the key to the understanding of such, to put it mildly, author's license. In one of the early issues of the journal, the editorial board announced that it does not bear responsibility for the authenticity of the facts and the point of view of the authors. But how is it with the above-cited assertion of S. Z. Abedin about the high competence and single-mindedness of the investigators studying the problems of the life of the Muslim minorities in the USSR?! Does this very single-mindedness not prevail too much over the elementary honesty of the scholar! You see, how awkward for a printed organ of

a reputable institute, whose activity is aimed at "the encouragement and dissemination of knowledge about the Muslim minorities."

In a different way one can treat the article of M. M. A. Khan, where the invention pleasing to the author obviously squeezes the facts. One can be angry at an ordinary anti-Soviet publication, and one can not recall it—what to take from an incompetent specialist! But there is also another nuance in this question. For the representatives of the national minorities which live in the 49 countries where this journal is distributed (and for us and for you, dear reader!), it is not without interest to know about the real situation of the national minorities in the Soviet Union. The demand for such materials has always been great, but lately—especially so. This is what foreign mass media organs, filling, incidentally, the vacuum which has been created by the passivity of the social scientists of the union republics. We have few, insignificantly few, studies on the most topical problems, and those which appear occasionally cannot lay claim to the broad illumination of such important questions.

A reliable brake in the appearance of serious analytical studies is the absence of open access of the investigators to archive material. Someone, voluntarily or not, promotes the appearance of false articles, investigations and books, written for momentary advantage, for "the demand of the day." Not having changed such an attitude to the social sciences, not having realized their significance to the end in the correction of many complex phenomena of our public life, we thus leave to dubious, foreign mass media the initiative in the study and prediction of the most important processes for our society.

Now we, the citizens of a multinational state, as never before, need serious, honest research on national minorities, inter-national relations, and their cultural mutual influence, research that is written with regard to reliable historical data. We need scientific studies in which facts will be separated from invention with a high level of competence.

**Estonian Historian on 1920 Tartu Treaty, Soviet Annexation**

18000614 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian  
2 Feb 89 p 1

[ETA report: "69 Years Ago Today"]

[Text] Edgar Mattizen's book "The Peace of Tartu" (published in the Estonian language) became one of the best sellers in historical literature last year. Inasmuch as a reader who does not know Estonian, for the time being, does not have an opportunity to become acquainted with it, we have asked Professor E. Mattizen, on the eve of the anniversary of the signing in Tartu of the peace treaty between the Estonian Republic and Soviet Russia, to give a brief summary.

The size of the summary does not permit me to tell in detail about the complicated history of the peace treaty concluded at midnight on 2 February, 1920, in Tartu, of the reasons which led to it and even about the specific contents of the treaty and its enormous significance for Estonia, Soviet Russia and for international relations as a whole.

I will begin with the fact that the Estonian people expressed their own approval of the treaty signed in Tartu through the thousands of people who gathered on the cold evening of 2 February of that long-ago year at the Baltic train station in Tallinn to greet the train from Tartu carrying the delegation which participated in the peace talks. When the diplomats appeared, all those present uncovered their heads. There followed a brief greeting by Prime Minister Ya. Tynisson in which a high appraisal of the concluded peace was given. When the head of Estonia's delegation, Ya. Poska came onto the platform next to the station, a storm of enthusiasm broke out. And, it must be said, there were reasons for rejoicing.

The second article of the treaty declared that, starting with the right proclaimed by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic of all peoples to free self-determination, right up to separation from the state of which they are a part, Russia freely recognizes the sovereignty and independence of the Estonian state, voluntarily and forever renouncing all the sovereign rights which Russia possessed with regard to the people and territory of Estonia based on the effective state law and international agreements which, in the sense indicated in the treaty, become invalid for the future.

The people and land of Estonia will not incur any obligations with respect to Russia because of affiliation with the former Russian state.

The decisive significance of this historical act for the international status of the Estonian Republic was given high marks by the majority of Estonia's political figures. Ed. Laaman emphasized that Estonia received from

Soviet Russia "its own first and most important recognition." V. Tomingas, who was the secretary of the Estonian delegation to the Tartu Peace Conference, noted in his own memoirs, which were published in 1970 in Toronto: "The Tartu Peace Treaty, the most important of the international treaties concluded by Estonia, contains an article which laid the legal foundation for the existence of Estonian statehood." Ya. Poska considered the Peace of Tartu to be the most important event in the history of the Estonian people in 700 years. Indeed, our small, long-suffering Estonian people, for the first time, entered the world arena and Estonia, after its de jure recognition over the course of a couple of years by other countries and the League of Nations, was placed on maps of the world and on globes. All this signified a big step forward for the Estonian people and the development of its statehood, culture, education, language, political and social institutes, economic system, national self-consciousness and international relations.

For the Estonian Republic, the Peace of Tartu signified, first of all, an exit out of an extremely difficult war, which, after the abolition of the Estland Labor Commune, was being conducted primarily on behalf of foreign interests, the interests of the West's imperialists and the Russian White Guards, and from which it was primarily the workers who suffered. One year in the Entente camp cost Estonia 10 million pounds sterling or 179 million crowns, which was approximately equal to the biennial state budget. Although the war as of May, 1919, was conducted basically on behalf of the interests of the Entente's imperialists and the Russian White Guards, all the bills for arms and munitions were presented to Estonia.

In the name of peace, the Soviet government offered Estonia all possible advantages and privileges (timber and railroad concessions, a trade agreement based on the principle of the most favorable situation, the development of transit trade and so on). The 15 million gold rubles received from Soviet Russia under the terms of the peace treaty provided for the first time gold backing for the paper money in circulation in Estonia. Received free of charge were shares of firms located in Estonia, which formerly belonged to the banks of the Russian Empire. This was the same fate which also befell everything else of value in Estonia, the buildings, the fortifications and the ports which belonged to the Tsarist state, and the ships which turned out to be in Estonian territorial waters at the beginning of the German occupation, which came there during the occupation or which were seized in the course of subsequent combat operations by the armed forces of Estonia or other states.

Estonia was freed from any kind of responsibility for domestic and foreign loans and other promissory notes of Russia. The RSFSR pledged to return to Estonia valuables evacuated from there during the First World War, including libraries, archives, school supplies from Tartu University and other educational, scientific, government and social organizations located in the territory

of Estonia, as well as documents and objects important for Estonia in the scientific or historical sense. V. I. Lenin personally ordered the speediest return of the library and other property of the Tartu University. He reprimanded People's Commissar A. V. Lunacharskiy for procrastination in carrying out the Politburo's corresponding decision. But, as is well known, the Voronezh State University and the USSR State Committee for Education, up to this very day, are dragging their feet about returning the Tartu University's property, which is causing the justified displeasure of the public.

The treaty presented great opportunities for barter with Soviet Russia, but Estonia's ruling bourgeois circles took advantage of them only partially. Nevertheless, Soviet Russia's share of Estonian exports increased in 1921 to 28.6 percent. Soviet transit trade also played an important role. Just in the last half of 1920, the Soviet trade delegation in Estonia concluded with foreign firms (partially through Estonian firms) agreements and deals for 30 million gold rubles. Of all the goods which arrived in Soviet Russia from abroad in 1920, 76 percent was delivered to it through the "Estonian window" and, in the first six months of 1921, this index increased to 83 percent. Of eight states with which Soviet Russia concluded basic import deals, in second place behind England came Estonia (the total amount of the purchases came to 67,318,326 and 55,268,755 gold rubles respectively).

The Peace of Tartu signified the first breach of the ring of the anti-Soviet intervention and blockade. Article 7 of the peace treaty established a guarantee of mutual security. Prohibited on the territory of both states was the existence of troops, groups and organizations hostile with regards to the other treaty party. Estonia's government pledged to eliminate completely Yudenich's Northwestern Army. Also destined to be eliminated was a division of Estonian riflemen as an Estonian national unit of the Red Army, which was thus done in April of 1920. In accordance with the peace treaty, the English naval squadron and combat ships of the allies were supposed to leave Estonia's territorial waters without delay.

Thanks to the Peace of Tartu, the plans of the Russian White Guards, the German militarists and the Entente's politicians, who counted on turning Estonia into a province of a "united and indivisible" White Guard Russia or a German, English or American colonial possession, were ruined once and for all.

The Peace of Tartu was concluded on an equitable basis through a compromise which satisfied the interests of both sides. Naturally, the significance of the treaty for Estonia must be evaluated in integral unity with its significance for the Land of the Soviets and the international situation. Indeed, in the specific situation of that

time, the future of the Estonian people and its statehood depended primarily on the consolidation of Soviet power in Russia and the stabilization of its domestic and foreign situations.

The Tartu Peace Treaty was, with respect to the parties which concluded it, the basic state and legal act over the course of the entire time of the existence of the Estonian Republic. The peace treaty was registered by the League of Nations and published by it in the series of treaties "XI 50-57." All the agreements concluded between the USSR and the Estonian Republic, including the trade agreement of 1929, the treaty concluded on 4 May, 1932, on non-aggression and the peaceful resolution of disputes, and the so-called Moscow Protocol of 1934, by which the referenced treaty was extended until 31 December, 1945, were subsequently based on the Tartu Peace Treaty. Also based in fact on the spirit and the letter of the Tartu Peace Treaty was the pact concluded under pressure by the USSR on 28 September, 1939, with Estonia regarding mutual assistance, as well as a new trade agreement. However, as is now generally known (only official Moscow is being silent for the time being), on 23 August, 1939, a pact was drawn up by Molotov and Ribbentrop between Stalin and Hitler, according to which a division of spheres of influence between its parties in the years 1939-1940 was made. Many of the foreign policy and military actions taken by the USSR in the years 1939-1940 with respect to the Estonian Republic were a gross violation of the Tartu treaty. With the occupation of Estonia in the second half of June, 1940, and the incorporation of Estonia into the USSR, which was made official on 6 August, 1940, at the request of the State Duma of Estonia, which had been undemocratically elected in July of that same year, the Tartu Peace Treaty formally became invalid. However, neither side officially recognized it as annulled.

Grossly violated was the tenth article of the Tartu Peace Treaty in connection with all the different sorts of repressions of Stalinism against the citizens of the Estonian Republic. It was stated clearly in the first part of this article that, simultaneously with the repatriation of prisoners of war and interned civilians, the contracting parties would relieve them of the punishment imposed on them by the court for crimes on behalf of the other side, as well as any disciplinary responsibility.

The lively interest of the public in the Peace of Tartu in recent years in both Estonia and other regions of the Soviet Union, as well as abroad, is constantly growing. And this is understandable. Indeed, the Peace of Tartu opened up a new stage in international relations, having laid, in fact, the foundation for the era of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. It is for this reason alone that the political, social, legal and ethical significance of the Peace of Tartu is permanent.

**Additional Details on Assassination of Kirov**  
*18300334 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian*  
*No 6, 11-17 Feb 89 p 5*

[Article by V. Lordkipanidze: "The Assassination of Kirov. Certain Details"]

[Text] The NKVD [People's Commissariat on Internal Affairs] organs in Leningrad after 1930 were headed up by the well-known chekist [ChK (Extraordinary Commission for Combatting Counterrevolution and Sabotage) official] F. D. Medved. His first deputy was Karpov. In 1934 Karpov was called back from Leningrad, and I. Zaporozhets was appointed in his place (without consulting Kirov and Medved on this matter). Prior to this, Zaporozhets had worked in the central apparatus of the NKVD. He occupied a key management post, since he was in charge of questions of state security. F. Medved tried to protest against this appointment and complained to Kirov. The latter consulted the secretary general, but Stalin did not accept the protests.

In the last days of November 1934, I. Zaporozhets was performing the duties of administration chief. Then, suddenly he took a leave of absence for 5 days due to family obligations without filing an application with the NKVD. However, he received personal permission by telephone from People's Commissar G. Yagoda, and left Leningrad. The duties of chief passed to his second deputy F. T. Fomin, who was in charge of border and internal security.

#### How It Was

On that day, 1 December 1934, Fedor Timofeyevich Fomin, as usual, was working in his office. At about 1600 hours he was informed by telephone from Smolnyy about the attempt on S. M. Kirov's life. Taking a few associates with him, F. T. Fomin immediately set out for the party obkom.

S. M. Kirov was killed at close range by a shot to the back of the head on the landing of a third story staircase. His bodyguard had lagged somewhat behind, and Kirov was alone on the landing, where L. Nikolayev was waiting for him.

After the attack, Nikolayev tried to commit suicide, but the pistol misfired. The bodyguards, who by this time had rushed in, easily grabbed the murderer, since he was in a state of shock, in convulsions, and vomiting.

When he arrived at the scene, Fomin had to first of all beat Nikolayev away from the angered obkom workers, who were trying to tear him apart. Nikolayev was searched at the scene (aside from the pistol, he had a black briefcase containing some papers) and taken in an incoherent state to the NKVD medical section.

No sooner did Fomin return to his office than he received a call from G. Yagoda. Having listened to the

report, he asked what Nikolayev was wearing and whether there were any items of foreign origin found in his possession.

After about an hour there was another telephone call from Moscow. It was Stalin himself on the line. After hearing the report, he also asked: How was Nikolayev dressed, what kind of cap was he wearing, and did he have any foreign items on him? Having received a negative response to the latter question, Stalin hung up after a long pause. Later, analyzing the situation of that day, F. T. Fomin came to the conclusion that perhaps something had been left out in preparing the case in Leningrad.

#### A Man With a Gun

Three hours after the crime in Smolnyy, the chief physician of the medical section was able with some difficulty to bring the killer to his senses, and he was taken away for interrogation. By that time, Fedor Timofeyevich had had a chance to question a number of the administration associates and look through the diary and other papers which were in Nikolayev's briefcase. From the diary, which was written in a nervous hand, it became clear that he had several times tried to get an appointment with Sergey Mironovich. The secretary refused, but promised to forward the application to Kirov personally.

Aside from the diary, the briefcase also contained a map of Leningrad with the designated route along which Sergey Mironovich often walked from Smolnyy to his home on Kamennooostrovskiy Prospekt. In this case the guards usually followed along in a car, while Kirov was accompanied on the street by two associates. One walked behind him, and the other in front. They noticed that Kirov was being followed by a suspicious-looking man. Nikolayev was detained by the militia at the walkway to the house and taken to the NKVD.

A search revealed a loaded pistol in his briefcase and the above-mentioned map. However, by order of I. Zaporozhets, Nikolayev was released with the pistol.

At the interrogation, Fomin was faced with a thin, poorly dressed, degenerative-looking man of about 35 (according to the documents he was 30). He had been a party member since 1920, worked at the food supply detachments, then on the railroad, and since 1930 as RKI [Worker-Peasant Inspection] instructor. He had completed evening sessions of party school. He was excluded from the party for his refusal to go to the labor front, and then reinstated by a directive from Moscow. At the present time he was unemployed.

He answered the questions incoherently, became confused, fell into hysterics, and repeated several times that his shot had been heard around the world. He refused to give a reason for the murder. He confirmed his notes in the diary. He had "stalked" Kirov for a long time. Recently he was on the platform of the Moscow train station during the arrival of the "Krasnaya Strela" [Red

Arrow], on which Kirov had returned from the Central Committee Plenum in Moscow. Kirov was walking along the platform surrounded by associates of the obkom and the NKVD. It was impossible to get close to him. After this he again tried to get an audience with him, and was again refused.

Nikolayev's wife and mother were also questioned. During a search of their apartments, each one was found to possess 5000 rubles.

Nikolayev's wife, Milda Draula, a Latvian by nationality, worked in the dining hall in Smolnyy. They lived in their own apartment, and at one time had rented a dacha [summer resort cottage] in Sestroretsk.

Further investigation was suspended, since the report was received that a special train carrying members of the VKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)] Central Committee Politburo was approaching Leningrad. Everyone went to meet it.

Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Zhdanov, as well as Yezhov, Vysynskiy and others arrived in Leningrad. Stalin was the first to get off the train, and did not greet anyone. He slapped F. Medved in the face and silently listened to Fomin's brief report. Standing next to him "at attention" was G. Yagoda. Then Stalin asked where Kirov's body was. They went to Smolnyy.

#### Stalin Himself Conducted the Interrogation

F. T. Fomin was immediately removed from the investigation. He was appointed chief of staff for maintaining revolutionary order in the city.

Stalin decided to take up the matter of clarifying the circumstances of Kirov's assassination himself. Nikolayev, his wife and mother were brought to Smolnyy. Stalin interrogated them in order. Then Stalin demanded that Kirov's bodyguards, who were under arrest at the NKVD administration, be brought in. Time passed, but the bodyguards did not arrive.

Later it turned out that their car had been in an accident, and as a result Borisov and two other of Kirov's bodyguards were killed.

Stalin, evidently, got tired of waiting. He went out into the waiting room and, turning to those present, said: "Nikolayev must be physically supported. Buy some chickens and fruit. Feed him, make him better, and he will tell all. To me it is quite clear that there is a well organized counter-revolutionary terrorist organization operating in Leningrad, and that Kirov's assassination is the work of its hand. We must investigate everything thoroughly" (testimony of F. Fomin). Thus, Stalin predetermined the results of the subsequent investigation and the repressions which followed.

In late December 1934-January 1935, the case was reviewed in closed proceedings in Leningrad. V. Ulrikh presided. A. Vyshinskiy was the prosecutor.

The main "witness" was L. Nikolayev, who was "treated" every day and promised that if he gave the necessary testimony his life would be spared and he would be released in 2-3 years. It was determined that the assassination of S. M. Kirov was organized by the "Leningrad terrorist Trotskyite-Zinoviyev center".

L. Nikolayev and those whom he accused were immediately executed after the proceedings.

F. Medved, I. Zaporozhets, F. Fomin and other officials of the Leningrad NKVD were arrested in 1935 and accused of criminal negligence. They were exiled to Siberia for 3 years. In 1937-1938, new charges were levelled against them. Medved was executed in 1937, and Zaporozhets—in 1938.

In 1938, F. T. Fomin was accused of making an attempt on the lives of the Politburo members during their visit to Leningrad on 2 December 1934, but his life was spared. In 1937 a group of young NKVD associates was executed in Leningrad in connection with the Kirov case. Neither by their age, nor by the positions which they occupied, could they have been a party to the events of 1934.

Many NKVD workers knew of the danger menacing Kirov. My father, T. I. Lordkipanidze, who knew Kirov and greatly respected him, was also well aware of the situation. In the fall of 1934 my father tried to get an appointment to Leningrad, but received no support. All the changes in staffing in the NKVD management sector pursued the goal of placing Stalin's followers at the head of the central apparatus and at the local sites.

The version of I. Stalin's involvement in S. Kirov's assassination is rather credible, although it has no documental confirmation. However, there is no doubt that this assassination was used by I. Stalin to deal with those officials of the party and the state who were objectionable to him.

#### Opposing Views of Stalin's Repressions

##### War Veteran Defends Stalin

18300392a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
22 Jan 89 p 3

[Letter from A. Kerbalayev, veteran of war and labor, deputy of the Narimanov City Soviet and member of the CPSU with 40 years of service: "One Should Not Slander!"]

[Text] To the editor:

I read in your newspaper the article "Personality in History" and I want to ask you some questions:

1. Who gave you the right to judge the actions of I. V. Stalin, who, without a "recipe" for the building of the

new society, built socialism and protected it against enemies?

2. What have the authors of the article on Stalin personally done for the building of socialism in our country?

3. Could Stalin alone have repressed hundreds of thousands of people or was this done by underlings?

4. What kind of inheritance did Stalin receive? Revolution, civil war, intervention, internal and external enemies, White Guards, kulaks and other scum. Perhaps you routed them? Over a brief period of time, he did more than anyone has done in the 35 years since his death.

During his lifetime, were there not international strife, counterrevolutionary organizations like "Pamyat" and such shameful facts as when thugs with swastikas on their sleeves slaughtered participants in the Great Patriotic War? He would have shot them and rightly so!

We will not allow anyone to loosen the foundations of the socialism which the Soviet people, well or poorly, built under Stalin's leadership. N. S. Khrushchev said that, by God, everyone should be the kind of revolutionary and Leninist that Stalin was.

Instead of beating up on Stalin, would we not do better to think about:

1. How to provide the people with meat, butter, sausage and other products?

2. How to reduce prices, as Stalin did, beginning in 1953?

3. Engaging in less demagoguery?

4. And, in general, what kind of audience you were counting on when you publish your articles?

You have agitated all the people and the young people and now people do not know whom to believe in. You have begun to smear Molotov, Zhdanov, Kaganovich, Mikoyan, Kirov—what were they, if not helpers? And who are you to be judges over them? We still do not know whether or not we would have overcome fascism if there had not been a Stalin.

And whatever someone suffered in the struggle for power was, probably, necessary. Let us not fight for portfolios, rather, let us think about the people. Stalin himself did not think about personal gain, like some people. He was born in a field shirt and in a field shirt he died. Think more about what your writings about Stalin could lead to. One should not slander everything.

### UzSSR Procurator Responds

18300392a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
5 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by A. Zhukov, supervisor of the Uzbek SSR Procuracy's group for examination and review of files, in answer to A. Kerbalayev's letter in PRAVDA VOSTOKA on 22 Jan 89: "We Will Not Forget the Victims"]

[Text] I read in PRAVDA VOSTOKA the irate letter from the veteran of war and labor, A. Kerbalayev, "One Should Not Slander!" (22 January, 1989). And it was difficult to refrain from answering it. Although the author's positions do not agree with mine to a large extent and, in fact, are directly the opposite of mine, the citizen's pain over everything which has occurred in the country can be felt in Kerbalayev's letter. But now to the essence.

It is a fact that we do not know much about what might have been "if there had not been a Stalin." On the other hand, we already know a lot about what Stalin led us to. And against the background of everything which is known to us, how can one not take exception to A. Kerbalayev's words "And whatever someone suffered in the struggle for power was, probably, necessary. Let us not fight for writings, rather, let us think about the people." In all probability, the "black harvest" which occurred throughout the country did not touch Kerbalayev himself in any way. Therefore, he can not or does not want to understand that those years crushed and squashed millions of human lives. Spirits were maimed, otherwise, where would his assertion come from that "someone suffered?"

I would like to ask Kerbalayev a number of questions. Is it known to him that, first of all, millions of people who were extremely distant from the struggle for portfolios and power and who did not even think about this suffered?

For several months now, a group of associates from the republic's procuracy, which I am heading up, has been engaged in work associated with the exoneration of persons unjustifiably subjected to repression in the '30's and '40's and the beginning of the '50's. One's heart bleeds when you read the archival files. Behind each of them are shattered human lives. Who were they, these "enemies of the people?"

Let us open up some of the files.

Here is the file on the accusation against Murat Mavlyankulov, born 1867, a native of the kishlak [village] of Mirakul, Samarkand Oblast, and Sergey Nikolayevich Filippov, born 1895. Both worked as loaders at the Kokand Oil Mill No 2. The decree of the "troyka" of 24

December, 1930, made them "enemies of the people" and they were jailed. All their "guilt" was manifested in the fact that they had a personal opinion about what was happening at the mill, spoke out openly about the shortcomings and the inequity between their wages and their work, demanded that the loaders be supplied with overalls and that their food be improved. And they were reputed to be "enemies and sharply pronounced anti-Soviet types." In connection with this, Mavlyankulov was fired from the plant "on the demand of the all-plant meeting." And when Filippov spoke up for Mavlyankulov, they were both accused of anti-Soviet activities.

On 9 January, 1989, Mavlyankulov and Filippov were exonerated by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court and the file regarding them was closed out due to the lack of proof of a crime.

And here is yet another by no means "exceptional" file—regarding the accusation against Bobomurad Vakhidov, born 1875, a dekhkanin [peasant] from the Bukhara Oblast. Just what did this plowman do? Being uneducated, as a peasant, he considered it impossible to sow all the land with cotton and that it was necessary to sow wheat as well so that the peasants would not go hungry; he maintained that the purchase prices for the cotton were low. These statements of his were considered to be anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation. And when Vakhidov could not gather and sell the cotton by the specified time, he was also accused of sabotage and declared a "counterrevolutionary."

Such example are numerous.

In the years 1929-1931, lots of peasants were subjected to repression, who, in a compulsory order, were forced to sow all the land under cultivation with cotton, to the detriment of other agricultural crops. The opposition to these demands, reminders that foodstuffs and fodder are no less necessary for the state, led to repressive measures. Ordinary workers, the majority of whom had little or no formal education, were innocent victims. Entered onto the extensive lists of "enemies of the people" were representatives of all layers of the populace, who had nothing to do "with the struggle for power." But, according to Kerbalayev's assertion, this "was, probably, necessary."

I think the innocent victims would not agree with Kerbalayev's letter.

M. I. Ilyasova, a former teacher at the Tashkent Foreign Language Teachers Institute, unjustifiably convicted in 1951 for anti-Soviet agitation and sentenced by the Tashkent Oblast Court to 10 years in prison, with subsequent loss of voting rights for a period of 5 years, would not accept your arguments. She was convicted on the basis of a forced confession. In the file, of course,

there is no information about how these "admissions" were obtained from Ilyasova. But how this occurred is well known by many people who themselves experienced "Stalinist Socialism."

Neither workers nor scientists nor plowmen nor servicemen were spared. Yet, it is possible to agree with Kerbalayev that, during those years, members of organizations like "Pamyat" would have been shot immediately. Along with all other people who think differently.

I am not defending the hooligan elements from Pamyat. But it is impossible to oppose lawlessness with even more monstrous lawlessness. We are reminded about what this leads to by every letter received by us from a repressed person or his relatives. These are bitter, tragic, unburdening letters, in which they are requesting that their good names be restored at least before their deaths. And in the name of this, we have the right to be judges over Stalin and his circle of cronies.

#### **Political Career, Repression of UkSSR Chief Rakovskiy Described**

*18000589 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
15 Jan 89 p 2*

[Article under the "Truth of History" rubric by V. Melnichenko, doctor of historical sciences: "The Zenith: Towards a Political Biography of Kh.G. Rakovskiy"]

[Text] On 20 September of last year a scholarly session devoted to the 115th Anniversary of Kh.G. Rakovskiy's date of birth took place in Sofia. The session was organized by the Bulgarian Communist Party History Institute under the Bulgarian CP Central Committee, the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Administration under the Bulgarian CP Central Committee, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and the Union of Bulgarian Journalists. Taking part in the session were Kh.G. Rakovskiy's granddaughter, Liliana Gevrenova, and his nephew, Khristian Valerianovich Rakovskiy. The career of this renowned son of the Bulgarian people, prominent figure in the Romanian Social-Democratic movement, first chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars, professional revolutionary, and Soviet diplomat was at the center of the scholars' attention. Reports were delivered by the Bulgarian scholars Zh. Damyanova, A. Vekov, P. Atanasova, P. Boev, F. Panyotov (the author of a book about Kh.G. Rakovskiy which was published in 1988), the Moscow researchers R. Karpova and A. Latyshev. Also taking part in the session was Doctor of Political Sciences V. Melnichenko, deputy director of the Party History Institute under the Ukrainian CP Central Committee. Today we are publishing excerpts from his report entitled "Chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars," which was delivered at this session.

On 24 January 1919 Khristian Georgiyevich Rakovskiy became Chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Government (which became the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars on 29 January). This was the zenith of his political biography. As the head of government of the largest Soviet republic after the RSFSR, he was drawn into the orbit of those fateful [destiny-laden] questions which were being decided by V.I. Lenin and the Russian CP(b) Central Committee.

But just how did it happen that Rakovskiy, a son of the Bulgarian people and a leading figure in the Romanian Social-Democratic movement, came to head up the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars?

In January 1919 a difficult situation evolved in the Ukrainian Soviet government, a situation which its leaders themselves termed the "chairmanship crisis." What we are talking about is the fact that a majority on the Ukrainian CP(b) Central Committee and in the government had spoken out against G.L. Pyatakov remaining in the post of chairman, but they could not reach a unified opinion on who the new candidate should be. Then, evidently, the idea surfaced of requesting V.I. Lenin to send Rakovskiy to the Ukraine. During the period January-March 1918 Rakovskiy had served as chairman of the Supreme Collegium for Combatting Counter-Revolution in the Ukraine, and from May to August of that same year—during the German and Austro-Hungarian occupation of the Ukraine—he had been chairman of the Russian Peace Delegation in Kiev.

On 10 January 1919 a telegram was sent from Kharkov to Moscow, addressed the "Lenin. The Kremlin." It stated the following: "The Ukrainian CP(b) Central Committee has decided for the time being not to nominate a candidate from the presently available personnel of the government and the Central Committee, but to suggest instead that you immediately send Khristian Georgiyevich here. This is the only way to prevent the chairmanship crisis from becoming a government crisis...." Moreover, the situation in the government became so exacerbated that on 16 January 1919 G.L. Pyatakov was relieved of his duties as chairman of the Ukrainian Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government, and Artem (F.A. Sergeyev) was appointed to replace him. On 18 January 1919 Artem and other members of the government informed V.I. Lenin by a special telegram about what had happened.

It was right after this, specifically on 19 January, that Vladimir Ilich had a talk with Rakovskiy. The latter recalled this as follows: "The principal subject of our discussion was how to restore unity in the ranks of the Ukrainian Communist Party as soon as possible, since the divergent opinions which had evolved within it were paralyzing the leadership in its attempt to get rid of the partisan movement in building the Red Army." By this time the matter of Rakovskiy's departure for the Ukraine had already been settled.

Rakovskiy participated in a session of the Ukrainian Soviet Government for the first time on 23 January 1919. On the following day he was unanimously elected as its chairman. Kh.G. Rakovskiy received the mandate for his activities from the delegates to the Third All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, which took place on 6-10 March 1919. On 6 March a Politburo of the Ukrainian CP(b) Central Committee was formed for the first time in the history of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Kh.G. Rakovskiy became a member of this Politburo along with G.L. Pyatakov, A.S. Bubnov, E.I. Kviring, and V.N. Meshcheryakov.

Among the many questions which were at the center of attention for the chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars, two were particularly important for the fate of the Revolution in this republic: the Peasant Question and the Nationality Question.

It is well known that in 1919 Rakovskiy committed a serious error regarding the Peasant Question. At that time he actively defended the thesis [argument] that large sovkhozes in the Ukrainian rural areas constituted the "basis of our communist construction." For this Kh.G. Rakovskiy was sharply criticized by V.I. Lenin, who pointed out that only a very small portion of the farms should be converted into sovkhozes; otherwise we would not be able to form a unified bloc with the small-scale peasantry.

However, in contrast to the historians who, so to speak, "preserved" this erroneous position of Rakovskiy for decades, he himself abandoned it quite rapidly under V.I. Lenin's influence. In his memoirs, entitled "Ilich and the Ukraine" and published in January 1925, Rakovskiy wrote that a new land law had been drawn up in the Ukraine under Vladimir Ilich's direct guidance and observation. Kh.G. Rakovskiy had assimilated well the Leninist approach to the Peasant Question: "Comrade Lenin warned," he said at the Seventh All-Ukrainian Conference of the Ukrainian CP (b) (held in April 1923) "that when we intervene in agriculture, we should take into account how the peasants have structured it. We know this very well, and we know that we became wiser regarding peasant farming. We must take into account the actual conditions which exist there." If only Stalin and his close associates had manifested such an understanding of V.I. Lenin....

Rakovskiy accomplished a great deal for the international consolidation among the working people of the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Russia, for strengthening the military-political alliance of the Soviet republics, and for creating the USSR. However, his actual viewpoint on the nationality question was presented in the distorted form for many long years. In essence, the thesis put into circulation by I.V. Stalin as far back as the 12th RCP(b) Congress is still in scholarly vogue to this very day. According to this argument, a "group of comrades, led by Bukharin and Rakovskiy, over-inflated and exaggerated the importance of the nationality question." Hence

also the accusations of confederalism which were leveled against Rakovskiy; it seems to be that the time has come to re-examine these accusations.

In reality, as the documents attest, Rakovskiy was one of the active opponents of Stalin's plan for autonomization. It is probably that it was specifically Khristian Georgiyevich who apprised V.I. Lenin of this plan when he met with the latter in Gorkiy on 25 August 1922. "...Instead of developing a genuine federation which would provide equal conditions of revolutionary construction for everyone and would unite the working class of all Russia's nationalities on the basis of equal rights, **the plan in question disregards this task**"; thus Rakovskiy, in a Leninist manner, fundamentally and very frankly evaluated the Stalinist platform in September 1922.

And it was just as fundamentally and frankly that he formulated his own position on the necessity for "introducing a certain specificity in our union relations, and this specificity will have to proceed along the following line: more rights, more funds, and more initiative, in all areas to the individual Soviet republics." It's as if he had a presentiment that the Stalinist line would lead to an unjustifiably rigid centralism, bureaucratic to a large extent, organically linked to the assertion of a command-administration system of rule and suppressing the independence, initiative, and activism of the union republics. The words cited above were spoken in April 1923 at the Seventh All-Ukrainian Conference of the Ukrainian CP(b). Rakovskiy also defended such a viewpoint at the 12th RCP(b) Congress. It was there that he stated the following: "In my opinion, Comrade Stalin has stopped on the threshold of explaining the real state of affairs regarding the nationality question in our country. He ought to proceed further...." When he said this, Rakovskiy did not yet know that he had less than three months left to work in the Ukraine. Stalin would not forgive such behavior as this....

Rakovskiy's post as chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars was the principal position but not the only one which he held. Let me cite the words of Rakovskiy's autobiography in this respect. "I occupied the post of chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and, at the same time, the post of chairman of the Extraordinary Sanitary Commission, chairman of the Social Commission of Fuel and Food, and chairman of the Ukrainian economic Council. I remained in the Ukraine until July 1923 without a break except for the trip abroad to the Genoa Conference as a member of the Soviet Delegation, along with Chicherin, Litvinov, and others."

Let me add the following to this: Rakovskiy was the Soviet Ukraine's People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs. From mid-September 1919 through January 1920 (at the time when Denikin's forces were occupying the Ukraine) Kh.G. Rakovskiy served as Political Administration Chief of the RSFSR Revolutionary-Military Council. In

1918 he became a member of the RSFSR Central Executive Committee. During the period 1919-1923 he was a member of the VUTsIK [All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee]. At the 8th through 13th RCP(b) Congresses and the 14th VCP(b) Congress he was elected as a member of the party's Central Committee. During the years 1919-1923 he was also a member of the Ukrainian CP(b) Central Committee Politburo.

In the summer of 1923 Rakovskiy was sent to Great Britain as USSR plenipotentiary. In a letter to Stalin, written in July 1923, he evaluated this appointment as a removal from active party and soviet work in the Ukraine.

On 13 July 1923 the Ukrainian CP(b) Central Committee conducted a special examination of the matter: "On the Departure of Comrade Rakovskiy." "The unceasing, fruitful work performed by Comrade Rakovskiy in the difficult post of Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars Chairman since 1919" was noted. Perhaps Kh.G. Rakovskiy recalled them when he was thrown into prison in the case of the so-called "Anti-Soviet, right-wing, Trotskiyite bloc," together with N.I. Bukharin, A.I. Rykov, and others. Perhaps these words warned him behind the prison walls. We do not know.

At the court trial the 65-year-old Rakovskiy, just like all the accused, gave damning testimony against himself, testimony obtained by the now well-known Stalinist methods. He took upon his own shoulders the inhuman burden of crimes that he had not committed, and he called himself a "double spy"—British and Japanese. However, let's read this statement of confession with particular care: "I acknowledge myself...to be guilty from the moment when I decided to provide complete, exhaustive, and frank evidence. During the course of eight months I denied and refused to admit the charges." It can be imagined what these eight months cost him, who was already an old man....

Last year Rakovskiy was fully rehabilitated and restored to party membership. The decision to deprive him of his USSR awards was abrogated. His works were returned from the oblivion of the special depository.

Historical justice has triumphed, and Khristian Georgiyevich Rakovskiy is again in our ranks.

#### **Reevaluation of Repression Victims Proceeding in Uzbekistan**

18300336 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
10 Jan 89 p 5

[Article by D. A. Usatov, UzSSR procurator: "In the Name of the Triumph of Justice"]

[Text] The files of convicted persons. . . . Many thousands of criminal cases, which for decades had gathered dust on the shelves of special archives, with signatures, faded by time, on the covers. Some contain only a few

faded, brittle pages—the denunciation, the interrogation, and the so-called “sentence”, others are plumb, [consisting] of several volumes, in which are collected the numerous “signals,” “warnings,” and “reports” on non-existent crimes of invented “enemies of the people.” . . .

It is impossible to leaf through these folders without shudder, feelings of indignation and protest. One comes upon, though in incomparably smaller quantity, others as well: From their pages up to now you feel almost physically the savage grin of the real enemies of Soviet power and the working people.

With smarting eyes one has to try to grasp the meaning of the forms, yellowed over the years, with the words written in pencil and ink in Uzbek, Tajik, Turkmen, and Russian languages. But it is necessary to study the materials scrupulously, phase after phase, form after form, restoring the real picture of the events of 30-60 years ago.

This is difficult, enormous, and, what is the main thing, extremely responsible work. Above all, because mistakes cannot be permitted in any degree that would make it possible for social injustice to triumph again, repeatedly. It is necessary to separate, correctly and with all definiteness, the real enemy of the Soviet people and our socialist Homeland from the imaginary “enemies”, who were generated by the fevered imagination of the zealous executors of the monstrous machine of repression, whose relentless fly-wheel was set into motion full force during the 1930's, 1940's, and the beginning of the 1950's. The extermination of millions of people who were not guilty of anything—fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, children, grandchildren—were those terrible years really not related to genocide?

As has already been reported in the press in our country, in accordance with the decisions of the October (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, work has been organized with respect to the additional study of the materials related to the repressions that took place during the period of the 1930's-1940's and the beginning of the 1950's, and the rehabilitation of citizens who were repressed without foundation. To coordinate all of this work and to give it a planned and systematic character, a commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo was created.

An analogous commission was also created at the Uzbek CP Central Committee. The commission is carrying out the functions with which it has been charged in close contact with the obkoms and raykoms of the party and the ispolkoms of the Soviet of People's Deputies, the organs of the procuracy and state security, the public, and the mass media of the republic.

Such a rehabilitation was conducted previously as well. But it had an episodic character, it reduced itself basically to the examination of cases in connection with applications received from the repressed persons themselves or their relatives.

Now the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee has set the task of the full completion of the work connected with the rehabilitation of those innocently convicted during the years of the mass repressions. It is being carried out irrespective of the presence of applications on the part of citizens. It is a difficult, but noble cause since it is aimed at the solution of one of the most important tasks of perestroika—at the securing of the genuine triumph of social justice.

“The restoration of historical and legal justice has now acquired enormous political significance,” it is emphasized in the decree “On Additional Measures to Restore Justice in Relation to the Victims of the Repressions that took place during the Period of the 1930's-1940's and the Beginning of the 1950's”, recently adopted by the CPSU Central Committee. “On it depends in many respects our advancement along the road to the formation of a socialist rule-of-law state and the development of public consciousness. The public, the relatives and close family members of the victims are awaiting the full rehabilitation of all those who were repressed without guilt and the immortalization of their memory.”

In September 1988 a special study group was set up in the UzSSR Procuracy. It is composed of the most qualified and experienced jurists. The group is headed by the senior legal counsellor A. P. Zhukov, his deputy—the senior assistant of the UzSSR procurator, D. S. Nepomnyashchiy, and members of the group are the most experienced official of the department for supervision of the examination of criminal cases in the courts, L. S. Mezentseva, and other leading staff members.

They fully recognize the difficulty of the task which faces them and the organs of the procuracy as a whole, understanding very well that this is not an ordinary campaign, aimed at “general” [pogolovnyyu] rehabilitation. It is necessary to thoroughly investigate every concrete case, to carry out a careful investigation of it, and, in the proper manner, to obtain a fix on the historical facts, the positions and actions of the people.

In so doing, one must take into consideration that the files that will have to be reviewed have, above all, a political character and arose in a concrete historical situation. A number of the files, undoubtedly, require thorough study of the political, economic and other situations, that had taken shape in that period for the country as a whole and, in particular, in the Central Asian region. To this end, the commission of the Uzbek CP Central Committee appointed a group of social science scholars from Tashkent State University and the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the

republic, whose conclusions will help in the development of correct reference points in reviewing the rehabilitation cases and in taking correct decisions with respect to them.

I would like to underscore especially that the organs of the procuracy and the court in all their activity in regard to rehabilitation are guided only by the law.

Precisely for this reason, in strict accordance with the law, the only correct decision was taken—about the careful study of every criminal case for the indicated period and the conduct, in necessary cases, of additional follow-ups or investigation. During the work of the group, already more than criminal cases have been studied. Many of them required special investigation and additional clarifications. On the basis of their results, objections to illegal judicial and non-judicial decisions were brought by the UzSSR Procuracy to the UzSSR Supreme Court. Such protests have already been reviewed and satisfied with respect to 210 citizens who were repressed without foundation.

As shown by the cases studied, for which the protests were brought, the majority of citizens were repressed basically for anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation. As anti-Soviet were acknowledged any critical statements and judgments on questions of the foreign and domestic policy of the party and the state. In order to become an "enemy of the people," it was sufficient to acknowledge that in America the standard of living is higher than in our country. Any disagreement, even simply a doubt, stated with respect to the implementation of complete collectivization in agriculture, was regarded as agitation against the organization of kolkhozes.

Thus, the guard of the Chustskiy Rayispolkom, Yuldash Artykov, by decision of the judicial collegium for criminal affairs of the Fergana Oblast Court of 19 June 1940, was sentenced to 5 years of deprivation of freedom only for discussing that industry is turning poor-quality production and that workers and employees live poorly. The inhabitant Nukusa Kazy Utemisov, born in 1907, who talked about shortcomings in the organization of the kolkhozes, was sentenced to the same measure of punishment on 16 September 1940 by the Supreme Court of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR.

Ivan Yegorovich Loskarev, an inhabitant of Tashkent, born in 1914, who worked as a milling-machine operator of warehouse 20 during the pre-war years, in the presence of his colleagues, dared to talk about the difficulties in the provision of food products. "And if you tell the truth about this," he added, "they will throw you in prison. . . ." Precisely for these words, they did throw him into jail—by verdict of the judicial board for criminal cases of the Tashkent Oblast Court of 11 March 1941, he was sentenced to 4 years of deprivation of freedom for "slandering the material situation of the workers in the USSR" and "anti-Soviet agitation directed against the measures of Soviet power."

The Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Court satisfied the protests of the republic procurator in regard to the indicated cases and dismissed them for lack of a corpus delicti. The work that has begun is continuing. And every rehabilitation is a new victory. A victory of the socialist order, of our society over the injustice that was permitted.

I regard it as necessary to underscore that the rehabilitation of people who were repressed without foundation could be carried out more expeditiously if there were not a number of aspects which substantially hamper the work of the UzSSR Procuracy. The party, soviet, and law enforcement organs receive many applications from relatives and family members of those who were repressed during those years of bad memory. All of these applications are carefully studied and decisions are made on the basis of them. But in the majority of cases, they do not contain the necessary information about the repressed—at times not even the full family name and patronymic, data on the year and place of birth, party affiliation, time and place of conviction, and other reference data. Their absence leads to superfluous and lengthy correspondence and creates additional difficulties for the study group. It is bad that the applicants frequently do not give their home address, and do not indicate their home or office phone.

Applications for rehabilitation by citizens are sent to the commission of the Uzbek CP Central Committee. This is correct, but in the interest of the efficiency of the review of cases and the acceleration of the adoption of the final decision it would be desirable for the applicants to address themselves directly to the UzSSR Procuracy—here all questions concerning rehabilitation are subjected to preliminary review, and direct address to the procuracy can significantly speed up the review of applications. In case it is necessary to obtain consultation on rehabilitation questions, we ask to phone the responsible official of the Procuracy of the republic at telephone 32-11-73.

Up to now the questions concerning the notification of rehabilitation—the rehabilitated persons themselves or their relatives—have not been clearly solved. Let us remember that the events took place 30 and even 60 years ago, the search for repressed persons, their relatives or their people presents a significant difficulty. Without the help of the local Soviets of People's Deputies, the Komsomol, and the mass media we simply cannot cope here. And we are very much hoping for such assistance.

It is very important for this noble undertaking and responsible political measure to be guaranteed the necessary glasnost. In particular, a decision has been adopted by the Commission of the Uzbek CP Central Committee concerning the periodic publication of the lists of the rehabilitated in oblast, city, and rayon newspapers—by their place of birth, residence, or last work.

It is necessary for the truth about that period, about the people who were repressed without foundation during the years of lawlessness, to reach all, for the trampled-on

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justice to be fully restored. This must be done without fail not only for sake of the innocent victims and their

relatives, but also so that from now on lawlessness can never repeat itself.

**Old Believers' Religious Leader on Rejuvenation of Church**

*18000586 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH  
in Russian 10 Jan 89 p 4*

[Interview with Alimpiy, Old Believer Metropolitan of Moscow and All Russia, by Andrey Maydanov, special correspondent: "At the Beginning of a New Era"]

[Text] The Rogozhskiy Suburb on the eve of the non-leap-year 1989. A slippery-icy December. The yellow walls and green, drum shaped, central portion of the Petrovskiy Cathedral, built by Matvey Kazakov even prior to the Napoleonic invasion, is crowned by an onion-shaped dome with a cross having eight tips. Right alongside it is the stone armour of a well-built knight—the campanille of the Uspenskiy Cathedral.

SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH's special correspondent was received in his residence by the Most Holy Alimpiy, the Old Believer Metropolitan of Moscow and All Russia. Meetings with the Ruler took place on three occasions, for several hours each. This journalist was the Metropolitan's guest over the course of a week. Therefore, the interview published below is interrupted by some report sketches.

[A. Maydanov] Ruler Alimpiy, first of all, permit me to congratulate you on the occasion of your being awarded the Honorary Certificate of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. And my first question has to do with the Old Orthodox [Old Believers] Church and perestroika. Are there genuine, tangible changes in your mutual relations with the state? After all, as you know, one swallow does not make a spring.

[Alimpiy] The Old Believers movement came into being as a result of people's aspiration to the truth, higher justice, respect for the memory and the legacies of our honorable forefathers, and a firm belief in the legacies of Christ. Our Church also originated as a protest against the violation and distortion of these legacies, as a way to protect them, and likewise as a social protest against injustice, force, oppression, and the mandatory imposition of alien customs, morals, and rites.

At this point in time I do not intend to give a chronological account of the history of the Russian Old Believers movement. However, if you and I recall the creative works of Surikov, Musorgskiy, and Melnikov-Pecherskiy, we can see that they reflect the tragic, historical pages of the Old Orthodox's Church's fate.

Infringement and open persecutions by the tsarist regime continued right down to the revolutionary year of 1905, when the authorities were compelled to grant certain liberties to the Old Believers. For example, printshops began operating in Moscow, Urals, and Kiev; Old Believers choirs directed by Tsvetkov and Bogatenko successfully performed concert programs of religious music; whereas the singing of Morozovskiy's choir was even recorded on phonograph records. However, it was still a

long, long way to go before complete freedom of conscience was to be attained. A law was in effect specifying criminal responsibility for "seduction and dissidence."

It was only after the Great October Socialist Revolution that Old Believers stopped feeling themselves infringed upon as to their rights; they received equal rights and opportunities with all the religious groups in our country; and the concept of the "Ruling Church" disappeared.

During the 1920's the number of bishops in our Church reached 25; there were several million Old Believers; and all our cathedrals were in operation. During the 1930's, however, our Church's activities were already sharply curtailed. Moreover, the same thing was true of the other religious groups. Episodes from newsreels shot during the Stalinist years, as recently shown on Central Television, have demonstrated what "simple" methods were used to carry this out.

The idea of patriotism is sacred. It is precisely for this reason that Old Believers with weapons in their hands defended the Motherland in the Great Patriotic War without bearing grudges for insults. They fought, perished, and were victorious over the common enemy together with the entire Soviet people. Quite a few veterans of this war are serving in our Church even these days. And it happens rather frequently during the May Day Celebrations that you see order bars and well-deserved military awards on the chests of those persons who come into our cathedrals.

Speaking specifically about the present time, let me say that our Church is in full solidarity with the peace-loving, foreign-policy course conducted by our country's leaders and with the program of progressively developing perestroika. By a decision of the Mossovet [Moscow City Soviet] Ispolkom, dated 7 December 1987, the former clergymen's house at the Rogozhskiy Cemetery in Moscow was turned over to our Church, and the following 10 parishes were reopened: in the city of Minusinsk, Krasnoyarsk Kray, Cyzrani, Kuybyshev Oblast, Leningrad, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Barnaul, Frunze, Baku, Kostroma, the settlement of Svobodnyy on the Amur, and the settlement of Olkhovratka, Donetsk Oblast.

[A. Maydanov] The peace-making viewpoints espoused by the Old Believers Church, as well as the humanistic foundation of its traditions and canons are commonly known. While in the Pokrovskiy Cathedral, for example, my attention was drawn to the fact that even during the service of the Sunday Holiday for the Week of the Holy Forefathers money was being actively collected for the fund to help persons who have suffered from the earthquake in Armenia.

[Alimpiy] In both joy and sorrow our Church is always together with our people and our country. We did not remain on the sidelines during the Chernobyl tragedy.

We are also actively responding to support the cause of restoring architectural landmarks of the past by regular contributions of monetary funds.

It's noteworthy that French mine-rescuers and British firefighters are now working in Armenia, while the telegraph is bringing thousands of condolence telegrams from all over the world. But I wish to emphasize the fact that our congregations, both clergy and individual believers by their extremely important sacrifices have provided specific aid to those who have suffered. And such aid has continued to this very day.

**The Rogozhskiy Suburb**, the cathedral, campanille, and the cemetery are covered with snow that has turned to ice. I walked slowly down the rows of the Rogozhskiy Cemetery. The family burial vault of the Morozovs, where every tombstone is a work of art. In fact, not even tombstones but little chapels—doves by Levitan, fabulous little chambers. The names Timofey and Savva are repeated most often—they are family names. The most famous—even legendary among them is, of course, Savva Timofeyevich. He was the owner of the Nikolskiy Manufacturing Association of Savva Morozov and Son, Inc.—textile manufacturer No 1 in the Russian Empire and a multi-millionaire even by super-American standards. He was a friend of Maksim Gorkiy, a person who concealed Nikolay Bauman from pursuit, and one who, on more than one occasion, made generous contributions of money to revolutionaries for purposes which were no secret for him. Some 54,000 persons worked in his factories, and during the days of the barricade-type battles of 1905 the capitalist Savva Morozov, being then a member of the Moscow City Duma, spoke out against the use of military force in fighting against the workers; he advocated the right of peaceful strikes, meetings, and unions. He finally committed suicide, unless, of course, this version was the fruit of a not very clever camouflage on the part of the zealous watchdogs of this “red factory-owner,” who took quite some pains to exaggerate the rumors about his illness.

On the darkened marble the following fresh inscription had recently been made in gold: “Savva Savvovich Morozov.” He is the last of the family which was begun during the reign of Yekaterina II [Catherine the Great] by a former, serf, shepherd, and cab-driver named Savva Vasilyevich Morozov. On 8 June 1918 all the Morozov enterprises were nationalized by a decree of the Sovnarkom [Council of People's Commissars]. But the last Morozov did not emigrate abroad, nor did he curse the Soviet regime; he lives in Moscow to this very day. And it is his intention to finish his path here, at the Rogozhskiy Old Believers Cemetery. By the way, he is a member of the USSR Union of Journalists, and he is an outstanding expert on Russian history, something which, unfortunately, cannot be said of the ancillary, French branch of the family, which pronounces and even writes its last name as “Morosoff.” To be sure, they did

contribute their own money to restore the copper cross over the burial vault. The local authorities could not find either the money or the time to do this.

“Pardon me,” someone who has been ground up by the Stalinist “mill,” and not by it alone, may cut into this story, “but what has all this about the capitalist Morozov and his marble tombstone have to do with Soviet history?”

Something very direct. And not just because Ryabushinskiys, Soldatenkovs, Kharitonovs, and Soloyevs rest in peace not far from the Morozov Burial Vault. We have chopped up our own history on the board of the “Short Course in the History of the VKP(b),” which was followed by the extremely long history of Stalinism's planned extermination of the party. It is all true. The family of Russian industrialists and bankers named Ryabushinskiy “contributed the furious leader of Kornilovism and Kaledinism. But it also gave us the first Russian motor-vehicle plant. Also buried in the Rogozhskiy Cemetery are Academician Jitayev and a whole group of Foreign-Trade officials who perished in performing their service duty, and hundreds more Soviet persons, whose graves are diligently cared for by the Old Believers of the Rogozhskiy congregation.

By the way, about that marble. When the second stage of the Moscow Metro was being built during the years 1935-1938, most of the marble tombstones of the Rogozhskiy Cemetery were used as facings for the stations and passage-ways, whereas the cemetery itself was declared to be “without future prospects.”

I'm not going to talk about the horrors of the Patriotic War of 1812, when the dandy Murat converted the Old Believers Diocesan Pokrovskiy Cathedral into a stable for his Household Cavalry. The blue-uniformed vandals did not succeed in removing the seven-tiered church chandelier at that time. But what your SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH special correspondent became personally familiar with did constitute the topic of the following interview with the Old Believers Metropolitan of Moscow and All Russia.

[A. Maydanov] Ruler Alimpiy, it's a gloomy piece of symbolism that, on the Voytovich Street side, the Rogozhskiy Cemetery faces the secondary raw-material procurement center of Moscow's Zhdanov District; it's constantly blocked by KamAZ trucks, along with the swearing of the truckdrivers. And surely another place could have been found for Cancer Clinic No 35. Furthermore, the building located between the Nikolskiy Church and the Pokrovskiy Cathedral—the building recently returned to the Old Believers Church—reminds one of the Petrodvorets ruins after Hitler's troops were driven out of there.

[Alimpiy] It's in the “Petrodvorets ruins,” of course, after they have been completely repaired and restored, that the spiritual-administrative center of our country's

Old Believers Church will be situated. Located here will be business rooms, production-type workshops, an assembly hall, refectory, an area where visitors may rest, and a publishing division.

Putting this building into operation will make it possible for us to begin training church-service personnel, including readers, singers, and those concerned with regulations. The building certainly does need a major overhaul, which will require a considerable sum of money. Inasmuch as we have already encountered "braking acceleration" of bureaucratic officials, let me appeal through your newspaper to everyone who holds the sources of their culture and their history dear, believers and atheists alike, to contribute their mite to this worthy cause.

Contributions may be sent to the following address: Fund for the Restoration of the Old Believers Metropolitan Building, Current Account Number 701308, Zhdanovskiy Department, Promstroybank [Industrial Construction Bank], City of Moscow, 109052.

[A. Maydanov] Just what kinds of problems is the Old Believers Church confronted with nowadays, and what needs does it experience?

[Alimpiy] Above all, there is an acute shortage of church-service personnel. As of today, we have five dioceses: Moscow, Kiev-Vinnitsa, Don and Caucasus, Klintsovsk and Novozybovsk, and Kishinev, but we have only a very small number of bishops—three. We have 126 parishes but only 54 priests; moreover, many of them are in their declining years or are ill. This compels us to load one priest with several parishes—sometimes remote, located hundreds or even thousands of kilometers from each other.

And the prolonged absence of bishops in dioceses leads to a situation whereby the priests, lacking direct leadership on the part of a superior, commit certain canonical violations.

Most of the parishes lack enough literate preceptors, singing directors, and singers who know how to read music. In many parishes the singing is done by ear, and, as a result, there are frequently variations in the hymns and departures from the written melody. As you can see, I am completely frank in speaking about the seriousness of our problems.

When you listen to a solemn service in the Pokrovskiy Cathedral, and you glance to the right at the icon painting of Christ as Lord of the Universe, a face which has been unchangingly strict since the 14th century, you think not only about the splendid choir or the amazing mastery of the Palekh religious painters, but also about the fact that, among the thousands of parishioners (and this cathedral holds as many as 10,000 persons), there are a great many young people. And you know, they are more active these days than ever before. And not only young people and rock music, young people and violet hair, young people and the

eternally young Maslyakov during a cafe-type evening. But also young people and society, young people and politics. I talked about all this during my third meeting with Ruler Alimpiy.

[A. Maydanov] What do you wish present-day young people to do?

[Alimpiy] Don't become dissipated in idleness, laziness, and empty squandering of your best years. Assimilate the best achievements of human culture. Don't be unsophisticated in the sciences and literature, ignorant in the arts, and negligent in work. Develop in yourself a feeling of patriotism, have a respectful attitude toward your own family, relatives, and friends. Continue the work of creating peace. Serve your Motherland with faith, truth, and justice.

All of us are living at the beginning of a new era. So let's create this world rather than simply consuming more of it; let's create it and not just talk and dream.

[A. Maydanov] As I was already taking my leave of the Metropolitan of All Russia and had thanked the Ruler for his hospitable reception and attention during our conversations, the Most Holy Alimpiy suddenly showed an interest in asking a question which, at first glance, seems technical:

[Alimpiy] What is the circulation of your newspaper?

[A. Maydanov] As of January 1989, it is 325,000, Ruler.

[Alimpiy] "And now one more," the Metropolitan of Moscow and All Russia said with a smile.

#### Author's Postscript

As the author of these lines was informed by Father Leontiy Pimenev, responsible secretary of the Old Believers Metropolitan of Moscow and All Russia, and by Aleksandr Antonov, the editor-in-chief of the Old Believers Church Calendar, the Old Believers Metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia, the Most Holy Alimpiy has become a subscriber to the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH for 1989.

Rogozhskiy Suburb—Spaso-Andronikov Monastery—Moscow—Riga.

December 1988.

#### Iran Steps Up Muslim Propaganda 18350401a

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 5 January 1989 carries on page 3 a 1,200 word article by N. Kulyyev, director of the Turkmenistan House of Scientific Atheism, headlined "Duties of Atheistic Education" on problems encountered in fighting against Muslim influences in the TSSR.

"Facts have surfaced to the effect that at the time of death of well-known, high-ranking Communists pseudomollas demonstrate an unstinting 'activism': they take over the burial and supervise it. By so doing, they create feelings of wonder and all kinds of false impressions among people in the vicinity. Large mausoleums and monuments built of scarce materials are built over the graves of some workers (communists). On the one hand, these attract the attention of religious believers and exert a harmful influence among youth; on the other, they give rise to unhealthy attitudes among the population." He adds that "foreign Muslim groups are taking part in broadening bourgeois-clerical propaganda in our republic's border rayons. Broadcasters in the Turkmen departments of Iran's radio stations 'Gurgen' and 'Bender Turkmen' discuss this constantly. Now television stations working in tandem with these radio stations, which have been operating a long time, have begun to direct Turkmen-language programs to the population of Krasnovodsk Oblast. Iran's Islamic centers have also begun to send letters to oblast inhabitants certifying the attainment of the 'haji' title externally."

**Party Workers Talk With Clergy in Ashkhabad**  
*18350401b*

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 16 December 1988 carries on page 3 a 500 word article by V. Gordeyev headlined "There Is Communication" on a meeting of party workers taking an advanced course at the House of Political Education in Ashkhabad with Nasrullo Ibadullayev, Kazi-Imam of the Shalyka Mosque in Tashauz, and Father Georgiy, protoperey of the Orthodox parish in Ashkhabad. "As a result of perestroyka, this is the first time that such an open conversation between party workers and the clergy has taken place. Despite contradictions between the idealistic and materialistic worldviews, religious believers and confirmed atheists found some common ground." Among topics discussed were family stability, hooliganism, narcotics, brideprice and circumcision. The meeting was chaired by B. M. Soyunov, director of the ideology department of the TCP Central Committee.

**Crimes, Cover-Ups by Ulyanovsk Militia Revealed**  
*18000479a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*  
3 Feb 89 p 6

[Article by V. Razboynikov, IZVESTIYA correspondent, Ulyanovsk: "Overdone Facts; Biased Reporting"]

[Text] A unique report: G. Elgart, militia lieutenant colonel and deputy chief of the Administration of Internal Affairs [UVD] Organizational Inspection Department, who earned a living one time by pickpocketing at a bazaar, was caught without any show of talent...

You, of course, will not believe it, but I sweated a river while I put these 37 words together into one sentence, which contains this outrageous idea. And later, when I learned that the arrested man was getting nearly 500 rubles per month, while the girl, from whom the militiaman tried to steal a little more than 100 rubles, had accumulated them over several months, I became soaked with sweat again. I went to the Ulyanovsk Oblispolkom's UVD to share my own emotions. There, my quiverings were regarded rather calmly.

"First of all, since this incident, he no longer works for us," they informed me and, with a condescending smile, they nodded at my reporter's notepad. "But you are always seeking sensations and sizzling facts, right? Only, in this instance, this is hardly how it will turn out..."

Taking my leave, I remember muttering that I do not need, as they say, a sensation, but rather, the compelling motives of a highly-placed pickpocket and how the extraordinary incident was regarded in the administration. Not having received an answer, I thought to myself: to heck with him, with this lieutenant colonel pincher. I did not think about him any more...

But just recently, or more precisely, on the 31st of December of last year, one V. Timoshkin, militia captain and chief of the medical department, being, as they like to write it up, in an intoxicated condition, crashed his official vehicle into a tree. It was recalled that, back in August of the same year, his driver's license had been revoked for being drunk behind the wheel. His associates whispered: this, as they say, is a sizzling fact for the reporters. It needs to be concealed. In my opinion, they did not manage to conceal it. And just the other day, Senior Lieutenant K. Khayrullin was removed drunk from a vehicle—again a fact suitable for newspaper use, and so it goes, on and on. Similar examples have begun to be cited at meetings and seminars.

And when it became known to me that, last year, militia workers violated socialist law 30 times and criminal proceedings had been instituted against 6 people, I developed an allergy to all this parboiled nonsense. One might as well write a sensational story about each item. The militia workers themselves are "grilling" these items.

In examining this dismal chronicle, I turned my attention to one story. It differs from all the others, perhaps, because it is more outrageous than the others. (However, PRAVDA recounted this story recently).

We will supplement it only with a document—the procurator's presentation—which is not easy to put into a literary format: "Citizeness K., on the way home, without any grounds for it, was stopped by Dimitrovgrad City Internal Affairs Department [GOVD] workers V. Khramyshkin and A. Yegorov, who called for a special vehicle... And then, they fraudulently delivered her to the sobering-up station... N. Sergeyevna, the medical assistant, for far-fetched reasons, concluded that present in K. was a middle degree of intoxication. V. Anisimov, the sobering-up station's duty officer, began to examine her personal items. During this, he attempted to take her ladies handbag away from her. At which point, the latter... hit Anisimov in the face. After this, K. was stripped down to her undergarments... They laid the practically naked woman face down on the couch, bound her feet and then her hands, placing them behind her back..."

You read this document and it becomes terrifying: healthy men are tying up a sick woman with a rope. And now the finale: "The positively-characterized woman, the mother of two children, twice tried to end her life by suicide. However, after this, she was placed in a psychiatric hospital..."

Yet, this is still not all. The barbarity continued, only in a different form: the senior district inspector for the GOVD, V. Shcheglov, visited her at home and inquired: how is it, he says, that you are no longer making an uproar?..."

I have cited this document quite deliberately so that this incident does not become just another simple statistical fact. The burns from the rope used by the young men from the militia remain not just on the body...

It is possible that the fellows from the sobering-up station were afraid of future punishment. Associates from Ulyanovsk's Leninskiy Rayon ROVD, A. Borisov and A. Kuvardin, when they detailed two minors, were also worried. They were even given a written reprimand—which was reported to the rayon procuracy. This was a phantom reprimand: it was not recorded anywhere and no entries appeared in the violators' personal files... But the most surprising thing happened later: A. Borisov was shortly thereafter awarded a (medal) "For Outstanding Service in the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]" and, who knows, it may be that even our "heroes" will be given an incentive after the corresponding fuss.

But the sizzling facts have already set the teeth of readers and journalists on edge. But the fire in the hearth is not dying out and the spits are sharp and shiny. An ordinary matter is ready to be browned and changed into a hot, browned item and you do not need to look for it—it will

find you itself. Just recently, a teacher asked one of his pupils to take some documents across the road—to another institution. Due to his joy at being entrusted with this important matter, he crosses against the red light. M. Pichugin, a State Traffic Inspectorate [GAI] posted inspector is right there. And he drags the youth into the medical sobering-up station, in order to learn the youth's identity. Nerves are burning and, instead of a routine task, every now and then, hot facts are produced from burning embers. At one time, we were taught: it is not news if a dog bites a man. But if a man bites a dog—this is interesting. And so, during the performance of official duties, we quite frequently turn to a bark. It is not life, but rather, sheer sensation: crime is growing. And the very militia is waging war with sick women and walking around like a merchant. And when all this is exposed, they tell us derogatorily: you are looking for sizzling facts.

In our activities, any ordinary matter can, by a simple culinary treatment, be brought to the state of a "sizzling" matter. Thus, a letter arrived in Ulyanovsk from Stavropol Kray: "My former husband, A. Zheleznyak, was fined for driving a vehicle in an intoxicated state. Then he lost his driver's license for a year and then for 3 years. But he still has other rights," wrote his former wife. "Please check. Indeed, the trouble may be with his weakness for alcohol..." They checked. And he really does have rights. They withdrew them. V. Mikhaylov, the deputy chairman of the Ulyanovsk Oblast soviet of Dinamo, where Zheleznyak found a job, writes a petition and character reference: "He has prestige and edits a newspaper... Give him his rights." P. Sukhov, the chief of the UVD, wrote boldly: "Comrade G.N. Ryabov. I request that you decide positively." By the way, he is writing not to the chief of the GAI, but rather, to his deputy. That one, so they say, is more obliging. "Again, a sizzling item has been dug up," they said to me. But, allow me to ask, who is the chef doing the cooking here? To roast a fact so requires skill...

V. Petrovicheva, a resident of Ulyanovsk, wrote a very brief letter to the IZVESTIYA correspondent's office: "In the local newspapers, the rubrik 'The UVD Reports' has appeared and it would be good to introduce another one next to it, 'The UVD Apologises...' and to print under it information not only about the noble young men from the militia but also about those guardians of law and order who have turned our life into a continuous struggle..." This is at least indirect, but still about the same sizzling facts.

And, with regards to the pickpocketing lieutenant colonel, the readers' interest comes down to the following: was this a one-time event or a permanent extra income? What happens with such people in similar instances?..

**Census Procedures in LaSSR Outlined**  
*18000537 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian*  
11 Jan 89 p 4

[Interview with G.A. Baltinem, chairman of the Latvian SSR State Committee on Statistics, by Sergei Lalushkin, LATINFORM correspondent: "Social Portrait of the Republic"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Not much time at all remains before the beginning of the seventh All-Union population census, which is planned to be conducted from the 12th through the 19th of January of this year. In this connection, it seems, it will be useful to remind the reader how the present census will be organized and how its results will affect our knowledge of ourselves. LATINFORM correspondent Sergei Lalushkin met with Latvian State Committee on Statistics Chairman G. A. Baltinem and asked him to answer a number of questions.

[Lalushkin] Gunar Andreevich, how will the meeting of the census-taker with that person, to whose house he will come with the census questionnaire, be organized? After all, you will agree, it is not at all an exceptional situation when your activist will have to haunt the threshold of one or another apartment many times each. Some people work on a sliding schedule; others, having finished their first job, go evenings to a second and so on, not to mention those people who at that time will be on vacation, traveling... What will you do?

[Baltinem] You must have as a minimum two meetings with the census taker. One—in the period of the so-called preliminary round—from the 7th through the 10th of January. During this period, the census-taker will try to catch you home; if you wish, he will tell about the goals and significance of the population census. And, of course, he will try to make arrangements with you about a second, final meeting, naturally, at any time convenient for you for filling out the census documentation.

Considering the preliminary arrangements, the census-taker will plan his subsequent route, in order to fulfill his assigned task the most rationally and with the least loss of time.

In hospitals, resorts, sanatoriums, and vacation hotels, information will be collected during the first day of the census—January 12. Passengers will be interrogated en route; the rest—in airports and in railroad and bus stations.

[Lalushkin] And how many people, by your calculations, will a census-taker be able to interrogate?

[Baltinem] For example, in cities each of them should meet and interrogate on average a little more than four hundred people. In a rural area, where the population is not so concentrated, that number is somewhat less—around three hundred people.

The census-taker will try to convince you to regard his work with maximum trust and understanding. After all, the census questionnaires, whose data will be put into the memory of computers, are not legal documents and, therefore, cannot be utilized against the property and personal interests of the interrogated. In addition, the anonymity of answers will be strictly observed. By law the census-taker does not have the right to divulge the information received or to demand any documents. By the way, in order to avoid misunderstanding, you may ask him to show you the special medal of the census-taker or his certification.

[Lalushkin] Having this opportunity, I cannot resist a question, the answer to which certainly keenly interests many residents of the republic today: What kind of expected correlation of residents of native nationality and the Russian-speaking population of Latvia can there be?

[Baltinē] According to our data, the proportion of native population in the republic will be somewhere close to 51 per cent. By the way, demographers from Latvian State University also hold the same opinion. On what is the forecast based? On knowledge of current statistics.

[Lalushkin] Will there be introduced in the present census questionnaire new questions different from those which were presented in previous years?

[Baltinē] Yes. Thus, for the first time in the postwar period, information about the living conditions of the population will be collected and summarized. The census-takers, for example, will ask what condition your apartment is in, when the building was built, and what materials its external walls are made of. By the way, part of the information in this division in preliminary order is already collected through the Bureau of Technical Inventory and other organizations.

[Lalushkin] Let us assume that the census-taker notes that the building at which he arrived is in dangerous condition. Does this signify that an improvement of living conditions awaits its residents in the near future?

[Baltinē] Only indirectly. In as much as census data in summarized analytical form will be taken into account in the planning of new construction and the volume of capital repair. Besides that, this will provide the opportunity to do trustworthy analysis of the living conditions of separate social groups, for example comparative analysis of the welfare of workers depending on the kind of industry in which they are employed.

In the previous census, there was also not a question about whether a person had graduated from a professional-technical school. This will permit finding out how many people were trained there and how many directly in the workplace. And, of course, where the graduates of

professional-technical schools now work. In some measure, this will provide the opportunity to trace the effectiveness of education and not to allow in the future the overproduction of specialists of one profession to the detriment of another.

As far as higher education is concerned, then we will be able to determine, for example, how many people with engineering and teaching diplomas work with us as taxi drivers, loaders, and stand behind a counter. You will agree that, after all, this is also its own sort of index of the redistribution of social interests in society, which today it is impossible to brush aside.

Further. Today issues of migration are an important question. Therefore, the following question is also introduced: Since when has a person lived in a given population center, city or agricultural region? This will provide the opportunity to put together a trustworthy social portrait of, let us say, Riga.

[Lalushkin] There is data about the fact that many people live in Riga and in other cities of the republic without a registration.

[Baltinē] It is important to us to know the real picture. From the point of view of social statistics, it is not important whether a person in a given population center is registered or not. We will try to take him into account according to the factual place of residence. I think that therefore the interrogated should not avoid a meeting with the census-taker only due to the fact that he is not registered. Exact data are needed in order to, for example, correct the development of transportation and supply service of the population. Let us assume that in Riga two to three per cent of all inhabitants live without a registration. You will agree, it is of no small importance in such a case to keep the bus fleet which follows municipal routes, let us say, at not one hundred, but one hundred and three units.

[Lalushkin] The receiving of data is the first step. But then it will, after all, have to be summarized.

[Baltinē] It is intended to finish the putting of the data into the computer before the end of August of the present year. Then, all the information on magnetic media will be sent to Moscow to the USSR State Committee on Statistics Main Computing Center for a final tally and the reception of the sum total results.

[Lalushkin] Will we be able to find out the census results in the republic, before combined data on the entire country will be received?

[Baltinē] Partly, yes. In as much as the technology of information processing provides for its repeated control and verification on the spot.

[Lalushkin] And how soon will we be able to expect the first census results in the republic?

[Baltin] I think we will already be able to publish the first totals, for example, the number of inhabitants of the republic, the structure of its population according to sex and age, and some other results, at the end of this spring.

In conclusion, I want to, taking advantage of this opportunity, direct the attention of residents of the republic to the fact that we have established a special telephone number by which anyone wishing may receive an answer to any question having an immediate relation to the census. The telephone number is 28-59-29. Its hours are 8:00 to 20:00.

[Lalushkin] Thank you for the interview.

### **School Dormitory Conditions in Uzbekistan Decried**

1800600 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
20 Jan 89 p 1

[Editorial: "School of Life"]

[Text] The years of study and coming into being, a time of journeying in search of ideals or financial independence, are a long trip and watch - all this is linked almost without fail with a bureaucratic berth and bed, with a collective way of life and the corridor system. In a word, linked with a dormitory. We take away from the dormitory open ways, fellowship, and a willingness to help out in misfortune. Strange as it may seem, an unaccommodating nature, cynicism, and moral slovenliness also originate there.

Everything depends on raising and answering the question: is the dormitory the house in which I live or a place where I languish in expectation of real life? Everything depends on one's attitude. To see the dormitory as one of the factors which form a person or simply a somewhat improved waiting room - you agree, is the difference. In the waiting room people are on their own. In dormitories, it is often the same. In those dormitories where there are almost no communal conveniences, all ideological education work is reduced to categorical prohibitions which are regularly violated.

This axiom was known to the leaders of the Tashkent Geological Survey Tekhnikum. All the same, when a mass fight took place in its dormitory, the tekhnikum director, A. Makhkamov, and the Party buro secretary, R. Kuziyev, who arrived on the scene, were not able to answer the militia employees' simple questions: how many persons are living here, how do they fill their leisure time. The neglect, the gaps in educational work, the unsanitary conditions were the basis on which germinated egoism, estrangement, hostility and cruelty.

This incident is an exception. But the conditions which arose here are by no means a rarity. No one, including trade union Komsomol organizations of the republic, wants to study in detail the social-domestic conditions of the students and young workers, or the organization of

educational and cultural work in the dormitories. Party committees are poorly coordinating and focusing the efforts of interested organizations on this, and lenient with the leaders who are permitting the disorder within the dormitories. The low prestige of the Komsomol organizations is noted. There is a considerable number of examples - both on the Tashkent campus and other places in other cities in the republic.

I should especially like to speak about the authority of the teachers. Doesn't it replenish the money-box of negatives of the students dorms? An anonymous person made a comparison: if during the time of the tsars students concealed "Das Kapital" under a table when they saw the gendarmes and set a bottle on the table, today they do the opposite when a check descends on them unexpectedly.

It is easy to accuse the students themselves in such a way of life. We do not always have the sense to look at those who are close by.

Here is another comparison. In 1988 in the republic more than 280 students of all kinds of educational institutions, including schools, were delivered to medical sobering up stations. Alas, there were even more teachers - more than 330.

However, a bad education is not only a drunken teacher or aimless spare time. Broken water-pipes and heating which is disconnected in the middle of winter, unsanitary conditions and poor nutrition foster it in their own way.

In Fergana oblast, for example, nutrition is organized in adapted premises in half of the professional technical schools. How much they are "adapted" can be judged by the fact that one-third of the cooking areas in the SPTU are poorly provided with hot and cold water and refrigeration equipment. To these problems are added the difficulties of overcrowding. On the average, for one student living in a dormitory, there are four square meters of "legalized space." And even in such conditions, the republic's need for dormitories for students and pupils is only 55 percent satisfied.

To the point, the educational base of the universities and tekhnikums does not conform to the student "output." Thus, is it not time for the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Public Education to bring plans for graduating specialists into conformance with the material base of the educational institutions - both educational and social?

It would seem that young workers living in dormitories ought not to know similar problems. A sound business, unlike the universities which "live on" grants, is able to build a dormitory itself and to equip it as necessary.

But even here, you run into bad living conditions, unsanitary conditions, and low discipline. Is a residual principle functioning? Yes, one could believe that a

business is forced to devote to the dormitories only the crumbs of its economic power, but one observation prevents this: the state of affairs in the dormitory is far from always depending on the financial results of the work of the enterprise. Thus, the Tashkent Matbuot association, which is not very strong in an economic respect, maintains its dormitories better than the celebrated TTZ association.

In Cherkhik, the prominent industrial association, Elektrokhimprom, cannot boast about its dormitories, in contrast to the less wealthy industrial complex of refractory and heat-resistant metals, a branch of the State Institute of the Nitrogen Industry.

In Zarafshan, there are five dormitories at the Central Ore Administration, but the building most unsuccessful in its plan and construction has been given to the women for some reason. A proposal to move them to an apartment-type dormitory was left without consideration by the Administration leadership.

No, it is a sin to allude to a shortage of resources. As we see, there are resources. And there is experience in utilizing them. There is also an expansion of the rights of workers' collectives - both managers and public organizations are accountable to them.

At the same time, it would be good to conduct meetings and elections of managers precisely there, in the dormitories. Many of the dormitories' problems would then be solved, it is thought.

### **'Pamyat' Accuses Press, Television of Corrupting Youth**

*18000591a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA  
in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 2*

[Article by V. Todres: "The Same Old Speeches..."]

[Text] I found myself at this meeting...by written invitation. Last Saturday, standing in a crowd protesting the construction of the Volga canals - the Chogray and Volga - the Don II, I noticed people with "Georgiy the Victorious" badges pushing through here and there and distributing some kind of strips of paper. I received such a strip. It said: "Fellow countrymen! We invite you to take part in a meeting on 19 February at 1500 hours at the telecenter building. The meeting comes under the slogans: 'No to the propaganda of pop culture, prostitution and drug addiction!' 'Down with the editors of the yellow press!' *The 'Pamyat' movement.*"

...And in fact, I found the promised gathering at the telecenter. Nearly 350 people at the meeting held up slogans such as "TsT [Central Television] corrupts young people and destroys national culture!" "I will exchange yellow television for color or black-and-white!" "Pamyat" movement. Or the apotheosis: "Tel-Avision. Give us a Russian channel!"

The speeches from the rostrum were consistent in a similar spirit. The press and television were accused of propagating pornography, prostitution, the corruption of young people by means of rock and pop culture. A squall of accusations in this connection came down on the popular "Point of View" program. Apparently, the "Pamyat" leaders do not get Leningrad television programs or they would have gone after "The Fifth Wheel" as well.

They served up sharp labels, not troubling themselves with searching for arguments. Thus, to the journalists' question, "How do you regard the newspaper 'Moscow News'?", A. Turik, who is already famous all over the Union from the "Point of View" program (remember the program where he appeared in a football jersey with the inscription: "Down with occupation by Jewish Nazis!"), answered unequivocally: "Masonic News! I'll say no more." But most of all, Ogonek and V. Korotich personally, clearly caught it. This publication annoyed "Pamyat" very much. Very likely the lightest little stone in his address was the following: "Your Korotich is a Goldshtyukker." It is true that when the correspondent asked who Goldshtyukker is, the "public prosecutors" clearly found difficulty with the answer. But on the other hand, they did not find difficulty in getting out of the situation: they called me a provocateur and took cover in the placards "Korotich! Take Roy and the GanGNUS and get out!" "The CIA will support you!" "Don't be dim." "Pamyat" movement.

You won't get far today, however, on only crude and bad language. It would be dishonest to suppress the fact that "Pamyat" does not pass over problems which really exist. "The AES [Atomic Power Station] in Kalinin oblast is the sword of Damocles over central Russia!" "Save the Volga." "Without the Volga, there is no Russia!" Such slogans also appeared at the telecenter.

In reality, one ought not to deny that ecology and the Russian soil (but not only Russian!), and the Russian culture (but not only Russian) are in danger, and the situation is serious. The whole point is to find the causes and, the main thing is to get out of such a situation. After a long search, I found at last a person who not only set forth the program of action more or less coherently, but who was not afraid to give his name (for some reason, that is rare for "the nation's concerned"). And so, Aleksandr Kulikov, a member of the national-patriotic front "Pamyat," said:

"It is time to create a Russian academy of sciences, a Russian communist party and its central committee. Russia is the only republic which has neither. [It is time] to develop the economy on our own natural foundation, to close the borders to 'economic cooperation' and concessions: under the screen of business, Masons are making their way here. And the main thing is to introduce a percentage norm of representation for every nationality in structures of government, science, the

press, and so on. Russia must govern the Russians...Reduction of the army? We are against reducing the army. The army is the only remaining hope today!...In the end it is necessary to return to the traditions of Russian orthodoxy. We don't need democracy Ogonek-style. There has never been democracy in Russia—there has been conciliarism. And any Russian or member of the Orthodox Church must come out for conciliarism and the monarchy....”

Indeed, “die Dennis - you couldn't have put it better!” “Pamyat” compromises itself better than any most-qualified critic.

I managed to listen to the resurrected stories about “the blood of Christian babies” and a version of how “the execution of the tsar's family was a ritualistic Judaic sacrifice”...

...Is lighting green wood worthwhile? You think that a small group of babblers has gathered....It is worthwhile. This small group openly declares its aspiration for power. Using the name of a nationally respected person as a shield, a certain Lystsov began his speech at the telecenter no less than thus: “Mikhail Sergeevich suggested to us, the people, that we take power into our own hands. They are already taking it in the republics, but we are still sleeping!”

At least he was candid...

**Editorial Commentary:** This meeting was officially authorized and took place under the close watch of the militia. Our colleague called the Dzerzhinsk Raispolkom, and it was confirmed to him in a cheerful voice that yes, really, the notorious Sychev had made a request to the Mossovet to hold a meeting protesting the dominance of pornography on television. The Mossovet conveyed the request to the Dzerzhinsk Raispolkom, which approved it at its 15 February session.

### **Ukrainian Rights Activists Accused of Using Western Contacts**

18000767 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
26 Feb 89 p 3

[Readers' letters: “It's Clear Who Ordered Up This 'Music,' Say PRAVDA UKRAINY Readers”]

[Text] The item published on 9 February and entitled “Who's Using Whom?, or Journalistic Ethics of the 'Publishers' from the UKhS [Ukrainian Helsinki League],” wherein questions put by our correspondents M. Derimov and Zh. Rudenko were answered by V. Chornovil and M. Goryn from the so-called “Ukrainian Helsinki League,” has evoked a wide response from the readers of PRAVDA UKRAINY. We are publishing herewith several letters containing evaluations of the actions performed by the group which calls itself the “UKhS.”

### **A Dishonest Game**

The published item entitled “Who's Using Whom?” led me to have the following thoughts.

Nowadays, in order to carry out perestroika successfully, it's high time that we stopped playing to the grandstand. Because, after all, we have a mass of urgent matters to attend to. Neither V. Chornovil nor M. Goryn cares at all whether every working person has a roof over his head, enough things in the house, and a life full of dignity. As the truest “adventurers,” they are merely using our difficulties so that, by riding the crest of the wave of passions which they themselves have instigated, they can pass themselves off as “the people's defenders.” Those people who “fall for” such cheap tricks are helping these grandstanders to play their dishonest game.

At a recent meeting in the CPSU Central Committee this country's workers ardently supported the party's policy. So let's get to work! Let's move forward step by step, rather than in the backward direction in which these Johnny-come-lately “rights defenders” and their masters from the not-unknown Radio Liberty are attempting to push us.

Such persons as Chornovil and Goryn want to divert us from our true cause. In my opinion, they are not advocates, but instead foes, of perestroika.

*Yu. Yukhimchuk, worker at the Production Association imeni Lenin, Lvov.*

### **The Cobra's Fangs**

I read in your newspaper about the “publishers” from the UKhS, and I recalled the following lines of verse by Dmitriy Pavlychko:

I know him well  
by his character and his face.  
Venomous cobra fangs,  
Deceptive, hypocritical words!  
He desires death  
for his Mother-Ukraine.  
He himself would quietly thrust  
The knife into her heart.

Thus the renowned Ukrainian poet branded the rabid enemies of our people—the bourgeois nationalists. But if you come to think about it, Chornovil and Goryn also deserve to be characterized this way. Because, after all, they essentially and cynically revealed [exposed] themselves to your newspaper's correspondents: they told who paid them for disinformation and who ordered up this “music” from them.

*B. Shevchuk, War Veteran, teacher. Kiev.*

### **An Eloquent Autograph [Handwritten Note]: “So That Other Persons May Not Intercept Them...”**

The article published in PRAVDA UKRAINY about the so-called “rights defenders,” V. Chornovil and M. Goryn, caused us to recall two incidents which occurred in our customs work and which relate directly to these persons.

On 31 July of last year a customs inspection of the personal effects belonging to a Canadian woman tourist named Lorianna Gabrukhn turned up a note, a photocopy of which we are sending along to your editorial office. As you can see, it is addressed to Nadezhda Svetlichnaya, that same staff member of Radio Liberty about whom Chornovil talked to your newspaper's correspondent. The note contains a request to send a Toshiba computer and one or two Diconix printers specifically to them, Chornovil or Goryn, "so that other persons, who do not need them so much, may not intercept them."

According to the customs laws, the transmittal of things or money to third persons is considered to be contraband [smuggling]. In order to prevent an illegal act from being committed, we explained this to the tourist, after which she told us how the note came into her possession. And she wrote an explanation of its contents as follows: "I, Lorianna Gabrukhn, a citizen of Canada, during my stay in the Ukraine met one Valeriy Sichko, and he introduced me to Vyacheslav Chornovil. Within a certain period of time Sichko handed me a note which had been written by Chornovil...." In short, it was none other than the editor-in-chief of the notorious "UKhS Press Service" who demanded the Toshiba and the Diconixes from the staff member of Radio Liberty.

And here we would like to draw attention to the following point: at the time of their conversation with the journalists from PRAVDA UKRAINA, Chornovil and Goryn were caught red-handed not only for supplying disinformation to foreign "voices," but also for shamelessly lying when they replied to the correspondents' questions.

Thus, they asserted that they did not send their materials directly to Radio Liberty but rather to certain agencies. But, here now, right in front of you is an eloquent handwritten note attesting to the most direct and, furthermore, mercenary ties between this radio station and the persons supplying disinformation from the UKhS. They were also lying when they described how cheap all these computers, electronic synthesizers, and other items in short supply here were—items which they have been trying to get from abroad by hook or by crook.

And now something about how these Toshibas have been paid for. On 15 October of this past year Katerina Kovshevich, a tourist from the United States who had been visiting Lvov, attempted to bring out in her baggage a so-called "Declaration of the UKhS," directed against the fundamentals of our sociopolitical system and the USSR. And from the published admissions made by Chornovil and Goryn, we have found out that they were the specific authors of this scandalously outrageous text.

*Liliya Chepa, Oleg Charnetskiy, Senior Inspectors, Chop-skaya Customs Office, Transcarpathian Oblast.*

### He Is No Longer Our Fellow-Villager!

Esteemed Editors!

We have attentively read the item describing how the UKhS ringleaders, Vyacheslav Chornovil and Mikhail Goryn, replied to the questions put to them by the PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondents. We were particularly astounded by the following words from Chornovil: "I recently received a letter from my fellow-villagers. They wrote that at a village rally the following question was asked: 'Vyacheslav, what have you come to?' But I know that many persons in the village support me."

What he is talking about is our village of Olkhovets, Zvenigorodskiy Rayon, Cherkassk Oblast. It is true that the V. Chornovil now living in Lvov is from our village. We nourished him, provided him with a secondary education, and opened up the road for him to go to a university.... But that business about there being someone in this village who supposedly supports him is a barefaced lie.

We have already noted for a long time that this native son of our village has brought shame upon it by his collaboration with foreign, anti-Soviet "voices," by his outrageous attempts to justify the Banderovtsy murderers. On more than one occasion our citizens have requested the ispolkom of the Village Soviet to discuss Chornovil's actions publically. And, in fact, on 6 January of the present year this problem was discussed along with several matters of importance to our lives here.

Those who spoke about Chornovil stated that, by his blabbing about "freedom fighters" of the bloody OUN [Association of Ukrainian Nationalists], he has insulted the memory of the 432 inhabitants of our village who perished in the people's struggle for freedom against the German-Fascist predators and their nationalistic hangers-on [toadies]. They spoke indignantly about his serving those abroad to whom a Socialist Ukraine and the age-old friendship between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples sticks like a bone in the throat. They said that he betrayed the land which had nourished him, and they asked how much his foreign benefactors had paid him for this.

In particular, a proposal was made that our former fellow-villager not be allowed back into the village (he owns a house here which he inherited from his parents). But, in the final analysis, the rally—which was attended by approximately 300 persons—limited itself to condemning Vyacheslav Chornovil's anti-social activity and decided to send him a letter. In this letter we warned him that it was high time that he change his mind, abandon the shameful "work" for our foreign opponents, return to his own people, and become a part of the genuine work of restructuring our life.

And now we have learned from the item in PRAVDA UKRAINY how this person reacted to our appeal. Neither he nor his pals are heeding the voice of reason. Just think about what is threatened by these guys from the UKhS! Nothing large or small—not our system, not the USSR, neither the Constitution of the USSR or the UkSSR! Despite all this, they hypocritically blab about perestroyka, while, in fact, they are trying to hamper it with all their might.

V. Chornovil and M. Goryn have exposed themselves by their own answers to the correspondents' questions. It turns out that the "information [news] from the Ukraine," which they fabricate and send to Radio Liberty, is chock-full of all kinds of fanciful inventions. What is it worth to have even a lie about the "use of asphixiating gas"? Here "Editor" Chornovil, when pinned to the wall, was compelled in essence to admit that he had lied. We were particularly disgusted how, in another instance, when he had been caught red-handed at slandering and insulting an individual, he tried to "flee into the bushes" and dump all the blame in Yaroslav Kendzor, his fellow-participant in this dirty business.

Our unworthy fellow-villager Slavko besmirches good people by threatening to challenge anyone to a duel who says that he justifies the Banderovtsy. But here too he justifies them! And so, could be be that he will challenge himself to a duel?

Chornovil denies that his foreign pal, Aleksey Gorbach, who lives in the FRG, served the fascists in the SS Division known as "Galichina." And then he immediately blurts out that this very Gorbach was "just a translator in a German prison camp." What can one say in such a case? We front-line veterans and children of front-line veterans know well what hells Hitler's camps were for Soviet prisoners-of-war and what executioner-like roles were played in them by the fascist-minded toady-translators. Such, it turns out, are the kinds of friends that Vyacheslav found for himself! We have also heard that among the staff members of Radio Liberty, which he supplies with his lies, there are still Nazi war criminals to be encountered to this very day.

In the conversation with the journalists from PRAVDA UKRAINY Chornovil admitted that he was receiving financial support from abroad. We also noted the following: he conveyed to Radio Liberty information about the computer and electronic synthesizer which had been "given" to his wife in Sweden. And in the interview he blabbed that she had purchased these items in that country. And so she did not receive them as gifts but instead bought them.... It may be asked: with what money? Clearly, with that money obtained in exchange for the lies. And so these are parasites who, for a Judas-type of 30 pieces of silver, buy abroad items which are in short supply here; and then they sell them on the

black market here in our country. Let's say, his wife "managed to sell a certain tape recorder," she would have about 650 rubles to spend on her next "business trip"!

We are rural laborers whose lives are filled with work on the land. We are constantly concerned that new generations of farmsteaders receive a good education, love and know their native language, be faithful to their Motherland, safeguard the friendship between the peoples of the USSR like the pupils of their eyes, and preserve unsullied their honor and consciences.

And here we see how one of our village's native sons, someone who has lived in the world for 50 years, has not merely sullied his conscience but has even lost it entirely: he has begun to serve a foreign "voice" of the CIA, and has become a supplier of anti-Soviet slander. If you think about it for a while, how does this person differ from those traitorous polizei types who, during the years of the Hitlerite occupation, served the fascist predators? Our people brand such despicable creeps as follows: "They would sell their own mothers for a morsel of rotten sausage."

We request the editors of PRAVDA UKRAINY to publish this letter of ours. Let Vyacheslav Chornovil know that he is no longer our fellow-villager, and that there no support for him now in our village of Olkhovets, nor will there be in the future.

*V. Gonchareno, machine operator.*

*D. Grishchenko, veteran of war and labor.*

*S. Grishchenko, brigade-leader of machine operators.*

*I. Nedzelskiy, veteran of war and labor, chairman of comrades' court.*

*S. Khlivnyy, chairman of cooperative for developing subsidiary farms.*

*P. Shcherbina, machine operator.*

#### **Turkmen Taught Poorly in Russian Schools** 18350402

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 21 December 1988 carries on page 3 a 1,100 word article by Sh. Abdullayeva headlined "Bilingualism Is a Demand of the Time" on the status of teaching Turkmen in the republic's Russian-language schools. "In our republic at present there are 105 schools teaching in Russian and 89 Russian-Turkmen bilingual schools in which close to 250 Turkmen language teachers are employed. Despite the work being done, there have been no basic changes in improving Turkmen language teaching in Russian-language schools and in preschool childrens' administrations. The existence of basic shortcomings, mistakes and unused reserves in this important

work has been revealed." The primary problem is the lack of textbooks and other teaching aids. She also

proposes the organization of a special course for teachers of Turkmen in Russian schools.

**Readers Express Loss of Confidence in Sajudis**  
*18000626 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian*  
*5 Feb 89 p 2*

[Article by N. Zdanovich: "What Would You Have Us Believe In?"]

[Text] On 11 December 1988 S. Baltite's article, "One Wants to Believe," appeared in our newspaper. It caused a stormy reaction among many. Perhaps our steady readers have not forgotten its contents, but I'll briefly recount it anyway.

S. Baltite tried to take an objective look at the activity of Sajudis, from the moment of its appearance prior to the Fall (1988) session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. A Lithuanian by nationality, who together with her nation had lived through the not-so-uncomplex period in the history of her motherland, she considered it her right—under the conditions of our nascent democracy—to state her opinion. In the article she gave the LDP its due for its activities, its ability to stir up and organize the people, and its ability to pose serious questions (especially if it concerned a national renaissance)... At the same time she expressed her discomfort with the lack of democratic principles in the judgments of certain of its representatives, the manner of holding discussions, the one-sidedness of its approach to interpreting historical events, and the excessive dramatization of certain facts.

"I send a great big thank-you to the editors of SOVETSKAYA LITVA and to author S. Baltite for her article, 'One Wants to Believe.' One rarely sees such an unbiased analysis of events in the newspaper. I am tired of reading all kinds of slander, crudity and distortion of the facts. We are looking for similar articles." These are the words of M. Urbelite from Vilnius.

"One would truly like to believe that the people, the party and the government of Lithuania would seek a sense of reality, and would abandon the myth that the nation is perishing, and adopting hasty, extreme measures to save it," L. Lebedev of Shvenchyenis writes above the text of the article.

A person said what she thought. Is this not one of the gains of perestroika? Nevertheless, in the vast amount of mail which poured in in response to the article, one encounters letters in which the authors do not wish to argue; they simply (out of habit?) hang labels on S. Baltite, accusing her of being a traitor, of losing her national identity; or they doubt her existence altogether. Incidentally, she has declined several meetings, since not all those wishing to become acquainted with her were amicably disposed. We sensed this ourselves from the phone calls which came into the editorial office after publication of the article. Those who called did not so much express reasoned disagreement with her article as much as they demanded her address and telephone number in threatening tones. And nevertheless, to the

credit of her opponents, among the letters expressing disagreement with the position of the author of the article, there were also some in which it seemed they were trying to win her over. I shall dwell on two of those, as the most typical. They were sent to us by G. Saulene (of Vilnius) and P. Vitkauskas (of Lentvaris). The main idea in them in my view is, that Sajudis is above criticism! "Everyone knows of the enormous prestige of Sajudis among the Lithuanian people," writes P. Vitkauskas. "One simply does not meet Lithuanians who would be opposed to this movement." I will allow myself to remark that neither is S. Baltite opposed, nor are many "non-Lithuanians" as well. The difference lies in the fact that not everyone believes blindly in its infallibility, and, while giving it good marks for its positive work, reserves to themselves the right to make sober judgments on its shortcomings.

N. Mishkina of Vilnius shares her impressions: "When Sajudis was formed, I understood that this organization is a necessary one—it brings good to the people living and working in Lithuania. But here is what is distressing: at its forums its members speak out without opposition, and speak only about what they themselves want to hear; there is no open debate; serious questions are hushed up, and petty problems on an everyday plane predominate..."

G. Saulene believes that Sajudis was the savior of the nation. "I am grateful to it," says she, "and I believe all Lithuania is grateful to Sajudis, for it has inspired us to be courageous." One could in my view continue this line of thought—but who was it that inspired the courage and breathed life as a whole into the LDP? The letter does not remind us that Sajudis is a movement in support of perestroika, which was begun by the country's Communist Party—which has become the initiator of revolutionary changes in society—and these changes have given birth to and made possible its activities. The indisputable merits of Sajudis are seen in the activeness of the positions taken by its supporters, their faith in the necessity for and reality of the renewal of social and economic life, and its ability to support this faith in others. But has the movement been insulated against mistakes? After all the complexity of many of its activities have made the citizens of Lithuania suspicious. Here is what they write to us: "It simply chills my soul that certain authorities in the movement are driving a wedge, in a 'civilized' manner, in between the nations; how they are insidiously creating dissension and bitterness among the people." And that is the impression formed by our reader I. Simonova.

"We understand perestroika," N. Yarygina, Urbonavichene and other comrades from Lentvarisa said in their collective letter to us, "not only as the return of national attributes; not only as the development of the national culture and language; but chiefly as the rebirth of respectability, honesty, industriousness, and respect for a person of any nationality..."

G. Saulene appeals to S. Baltite: "Do not fear, Comrade Baltite, that the Moscow dictatorship is being replaced with a Vilnius dictatorship. That will not happen... Sajudis will help everyone conquer their fear, and help everyone speak the truth and will not deprive us, neither of that nor of freedom and democracy themselves." Well, that sounds good, but the country is currently occupied with the idea of creating a just socialist state, and life in that state should not depend merely on the will of a limited group of people—be they benevolent or not very much so. Democracy and freedom need more objective guarantees. And apparently not everyone has faith in Sajudis.

"I decided to leave Sajudis the moment that it was proposed to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet to immediately adopt a new republic Constitution," says L. Bochyus, a construction engineer and former LDP participant, in his letter. "And this is what it comes to: in the past the party-government bureaucracy had no stake in us, and adopted their decisions in our stead. Have the leaders of Sajudis now taken upon themselves the role of interpreters of our position? Does this not show their lack of respect for the people, that they propose adopting a Constitution which the people have not seen, and have not discussed?"

Faith in the LDP was again somewhat undermined by the campaign to gather signatures opposing participation in discussion of the draft changes to the USSR Constitution proposed by the CPSU Central Committee. The same Bochyus writes to us, "I...saw how they were extorting signatures from the people, creating an atmosphere of intolerance around those who declined. And I saw how they were taking signatures from juveniles."

"My granddaughter, who is 12 years old, herself told me that she put down her signature four times!" says O. Bashkene of Vilnius with indignation.

In her article S. Baltite wrote of her own pain, which is familiar to all who love and know Lithuania: Stalin's repression, the post-war banditism of bourgeois nationalists... Which of these two terrible misfortunes brought the most grief to the Lithuanian people? How can this be reckoned, how can it be measured?

"Read what they who have returned from Siberia are writing," proposes G. Saulene, "and you will see that Stalinism was worse than Lithuanian banditism." But many of those who wrote to us do not agree with her. O. Bashkene shares, that after the war she saw things that even now causes her "hair to stand on end" when she thinks of them: "Women with breasts cut off, children with their skulls crushed—all that was done by our Lithuanian 'forest brothers.'"

"No, we have not forgotten those times, when they carted in the mutilated corpses of Soviet activists and peasants," we read in a collective letter from Lentvaris.

"In 1949 an orphan lad came to Veyveryay for Christmas at his aunt's place. He was 14 years old. He was horribly disfigured: they cut stars on his chest and on his back; they cut his ears off; and they gouged out his eyes... Why are there no monuments to the victims of the bourgeois nationalists?"

A. Yakubin writes to us from Kupishkis about what he personally witnessed while at work: "In the village of Okaynyay the bandits dragged a 75-year old man out into the woods and hung him up by his legs... In 1948 in Iosvaynyay the bandits killed the brother of A. Barauskas, chairman of the republic people's control commission, and they murdered Deputy Volost Ispolkom Chairman Yanaytis, his parents and his children... In Potnuvskaya Volost the bandits murdered two Komsomol members who were getting ready to celebrate their wedding... It seems to me that the leaders of Sajudis should be talking about this too, and not only about those who were deported from Lithuania."

G. Saulene expresses her opinion further: "If the bandits of before return to Lithuania, the Lithuanian people will know how to deal with them. But I think they have all long since gone to their graves. They were not deported to Siberia; they were buried in the Lithuanian forests." Does the esteemed Saulene not believe, that nothing can be forgiven our former enemies?

P. Vitkauskas, on the contrary, allows that "Among the exiles there were also those who committed crimes against Soviet rule and humanity. Their exile was deserved. They have paid, one way or another, for their sins." But right here he poses the question about the innocent citizens who were repressed for nothing, in the name of Soviet rule, and how they will be remunerated. This is a very serious question and is troubling many people, from the Black to the White Seas, from the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean. He must be given an answer. But is it just, to make the solution of one problem depend upon the solution of another? Can one crime really be given greater weight than the other, the moreso since the cost of each of them was—human life? Nevertheless P. Vitkauskas believes that, "The suffering experienced where their own Soviet rule did not exist was 100 times more bitter than deprivations in the Motherland."

"I can get down on my knees before those who are not guilty," says V. Steponenayte, whose father, mother and sister were brutally tortured by bandits. "But what about those who violated our mothers, and chopped our fathers into pieces?"

No less painful for the readers was the question of the young people, which Baltite touched upon. Yes, the young were lied to for a long time. It is hard not to agree with G. Saulene, when she says that, "First it is necessary to teach the children to tell the truth." But before that, we must learn to tell the truth ourselves. And this, it turns out, is not so easy—especially when one wants to pass off the desired as the actual.

Not many were indifferent to Baltite's marveling about the numerous meetings, actions and picketing, since they take time away from the people which could be used more productively—for the benefit of perestroika itself. "The Sajudis leaders have occupied themselves only with meetings and demonstrations, and have forgotten the main thing—that we must now work and strengthen labor discipline everywhere." That is what A. Yakubin believes—and he is not alone.

Saulene does not agree: "We, the citizens of Lithuania, who truly love our Motherland, shall continue to hold meetings and shall struggle by other methods with the bureaucrats and stagnators. We shall struggle until that time, when the Soviet rule of which Lenin dreamed is established."

The editors wish to thank everyone who responded to our publication. Unfortunately, I did not touch upon many letters in my survey—it was just impossible. But probably it was not necessary either. Even without that, I believe that all the citizens of Lithuania understand how much the situation around us has changed, and what kind of hotbeds of tension have sprung up in the republic as a result of the co-existence of various opinions about the very same problems. A. Vasilets of Vilnius is a survivor: "I have been working at VZRIP [possibly, All-Union Electronic Measuring Instruments Plant] for 32 years. We have a multi-national collective, and no one has ever oppressed anyone. Then all of a sudden conflicts began on the basis of nationality... Whose purpose does that serve?"

But, we are learning democracy; and we are striving to deepen our culture, the most important components of which have always been respect for another's opinion, patience, and mutual understanding. And we shall not take the path of, "He who is not with us is against us," the sad consequences of which are known to everyone.

"Good will and mercy must be present always and in everything. Then the desired result will occur, which the citizens of the Lithuanian republic are expecting of you and our government." With these words, N. Mishkina appeals to the supporters of Sajudis.

To seek answers to questions; to strive for objectivity; not to reject everything out of hand, but to take from the past what is best, which at any rate has been created, has been won, and has been defended—this is our common task. Let there be different opinions and views among us. The main thing is that we have a common goal—a happy, lively future, the basic value of which is man's well-being.

### U.S. Project To Build Recreation Center in Leningrad Park Protested

18000588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 24 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by Yuriy Sokolov, writer: "The Sale: A Plan To Infringe Upon Lisiy Nos"]

[Text] Last Sunday a meeting was held in St. Isaac Square in Leningrad. The people were disturbed by just one question: the fate of Lisiy Nos....

Leningraders had not the slightest inkling of what sort of monstrosity from across the ocean was advancing on them when G.A. Bukin, deputy chairman of the Leningrad Gorispolkom and A.N. Alfimov, chief of the capital construction, for the Soviet side and Mr. Cyrus Eaton for the American side signed an agreement providing for the construction of a large tourist, cultural, and sports center on the North shore of the Gulf of Finland. This entire shoreline belt to the settlement of Olgino inclusive belongs to a well-laid-out health-resort zone, which is subject, in accordance with the RSFSR Land Code, to special protection: it is prohibited to offer any sections on these lands for the purpose of constructing enterprises, organizations, and institutions whose activities could cause harm to nature or the population.

Specific problems of organizing a joint enterprise were discussed at the meeting in the Leningrad Gorispolkom. They talked about a pilot investment of 5 billion dollars and about the shared participation of both sides. They also agreed on duty-free trade for foreigners on the territory of this center. Taking into account the scope of this project, they considered that the term for leasing the land section on which the amusement center is to be built will last for 50 years. When the Leningrad Gorispolkom representatives scribbled their signatures to this deal in the quietude of their offices, they forgot that, after the sensational incident at the Hotel Angletterre, the homes of Delvig and Dostoyevskiy, they had promised to hold discussions with the public on any future serious projects. Nevertheless, right up to its signing, this agreement was not discussed with the public.

The press molded opinion. We could make a judgement about the construction being proposed by certain newspaper headlines: "Park of Marvels on Gulf Shore," "Disneyland and Then Some." Leningraders obtained this information from the newspapers in mid-November of last year at the same time as the signing of this agreement was reported. Telephone calls and letters to the editors attest that this upcoming "project of the century"—which is unprecedented anywhere in the world—have evoked feelings of alarm and danger among the city's inhabitants, whereas it has sown a sense of panic among the inhabitants of the Lisiy Nos settlement. It seems that the newspapers report that the "dacha-type settlement will not suffer," but meanwhile a hurried survey is being taken of the houses; the owners of

small-sized livestock, pigs, and chickens are being warned about the necessity—"in case something happens"—of quickly "getting rid of" their small-sized livestock, poultry, etc.

In mid-December a meeting was held in the Lisiy Nos settlement between the inhabitants and representatives from the Leningrad Gorispolkom. It was impossible to crowd into the settlement's Chayka [Seagull] Motion-Picture Theater. The announcement that the question of the possible resettlement of Lisiy Nos, "if such is required," will be decided...by the board of the commercial enterprises, evoked a squall of protest: What is this? You mean, whether we live or don't live on our native land will be decided by some foreign businessmen?! But our fathers and grandfathers lived here; the fraternal graves of those who defended Leningrad are also here. And what about the Prince Vladimir church and the monument marking the site where revolutionaries from the Peter and Paul Fortress were executed? And where will the numerous rest-and-recreation centers and Pioneer Camps be put? Nor did the inhabitants of Lisiy Nos wish to listen to anything about any kind of amusement center. Professor M.V. Ignatyev, chief, Department of Computer Systems, Leningrad Aviation-Instrument-Building Institute, and the ideological "father" of this concept, talked about how the center would, he said, be dominated by the ideas of peace, goodness, friendship, and justice. But just what, according to the intentions of the project's authors, will constitute the center of leisure? The American model of organizing cultural leisure has been adopted as a foundation here, and all this is to be mechanically transferred onto our soil. A "country" of fairy-tales with computer games will appear, doors will be flung open to modern-type music and exhibition halls and sports complexes, zoos, and an enclosed swimming pool—with ocean waves, sandy beaches, cafes, and palms. There will be flashing, powerful lights of signs advertising extravagant hotels with bars and restaurants, an international house of fashion, halls for auctions and fairs inundated with imported items for any taste and selection—all available in exchange for hard currency.... But it would be naive to assume that working people from Rzhnevsko-Porokhovyy or the Southwestern District would spend their leisure time on an equal footing with foreign tourists. It's more likely for those who have dollars at their disposal....

It's only now, after more or less complete information has been obtained, that the public has begun to sound the alarm. At a seminar devoted to the creation of the center specialists from various fields of expertise spoke about the hasty and poorly thought-out quality of the decisions, about the serious ecological consequences for the city. Thus, for example, the botanists, in speaking about the Levashorsk Wasteland, whose forests and copses give off oxygen and normalize the air basin of Leningrad's Northwest District, emphasized that in the present-day situation eliminating even one hectare of the green zone around the city would be a crime. But, in the process of constructing such a gigantic structure, the forests which

comprise Leningrad's forest-park zone would inevitably suffer. For example, the population of wax-myrtle [bay-berry], a plant which has been registered in the Red Book, might perish. The cost of this population is 32 million rubles.

V.V. Mashedzhimov, one of the speakers and an officer at Inturist, noted the following point with complete justification: foreigners do not come to our country because of automated games, attractions, or hotels; they have these things in their own countries and somewhat better ones at that. These people are attracted instead by unique landmarks and museums. But we do not have a Pushkin Museum, unless you count the one on the Moyka Canal, which, moreover, has been restored poorly. We lack an Akhmatova Museum. The city needs a museum of the Leningrad Siege. But, instead of this, we have a campsite in the Olgino Settlement—a focus of mindless diversions, prostitution, stuffed sausages, and hard-currency machinations. But this campsite is just a drop in the bucket when compared to the center which has been thought up.... And there is more: foreign tourists have begun arriving in Leningrad with their own drinking water in flasks and thermos-bottles because their pamphlets recommend that they refrain from drinking Leningrad water.

Now it is already a well-known fact that Leningrad in general is threatened by an extremely severe shortage of drinking water because the condition of Lake Ladoga has been acknowledged to be catastrophic. The Sevzapgeologiy Association was assigned the task of prospecting for new reserve supplies of drinking water. The geologists searched for a long time, and they finally found and mapped out an underground river. But when they were preparing to site the water-collecting wells, they saw that this unique water-reservoir was located under that very same land which will be turned over to be disposed of by foreign firms for 50 years. People are bitterly ironic: Won't it happen that in the "country of marvels" the entrepreneurs will sell us our own drinking water?

The question of ecological expertise justifiably arose. As urged by Professor M.V. Ignatyev, it should be the concern of the Department of General Geology of the Forestry Engineering Academy. But the academy's representative, A. Yevstratov, announced the following at the seminar: "We just received such a proposal. We have not yet undertaken the work."

And how can we speak at all about beginning construction work during the summer of 1989 and putting the center's first phase into operation in 1991 if there is no ecological, social, or medical justification? Why does the Leningrad Gorispolkom ignore the law, which states the following: state organs shall be obliged to take into consideration the suggestions made by public organizations and citizens in carrying out measures to safeguard underground resources and to make optimal use of

them...? It is likewise forbidden to plan or build populated centers, industrial complexes, and other national-economic facilities prior to obtaining from the appropriate territorial geological organization data on the absence of minerals under the section of the proposed area to be built up.

These days Leningraders are asking many puzzling questions. Why such haste, such a forced pace in concluding this contract? Why has the question of building a zoo in the city taken 50 years to decide, or deciding to turn the Stroganov Palace over to the State Russian Museum taken two decades? Why has it taken an entire decade to carry out repair work in the Fontanka Street Branch of the Public Library, while books have burned, been soaked, and stolen?

The advocates and authors of the idea of constructing an amusement center have the same old arguments, i.e., the economy is in a critical state, there is no money for restoration work, we do not have enough museums, the Hermitage is overloaded.... By building the center and entering into a shared participation, we would presumably earn hard currency from tourism so as to be able to renovate the old city.... It turns out that during the times of democracy and glasnost we are still powerless when confronted by the bureaucrats of the apparatus, whose representatives are even now determining the fate of Lisii Nos and the Levashorsk Wasteland with the Petrovsk Oak Grove, the underground drinking water, the fraternal graves of those who took part in the battles for Leningrad, and other historical landmarks. Most assuredly, signing the agreement for 50 years is an extremely serious act, for it affects the interests of millions of people. And it should not be done by a small circle of officials in the municipal apparatus. Only the people possess the wisdom to find the correct solution in any situation.

#### **BSSR TU Commission on Stalinist Repressions Meets**

*18000666a Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 9 Feb 89 p 4*

[BELTA report: "The Commission Begins Work"]

[Text] The first session of the Belorussian SSR Trade-Union Council Presidium's Commission To Further Study Materials Connected with the Repressions Which Took Place During the 1930's, 1940's, and Very Early 1950's has been held. This commission is headed up by S.M. Solovyeva, secretary of the Belorussian SSR Trade-Union Council. It includes representatives of the labor collectives, responsible officials of the Belorussian SSR Trade-Union Council, veterans of the trade-union, historians, jurists, and journalists.

The commission's task is to thoroughly study materials pertaining to the rehabilitation of trade-union personnel and activists who suffered from illegal and arbitrary treatment during the period of Stalin's personality cult.

It must also examine and introduce proposals regarding matters linked with eternalizing the memory and burial places of these victims of repressions.

Reports were delivered at the session by the following persons: V.S. Karavay, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Court; P.D. Lapets, deputy director, Party History Institute of the Belorussian CP Central Committee; and A.P. Obukhovich, special pensioner. The commission outlined special paths for further work. Particular attention was paid to the need for restoring the good names of those who were repressed, to inform the labor collectives about this, and to manifest concern for their families.

Analogous commissions have been established in the oblast-level trade-union councils. It is recommended that they extensively involve in their work representatives of trade-union committees, independent heroic-patriotic and historical-regional-studies types of associations, other public organizations and formations.

#### **Readers Criticize Writers' Stand on Ukrainian Language**

*18000666b Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Feb 89 p 4*

[Letters from readers: "Impatience and Intolerance"]

[Text] In its issue dated 8 February of this year, under the "Culture of Democracy" rubric, RABOCHAYA GAZETA published some notes from a meeting held by Kiev literary figures; it was entitled "Impatience and Intolerance." The initial responses to this item have arrived here, and we are publishing them below.

I am a 52-year-old engineer. I am Ukrainian on my mother's and father's side. I am interested in technology and science fiction. Politics has never interested to the extent that I devote myself to it, but I do try to keep up with the latest events. I watch all the popular political TV broadcasts: "Time," "The World Today," "Abroad," "At the Roundtable," etc. I do not catch all the political nuances, but I did not like it when, at the meeting of the Kievan organization of the Ukrainian Writers' union, they unharnessed the Ukrainian language as the principal question. I am a Ukrainian. But for the last thirty years or so I have been speaking more in Russian. Most of the books which I have read were also in Russian. In my opinion, I am more literate and can communicate in Russian, and so I use it. And, in general, I think that both languages have equal rights, and it makes no difference to me what language people speak with me.

There are fewer textbooks in Ukrainian, and this has a negative effect on studies at VUZ's. I can switch to my native language without any trouble. But what about those citizens of other nationalities who study in the Ukraine, and even many instructors? It is not a good idea to change laws for the sake of the language now when we

have many, very many unsolved problems which are more important, such as housing, food, etc. And if people in VUZ's and tekhnikums suddenly begin to read in Ukrainian, that does not mean that perestroyka has transpired. It seems to me that this is one way to introduce a split in collectives and thereby slow down perestroyka or shunt it to the side. At the meeting they stated that they had letters with many signatures in favor of the Ukrainian language. But nobody said where he had collected them. Nobody said that many people are also against this. They proclaim things in the name of the people. What people? There are, let's say 300 of them, and they are making a big fuss.... Who gave them the right to decide for me? I already have my passport, and I can speak for myself. This is not the main thing now, and they are over-exaggerating some sort of issue—blowing it out of all proportion—it is even a harmful matter. I am against any sort of reforms with regard to language. What we need is bread, meat, and housing. We speak about freedom and democracy. Now there will be freedom of speech in any language. The main thing is truth, justice, the essence of things, and reality.

*K.P. Kostenko, Kiev*

I do not understand who was there in the hall. They are attempting to decide such an important question as the nationality question with such malicious spite, with such non-objectivity. What is the People's Front? Where are we living? Is it not in the Soviet Ukraine? If there is a People's Front, then there will be an International Front as well. What will happen in the Ukraine then, and to whose taste will this be? Did this "bright" fellows ["eggheads"] think of that?

People live peacefully here. Nobody pays any attention to what language people speak or read. The main thing is that we need to have an honest attitude toward our own business. And respect all languages. Our workers' children study where their parents want them to. And it does not bother anyone as to who is studying what language. I understand that in the Ukraine it is necessary to expand the sphere where the Ukrainian language functions; that is essential. But, of course, not in the way that certain comrades from the creative intelligentsia want this, without taking objective reality into account.

This important process should be carried out gradually. And we must take into account the interests of many millions of non-Ukrainians. I have not even mentioned the money required for this. Where is it to be obtained?

As to the study of the Ukrainian language by non-Ukrainians, it must be said that here too there should be a great deal of tact. Certainly people cannot be forced to do this. That would only cause harm.

We all know that nowadays, under the banner of perestroyka, certain nationalistically minded elements are behaving aggressively, enjoying support from abroad. Therefore, we must do everything possible to prevent them from promoting their cause, which is harmful to our people.

In my opinion, perestroyka should be headed up by the party organs, rather than by some kinds of unions or fronts there. The Ukrainian CP Central Committee should not be swayed by all kinds of "leaders" who are stuffed with harmful emotions.

And another thing. We must not forget that many thousands of people of various nationalities helped the Ukrainian people to liberate their land during the years of the Civil War. And thousands upon thousands helped to build plants and mines during the years of the first few five-year plans, and many thousands mastered the non-fertile lands in the southern part of the Ukraine. Thousands upon thousands fought alongside the Ukrainian people against the predators in order to liberate the Soviet Ukraine. And that is where all these many millions of non-Ukrainians (primarily Russians) on our land come from. Can we really forget about this? But nothing was said about it at the writers' meeting.

*V.I. Lipnitskiy, Vinnitsa*

Recently there has been a lot of talk on television and radio about the nationality question, particularly to the effect that we need to accord Ukrainian the status of the state language.

Nowadays each nation and nationality is striving to accord specifically its own language the status of a state language. At both the republic and the oblast levels. On the one hand, they are correct. How, for example is a Ukrainian better than a Tatar, a Kalmyk, or an Avar?

All this began from the Baltic republics, and now it has spread to Moldavia, the Ukraine, and to other republics. It is a great pity that such nations as the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian, which, at one time, comprised a single people, and then were broken up by the princes, nowadays want to break up into even smaller components. Will according Ukrainian the status of the state language be of benefit for the development of this republic's culture? Let's take an example from real life. I think that language is an instrument [tool] of communication between persons. N.V. Gogol described the Ukraine and the Ukrainian people in the Russian language, and tell me, who among contemporary writers has described the Ukraine and the Ukrainian people with such love? And is it really necessary to translate the verse and narrative poems of T.G. Shevchenko? Even without translation, they are understandable and even dearer than when translated.

In IZVESTIYA, in an article entitled "Confession Before Taking to the Raod," a young fellow writes as follows: "...I will never have completely equal rights in our society." This person has been put down, since he is a religious believer rather than a Komsomol member.

If Ukrainian is adopted as the state language in the Ukraine, then millions of engineers and scientific workers living in the southern part of the Ukraine (the Donbass, Odessa) would be placed in the position of not enjoying "completely equal rights" in the Ukraine.

*Moiseyenko, Chernigov*

I am a Belorussian woman, and I dread to think of how I would prepare letters and documents at work in the Ukrainian language (translating from Russian). The work would proceed very slowly, to the detriment of perestroika. Who needs this and why? At age 42 it is too late for me to go back to school or study Ukrainian.

Every day I have to talk with many people, and language is not of funatal importance for any of them. As a rule, they do do make speeches anywhere, nor do they write to any place.

We need a situation whereby all nationalities can live equally freely and normally in the Ukraine.

*L.D. Simon, Kiev*

### **Fear of Ukrainian Nationalism Blocks Preservation of Cultural Site**

*18000480 Moscow OGOONEK in Russian  
No 3, 14-21 Jan 89 p 18*

[Article by Sergey Dyachenko: "In the Khortitsa Region, in the Motherland...."]

[Text] In its outlines Khortitsa reminds one of a human heart.

Oh, I will go together  
With my faithful friend—  
With my glorious Zaporozhye father,  
From the Great Meadow.  
To Khortitsa, my motherland  
Where I will live well.

Thus wrote Taras Shevchenko. Because, after all, Khortitsa is the mother of Cossackdom, the cradle in which the Zaporogians grew and were formed.

Khortitsa is a modest-sized (12 kilometers in length), green island in the middle of the Dnepr River. To its left are Zaporozhye's plants, belching forth dark-colored puffs of smoke, while to its right is a mass area of new residential structures. Upstream are views of the Dneproges [Dnepr Hydroelectric Power Station] which we have known since childhood, but which are now disfigured by a recent addition to the dam.

Khortitsa has been a Slavic land since ancient times. As long ago as the 10th century the Byzantine emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote that the Russians, while proceeding from the lands of the Varangians down to those of the Greeks, used to stop at this island for the

purpose of offering sacrifices. On more than one occasion the island was visited by the Kievan Princes Oleg, Igor, and by Princess Olga. We know from legends that in 972 the brave heroes of Prince Svyatoslav perished here on the high Black Rock in a battle against the Pechenegs. Also by tradition this prince's grave is located on this Black Rock. It was from Khortitsa in 1103 that Svyatopolk led his comrades-in-arms to gain a brilliant victory over the Polovtsy. In 1223 almost all the Russian princes assembled here prior to the tragic battle at the Kalka River.... And there are many other events connected with Khortitsa, but its role in the history of Cossackdom is particularly great.

The Zaporogian Sech constitutes a unique phenomenon in our country's civilization. Persecuted by the yoke of feudalism, these people created in a wild, uninhabited place a republic with a special administrative structure and its own armed troops.

The Sech's historical development allowed N.G. Chernyshevskiy to call the Cossacks the defenders and heroes of the Ukraine. A.G. Herzen wrote that the "Zaporogian Sech comprised an amazing phenomenon of plebian-heroes, of peasant-knights." "They dedicated themselves self-sacrificingly to defending all the dear interests of their motherland.... No one in the world has felt liberty, equality, and fraternity so deeply," said I.Ye. Repin about the Zaporogians.

After the construction of the Dneproges and subsequently the Kanevskaya GES, virtually all the Sech localities were submerged under water; only the Khortitsa Preserve remained. This is not merely an historical-archeological museum but also a natural, ecological one. Concentrated within the gullies, groves, and plavni [flood-prone areas] of the island are more than a thousand species of plants, of which 63 percent are wild aborigines; 15 species among them have been registered in the Red Book; 41 species are relics and endemics. But alas, 50 species here are on the brink of complete extinction. Certain plants constitute a scientific enigma, inasmuch as their natural habitat is only in the Balkans and the Mediterranean area.

The plavni portion of the island, the zone of particular preservation, is inhabited by more than 30 species of wild animals and 120 species of birds. Furthermore, Khortitsa is a kind of landform landmark: all the landform zones of the Ukraine are represented on this relatively small territory. But this is not just a fantasy of nature. Khortitsa is a unique geological formation whose age has been determined to be 3-3.5 billion years. It is not by chance, therefore, that the island—or at least a part of it—was proclaimed in 1974 as the "Dnepr Rapids" Geological Preserve. And, finally, Khortitsa may be called the "green lungs" of Zaporozhye.

Unfortunately, at present this unique natural and historical-cultural preserve is on the brink of extinction. Only two-tenths (!) of the island's territory belongs to the

preserve; the remaining land is used by various organizations. Among the latter the greatest damage is being done by the Central Scientific-Research and Engineering-Planning Institute for Mechanizing and Electrifying Animal Husbandry in the Southern Zone of the USSR, which is administered by the VASKhNIL [Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin], and which occupies 40 percent of the island's territory (gardens and orchards, hothouses, and sectional plots).

Would you kindly tell me what the mechanization of livestock raising has to do with this preserve? And who would be electrified—the deer, wild boars, and hares? The toxic chemicals which are being used in excess for the purpose of increasing the harvest are having a ruinous effect on the animal and plant life of this unique creation of nature. And the scientists—Lysenko's heirs—are growing primarily strawberries on the Cossack graves. Nor can they be dislodged by any forces from the ridges which they have seized! This is also the case with regard to the representatives of the powerful plants which have—rightly or wrongly—occupied the territory of the island-preserve.

And how do matters stand with regard to the Cossack memorial? Its history is represented by the names of numerous restaurants. I have not seen other traces of Cossack exotica either in the city or in the island. To be sure, there is a museum. However, it does not deal with Cossack history but instead Zaporozhye's history. Of the nine sections of its exposition, only two are connected with the Sech, and even these are very modest with regard to the exhibits represented. In contrast, the fluffy expositions entitled "Zaporozhye During the Period of Consolidating Socialism" and "Zaporozhye During the Period of Perfecting Developed Socialism" have been unleashed to the maximum.... Why is there a second regional-studies museum here instead of a Cossack Museum, especially when there is a Dneproges Museum?

But just who has been opposing the conversion of Khortitsa into a Cossack museum-preserve and is continuing to hamper this even now? And why?

One of the formulas of the Brezhnev Period (in addition to the "stage of perfecting developed socialism") was the period of the "even flow of life". If this figure of speech is taken as basic, and if we regard to the Ukraine we understand by flow the Dnepr Valley, then we can see with our own eyes the fruits of the "works" accomplished by the administrative system's bureaucrats: man-made dams in the path of the great river and putrid seas of stagnation because of the GES construction.

Nowadays a great deal is being written about the mass victims of 1937-1938; more and more names are being rehabilitated. But too little is being reported about the tragedy of 1932-1933, when mass famine began to occur in the country from the mad "twists and exaggerations" of collectivization. Such famine engulfed many regions—the Kuban, the Volga area, the Urals, but most

of all—the Ukraine suffered incomparably more than the others—the Ukraine, which was the former breadbasket of Russia and even Europe as a whole. According to certain data (for to this day the archives are silent), this republic lost millions of inhabitants; entire villages died out. In addition to this, the Ukraine also paid for the "brilliant ideas of the leader of nations" by having many of its peasants uprooted from their black earth and sent in special echelons beyond the Urals, to Siberia, and the Far East, where wheat cannot be sown; they could not even be buried like human beings....

The Stalinist "choppings" of the late 1930's rooted out primarily the intelligentsia—the guardians of the people's spirit. Ukrainian actors, scholars, physicians, pedagogues, writers, and poets, accused of nationalism, were almost completely wiped out.

It was also at that time that many sacred places of our peoples were destroyed. Quite a few historical and architectural landmarks disappeared from the face of the earth.

And then came the war, which left the entire Ukraine in ruins....

During the years of the "Thaw" some "ozone" began to blow. Springing up immediately in the country as a whole and in the Ukraine in particular was a pleiade of young, talented, bold scholars, writers, artists, cinematographers, and actors. The restoration of historical landmarks was begun. It was also at that time that the decree was adopted making Khortitsa a preserve. But...Khrushchev had already been removed from his post. After some time Shelest became first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee....

An elevated statue on the Dnepr's bank crowning the memorial to the Patriotic War became a symbol of this period. Made of an extremely expensive steel (virtually the same alloys used in flights to outer space), it proudly rises above Slavutich and covers the Kiev-Pecherskiy Monastery by its silhouette. This glittering colossus has no national characteristics at all; it is a primate of the times. And a museum is situated at the base of this statue; the names of Heroes of the Soviet Union were inscribed in gold on its dome. Inscribed in the largest letters was Brezhnev's name. But this was not all—his clothing and weapons were exhibited in the museum in a special hall.

It was then, during the period of stagnation, that these people became actively engaged in ruining nature, breaking up the architectural features of the cities, implanting a faceless, anti-national style. It was they, the minions of various departments and ministries—those dealing with land reclamation and water resources, nuclear power, higher education, etc.—who sanctioned the digging of the Danube-Dnepr Canal, the construction of the AES [nuclear power station] in the most densely populated

centers of the Ukraine. They also sanctioned limiting courses in Ukrainian language and literature in the curricula of educational institutions.

And it was specifically during the 1970's that the protectors of Khortitsa suffered. Kitsenko, a follower of the renowned historian Yavornitskiy, an enthusiast for and founder of the memorial to the Zaporogian Cossacks, a splendid scholar and human being, as well as secretary of the party obkom, died after suffering a heart attack from the shock of being accused of nationalism. Kitsenko's student and disciple Sokulskiy, the first director of this museum, also suffered a tragic fate. Work in the museum continued until 1973; then, upon the initiative of the city authorities, it was stopped—because of "nationalism"!

Nobody abrogated the decree passed by the UkSSR Council of Ministers concerning the preserve on Khortitsa. Therefore, new topics were thought up for the museum under construction—a bit about everything except the Cossacks. Difficult times ensued for Sokulskiy and his like-minded associates.

"I remember that they did not allow me to go out to the excavations, though, of course, the museum needed exhibits.... But the chiefs said: We will burn out nationalism with a red-hot branding-iron!" Sokulskiy relates.

Fortunately, in contrast to Kitsenko, he was able to survive the badgering and did not break under it. He works at a college and enjoys authority not only in Zaporozhye but also in the capital of the Ukraine. I hope that when the people and the party accord the proper evaluation to the epoch of the "level flow of life," they will restore the names of many worthy persons.

In violation of the preserve's status, it has now been decided to build a bridge across the islands.... It goes without saying that a bridge is necessary—because, after all, almost 37 percent of the inhabitants live on the right bank, whereas the principal industrial facilities are located on the left bank. The existing bridges (along the top of the Dneproges dam and the Preobrazhenskiy bridges across Khortitsa built during the 1940's, prior to the time when the island was declared a preserve) do not solve the transportation problems. The local authorities proposed to connect the two banks by the most direct and economically feasible route—across Khortitsa's preserve *plavni*. But the public became indignant—the unique natural world would perish. Amid the circumstances of *perestroyka* public opinion cannot be ignored. As an alternative, the oblast's leading officials proposed to build the bridge across the island somewhat to the north—through the VASKhNIL's "strawberry" lands.

There are several other bridge plans, including one published in the local press (authored by A. Ostapenko and others). This is a plan for a bridge across the Dnepr considerably north of Khortitsa, a plan which has been quite well and logically justified.

The local authorities insisted on the simplest and most economical plan. They decided to hold a city-wide referendum. The newspaper INDUSTRIALNOYE ZAPOROZHYYE proposed that the city's inhabitants express their opinions about the different bridge variants. Those who set up the referendum obviously had no doubts that the right bank's inhabitants, for whom the bridge across Khortitsa is vitally necessary, would put it in first place.

I must acknowledge that I anticipated results of the balloting which would be unfavorable for Khortitsa: after all, such ordeals have to be borne by people in traffic jams which last for many hours! But little did we know our own people! I am happy that I was mistaken. Here are the results of the newspaper survey. Naturally, many persons demanded the simplest variant—the bridge across the islands: "Comrades, come down to earth! Do the island's wild animals really deserve more attention than people?" (A. Yentus). "Build the bridge! Let the group of intelligentsia worry about the hares, foxes, and wold boar...." (I. Panasenko). But many directly opposite opinions were also expressed: "We Zaporogians do not have the right to decide Khortitsa's fate, for it is the heritage of the entire nation. We need to conduct an All-Union referendum, but not only on the topic of how to push through our architects' variants, but also how to collect funds as rapidly as possible for the purpose of compensating the expensive roundabout variant (K. Ovchinnikova, F. Gaydamaka, and others—30 signatures in all). Most of the people who wrote to the newspaper, including the inhabitants of the right bank, supported the plan for the bridge to cross south of Khortitsa (1812 persons to 1412). The descendants of the Zaporogian Cossacks agreed to "doom" themselves and their children to inconveniences if necessary in order to prevent the island from suffering....

And what else is needed for democracy to be victorious? All the more so in that, at the request of the deputy and poet V. Oleynik, the UkSSR Supreme Soviet has examined the issue of the bridge across Khortitsa and undertaken to communicate the following information to P. Moskalkov, ispolkom chairman of the Zaporozhye Oblast Council of People's Deputies: "The building of the bridge will be decided, taking into consideration the safeguarding of the preserve." This fact was established in the decree passed by this republic's highest organ. Calls by cultural and scientific figures for the preservation of Khortitsa began appearing in the Ukrainian press. The uncompromising stance taken by B.Ye. Paton, president of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences with regard to this question is well known to everybody: "Khortitsa is inviolable!"

Therefore, when the announcement appeared about the work of the special commission of the UkSSR Council of Ministers to deal with the matter of the bridge and the preserve, one had to anticipate a defense of its inviolable status. But I was mistaken again—except that this time I

had no cause to rejoice. This high commission decreed the following: There shall be a bridge across Khortitsa, based upon the unsuccessful plan along with the existing bridges.

To this day I cannot comprehend it: How could persons vested by state authority side with the local leadership and violate the law providing for protection of the preserve? How could they adopt a decision which profanes the barrows [burial mounds] and graves of our forefathers, ignoring the opinion of the leading scholars, cultural figures, the opinion of the city's inhabitants themselves, and even the decree of the Soviet authority? The attitude toward this decision by the protectors of Khortitsa turned out to be ambiguous. Some of them were gratified that the most ruinous variant from the standpoint of the ecology—the "plavni" variant—was not adopted. But the positive emotions quickly faded. Because, after all, the bridge would cross Khortitsa! And we all know the value of promises made by our builders to create something without damaging the environment. Of course, the consequences would be ruinous for Khortitsa! Moreover, there are still quite a few questions. It was not by chance that the plan approved by the commission garnered the least votes at the time of the referendum: it does not provide a practical solution to the transportation problem. There is an insuperable obstacle to its construction—the high-voltage line on the left bank which supplies power to the plants of the industrial area. The impossibility of removing this line or transferring it would make traffic coming off the bridge very narrow and inconvenient. There would be bottlenecks and jams again.

In this extraordinary situation I would like to ask the following question: Is this Ukrainian governmental commission really empowered to decide a question which is far from being of merely republic-level importance? How would we react if the RSFSR government were to adopt a decision to violate the preserve status of the Kremlin or Yasnaya Polyana? Each republic possesses its own treasures (Uzbekistan—the "Registan" Ensemble, Georgia—the Svetitskhoreli Temple, Armenia—the Matenadaran Storehouse, etc.), which are sacred places not only of the Soviet people but also of all mankind.

The time has come for decisive actions—Khortitsa must become a concern of the entire world. First of all, we must do the following: in accordance with the decision made by the UkSSR, affirm the island's inviolability as a preserve. This means banning not only any new construction, including that of the bridge, but also the immediate expulsion from Khortitsa of VASKhNIL's "strawberry" landlords and self-appointed settlers, leaning upon the decision of the preserve's leaders (who ought to be aided by the public, republic-level or All-Union committee for the protection of the island) those structures which would not be detrimental to the preserve.

We should probably proceed to build a bridge to the south of Khortitsa. After all, it is necessary, if only to handle the flow of truck transport from the city. The municipal authorities should give thought to solving some small but no less genuine questions to reduce the acuteness of this city's transportation problems: to make more effective use of the already-existing bridges; shift construction of housing stock to the left-bank section, all the more so in that there is a possibility for doing so. The city's central district gapes with empty places and is "decorated" with dozens of antediluvian structures. It would be flexible to set aside funds for increasing the social and cultural institutions on the right bank; there are an unjustifiably small number of them there.

But all these are half-measures. The optimal solution of the problem would be to build a subway, as provided for by this city's General Plan. Moreover, the first branch of such a subway should connect both banks of the river. Why not start subway construction even now, using the funds earmarked for building the bridge? After all, it would solve the transportation problem right away. Why could we not set aside the regulation and construct this subway without waiting until the city's population reaches 1 million? There are now approximately 900,000 people living in Zaporozhye. By the time the subway construction is finished the city's population would, most likely, reach 1 million. We must bear in mind that a great deal has been sacrificed on the altar of industrialization in this city. In comparison with other cities' inhabitants, those of Zaporozhye have suffered quite a bit from pollution of the air, water, and land.... Nowadays, moreover, when cost accounting and self-management are being introduced everywhere, it is not too much to expect that Zaporozhye is a city which will produce a billion rubles worth of output. It would be able to accomplish a great deal by itself if it were permitted to utilize its own finances more flexibly. Then you would see an unleashing of the local authorities' enthusiasm!

And, finally, we need to implement on Khortitsa the main thing that was planned as long as 23 years ago—a memorial to the Zaporogian Cossacks. The cause espoused by N. Kitsenko and A. Sokulskiy is now being continued by their successors—L. Yukhimchuk, V. Shevchenko, and other staff members of the preserve. The plans which have been worked out by them are extremely interesting. We are not just talking about a Museum of Cossack History but also about a museum of Zaporogian ships—called "seagulls," a decorative park complex where the sculptured portraits of Ukrainian heroes would be set up, and, certainly, the restoration of the Zaporogian Sech itself in the form in which it flourished during the time of Bogdan Khmelnytskyi. There would be a reinforced camp here with kurens [Cossack huts], an arsenal, a smithy, guardian-signal towers, the Cossack winter-quarters, and ethnographic apiaries. Adjoining all this would also be Kievan Russian settlements called "Protolche," numerous barrows, as well as military camps of the Russo-Turkish War of 1735-1739 and the military positions occupied by Soviet

troops during the years 1941-1943. And soaring over the Dnepr on a high barrow would be a sculpture ensemble entitled "Cossacks on Patrol."

The time has come to create on Khortitsa's territory a national natural-history park of All-Union and world-wide importance, including within it other relics of nature, and the Dneproges as an historical landmark of the First Five-Year Plan. Nor should we vacillate or flinch when we come to the matter of the graves of our forefathers.... After all, tourism is a solid source of income for many states. Within a period of a few years Khortitsa has been visited by about 500,000 guests. But they could hardly have received much satisfaction from the appearance of this preserve.

Furthermore, the Soviet Cultural Fund could help in collecting the necessary funds to create the complex which has been conceived. I am confident that many inhabitants of this country would like to make their own contributions to this noble cause....

...The comparison of Khortitsa to a human heart is not a coincidence. The heart is now doing poorly, and our task is to help the island to find its health and restore its rhythm.

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#### **UkSSR Council of Ministers Archives Holds First Press Conference**

18000617 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
26 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by V. Lukyanenko: "Archives Wide Open?"]

[Text] In the Main Archives Board of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, a press conference for republic publications took place for the first time (in its entire history, very likely). The managers of Glavarkhiv and the directors of the four central archives in Kiev reported to the journalists about progress in restructuring archive files in the republic.

By no means avoiding the tell-tale figures cited by the head of Glavarkhiv B.V. Ivanenko, we will start with them.

In Ukrainian archives today there remain 36.5 million files and 66,000 individual cinema documents. Every year 500-550,000 documents are accepted for custody. More than 4 million rubles is spent annually for the maintenance of the archives.

Over the past years, more than 200,000 files have been transferred from the "spetskhran" [special depositories] to open stocks. This work is being continued, constantly directed by the commissions on declassifying which were created from officials and scholars competent in the given field in every archive.

During a year, an average of 10,000 researchers work in the Ukrainian archives, and in 1988 they received 54,000 references, information, etc.

Boris Vasilyevich Ivanenko expressed the concept of improving archive affairs in the formulation: "To preserve, to augment, to open." Among the general tasks of all archives is the fundamental improvement of technical equipment; you know, in some places the situation with regard to the preservation of documents is simply catastrophic, and what is more, in relatively successful sectors, the technical equipment is utterly out of keeping with present day demands and opportunities.

Glavarkhiv also considers the revision of plans for publication and scholarly work to be an urgent task in order to bring into circulation layers of material which up to this time have been either concealed from outside eyes or deliberately left out.

At the press conference, the managers of the archives shared reports about these "forgotten riches."

Restoration is under way to put in good order the archives of the Ukrainian Sovnarkom. Unfortunately, there is an irreplaceable "blank spot" in the archives for the 1930s and 1940s, precisely those years which rivet public attention.

Documents on the history of the Battle of Zaporozhye and the activities of the Kirill-Mefodiy brotherhood are being prepared for publication. Ukrainian archivists are drawing up an original "map of interests" of our republic in foreign archives. Through UNESCO, the Ministry of External Affairs, and direct contacts, it will be possible to enrich the archives.

In general the journalists were presented a general but sufficiently clear picture of the present day and the outlook for the future. Nevertheless, questions remained.

"With the enormous public interest for the nation's history and the necessity evident today to reinforce this interest with primary sources, 10,000 researchers a year is certainly not enough. Are our archives prepared to democratize access to the material and to provide for the work of a large number of researchers?"

N. N. Volkovinskiy, head of the department of utilization and publication of material, answered:

"Of course we are interested in a large number of researchers, and, in general, in better utilization of those documentary riches which have been confined in the archives. However, an archive is not comparable to a library in terms of access. At the same time, the rules of admittance to work are not so strict—one needs a letter from an institution which has sent the researcher, or at least an application with personal documents. We are

prepared to admit a much larger number of researchers. The fact is, unfortunately, another matter—there is not too big a craving for work in the archives.”

“As has been said here, the work of declassifying materials has been left to the discretion of the archives themselves. Naturally, a page-by-page, careful weighing of matters by our commissions is a laborious and protracted business. Wouldn't it be easier to approve a procedure whereby documents are automatically declassified according to the expiration of a fixed period of time? Is such a possibility being considered in our republic?”

**B. V. Ivanenko:** “Not long ago I returned from Moscow, and I can report that several documents intended to regulate archive affairs are in preparation. The question is presented of creating a single (without departmental exception) network of gosarkhivs. In such a way, they will all be concentrated in one authority, and a single procedure for secrecy, archive opening, access, and utilization of documents will be established.”

**Work of Repressed Ukrainian Scholar Published**  
*18110049a Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian*  
8 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by Valeriy Shevchuk, UkSSR State Prize imeni T. H. Shevchenko recipient: “Man of the Sixties”]

[Text] Today when we speak about the so-called people of the sixties—the most creative and productive postwar generation, we think for the most part of poets, and sometimes prose writers as well, forgetting that this phenomenon was more comprehensive, for one can also extend the term to cover literary critics, composers, people of the theater, painters, and even scholars and scientists: historians, literary scholars, doctors, and the technical intelligentsia. It seems to me that the time is not far off when a cultural historian will set about to write a synthesizing study about this very unique cultural complex, a unique movement which has not yet fully run its course, but which in certain features is already a part of our history.

I would like to say a few words about one of the most brilliant phenomena of this generation precisely in the scholarly domain, historian and literary scholar Yaroslav Dzyra, a man whose life was far from easy, who was persecuted during those sad times of stagnation, but who was able to preserve his spotless reputation and his own worth and dignity as a scholar. If it were not for the artificial obstacles, he certainly would have made a considerably greater contribution to the development of the humanities in the Ukraine, but we shall not be speaking about what could have been but what is, that is, about what this individual nevertheless succeeded in accomplishing.

Yaroslav Dzyra graduated with distinction from Kiev University in 1958, after which he completed three years of graduate study at the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Literature, where he chose for his dissertation an extraordinarily interesting and inadequately studied topic: “The Chronicle of Samiyl Velychko and the works of Taras Shevchenko,” working under the guidance of Academician O. Biletsky. But at that time it was no easy task even to obtain approval for such a topic; it was opposed by M. Shamota and I. Bilodid, who pedantically maintained that in working on this topic the author would be detaching Ukrainian literature from the sphere of influence of the Russian Revolutionary Democrats, for it presents the Cossack elite as bearer of culture (one certainly could say that!). But Shevchenko, according to their antiscientific notions, should have been hostile to this culture. Incidentally, this did not keep I. Bilodid from later adopting a number of the dissertation's theses into his own work, especially concerning the fate of the Ukrainian literary language. Ya. Dzyra was forced to write not one, as is the practice, but rather two author's abstracts of his dissertation (in Kiev and in Odessa), but he was unable to publish the dissertation itself in its entirety; individual parts of the dissertation were published in the form of articles. After successfully defending his dissertation, this scholar worked at the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History (1962-1972), where he was quite productive: he published the chronicle of Samovydyets, prepared six volumes of “Historiographic Research in the Ukrainian SSR,” prepared for publication the chronicle of H. Hrabynka, conducted research on Polish and Czech historiography and literature, and even did translation (he translated I. Klim's novel “Hour of Calm” from Czech, and co-translated with D. Andrukhov H. Zelino-va's “Devil's Czardas” from Slovak), at the same time publishing series of articles on various aspects of literary scholarship and historiography (he published approximately 160 articles in all).

But then came the tragic year 1972, when this young scholar, together with such brilliant historical researchers as M. Braychevskyy, O. Kompan, and O. Apanovych, was expelled from the Institute of History in the most brutal fashion; incidentally, this was done in order to put a stop to the publication of chronicles and sources from the history of the Ukraine. As strange as it may sound, this scholar was upbraided even for the fact that he spoke in Ukrainian at the institute. Thus began hard times in the life of this scholar; he was banished from scholarly endeavor and secured a position as a teacher of history, Ukrainian language and literature, and even English. And it was only when the period of renewal was ushered in that he was able to return to scholarly activities, although he is still teaching at Night School No 51 on the Podil in Kiev. But we are once again seeing publication in the press of his interesting articles about Shevchenko's poem “Black Clouds Building Up” in the fourth issue of *V SIMYI VOL'NIY, NOVIY* (the magazine *UKRAYINA* and the newspaper *RADYANSKA OSVITA*), and at a plenary session of the Union of Writers of the

Ukraine it was openly stated that Yaroslav Dzyra not only can but must return to scholarly endeavor—I remember how the hall responded to this statement with thunderous applause, for this is a scholar who had won high praise from O. Biletskyy, M. Hudziy, Ye. Shabliovskyy, D. Pavlychko, Professor S. Kozak from Poland, and Professor M. Roman from Czechoslovakia, and his publication of the chronicle of Samovydet's is still considered a masterpiece.

Yaroslav Dzyra is returning to our today's cultural arena; he has written a solid preliminary study in the field of Shevchenko scholarship entitled "The Broad Dnieper Roars and Groans," which is to appear in the next issue of *V SIMYI VOLNIY, NOVIY*; he is readying a "Register of Cossack Military Forces" for publication in *KYYIV* and *RADYANSKYI PYSMENNYK*, and he is writing a commentary and introductory article to the famous "History of the People of Rus," which will also soon be published. This scholar has retained his creative inspiration and has a number of very interesting ideas which he is planning to pursue. Let us wish him success!

#### **Thallium Spill Reported at UkSSR Aircraft Maintenance Facility**

18110049b Kiev *RADYANSKA UKRAYINA*  
in *Ukrainian* 8 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by *RADYANSKA UKRAYINA* and *VECHIRNIY KYYIV* collective correspondent: "Was There an Explosion in Kiev?"]

[Text] "No tank cars or boxcars exploded," stated V. I. Shestakov, Kiev's chief state sanitary inspector. "Those are absolutely ridiculous rumors."

But the source of these rumors may have been an incident which occurred in the boiler room at an aircraft maintenance depot. Special capsules containing approximately 50 grams of a thallium compound in powder form are used in the plant heating system to monitor quality of water treatment. According to the instructions of the capsule's manufacturer, impurity-contaminated preparation must periodically be regenerated, that is, purified. This process requires holding a capsule in a weak solution of hydrochloric acid and distilled water.

During one such treatment procedure the bottom of a capsule fell off and the powder entered the hydrochloric acid solution. This solution was immediately placed in a sealed container and will be buried in conformity with the appropriate regulations.

In the opinion of scientists from the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Toxicology, Pesticides, Polymers and Plastics, the Institute of Pharmacology and Toxicology, and the Institute of Occupational Hygiene and Occupational Diseases of the UkSSR Ministry of Health, there is no danger of pollution of the environment or sickness on the part of maintenance depot personnel or the general public.

In short, there is no basis for illness to occur.

#### **UkSSR Biophysicist on Chernobyl's Consequences**

18000553a Minsk *SELSKOYE KHOZYAYSTVO BELORUSSII* in *Russian* No 1, Jan 89 pp 28-31

[Interview with Dmitriy Mikhaylovich Grodzinskiy, head of the Division of Biophysics and Radiobiology of the Institute of Botany of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, by a correspondent of *ZNANIYE-SILA*: "Chernobyl: Rumors and Truth"]

[Text] Over two years have passed since the day of the accident at the Chernobyl AES. In this time a tremendous amount of material has been accumulated, making it possible to speak of the ecological consequences of radioactive contamination. "What are they, and what are the consequences for nature and man?"—ask the readers of *SELSKOYE KHOZYAYSTVO BELORUSSII*. Therefore, we are reprinting an interview by a correspondent of the journal *ZNANIYE-SILA* with Dmitriy Mikhaylovich Grodzinskiy, head of the Division of Biophysics and Radiobiology of the Institute of Botany of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences.

[Correspondent] Dmitriy Mikhaylovich, you are a radiobiologist, that is, a person studying the consequences of the effect of radiation on the life of plants, animals and man. Apparently, in evaluating the ecological consequences of any accident of this type, certain professional devices and principles of behavior of the "consequences" are used. Tell us, please, about them, and, specifically, to what specialists should above all direct their attention in this situation.

[D. Grodzinskiy] To the unique features of the accident. Few people know that the effect of radiation on an animal is very individual. The point here is not only in the doses that people and animals have received. The same dose of radiation, entering an organism with different isotopes, acts differently on an animal: it can strike the membrane, nucleus or the cytoplasm. In addition, it affects different organs. The results, naturally, will differ. The most dangerous is infection of the nucleus—that is where the genetic material of the cell is located. I do not want to weary the reader with details, but believe me, there are thousands of nuances here which permit different interpretations of the ecological consequences of the accident. I should immediately like to note: the duty of an honest scientist is to attempt to take into consideration all these nuances and give the public reliable information on the ecological processes now taking place in the rayons with a heightened radioactivity level.

[Correspondent] What, then, is the radiobiological portrait of the Chernobyl accident? What is its individuality and how does it differ from accidents on the same plane?

[D. Grodzinskiy] We know that the blow-out from the destroyed fourth unit took place over at least ten days. The first radioactive cloud went to the west and the northeast. The second—to the north. Then the wind changed direction alternately, and part of the radioactive cloud went between Kiev and Kanev.

Radioactive substances fell out on the most varied districts and soils—on villages, forests, swamps and farm lands. On the Ukrainian territory exposed to contamination, the forests in various regions occupy from 10 to 40 percent, and the rest, again, is farm land.

It is now clear that radioactive contamination encompassed considerable agricultural territories with the most varied crops, which, naturally, respond differently to contamination. The situation is also intensified by the fact that this accident has no analogs in world practical work, and not only with respect to the scale. About 450 types of radionuclides were discharged into the air at Chernobyl. Of them, the lion's share went to the short-lived isotope iodine-131. It provided literally 80-90 percent of the radioactivity in the early days of the accident. Gradually, with the cessation of the emissions, the radioactivity fell. The short-lived isotopes died out. The long-lived ones came on stage—for example, ruthenium, rhodium and others. At present even the content of these isotopes has noticeably diminished, and cesium-137 and strontium-90 have taken first place. In addition, transuranium elements have been detected: plutonium, americium and several others.

Since the accident was of a unique nature, the graphite burned, the temperature rose strongly, and the physicochemical state of the radionuclides emitted proved unusual. These special features of the radionuclides must absolutely be taken into consideration in evaluating the ecological consequences of the accident.

What about particles with new properties? First of all, there are oxides and carbides of certain rare metals. They do not easily wash off with water from the surface of plants and soil. The plants cannot absorb them, and these particles have become perpetual wanderers. The wind has caught them up and carried them from place to place. All this created specific types of contamination, not formerly encountered. Therefore, the Chernobyl accident was not like a single one of other similar accidents in the world, not only with respect to scale, but also with respect to the quality of territorial contamination. All this taken together creates greater difficulties in analyzing the consequences of the catastrophe.

[Correspondent] Obviously, under these conditions, a number of principal theoretical problems must be solved in order to evaluate the potential ecological consequences of the accident?

[D. Grodzinskiy] That is completely true, and essentially, a radiological theory of the catastrophe must be worked out. Only then will it be possible to understand how dangerous it is for the health not only of our generation, but also of succeeding ones.

[Correspondent] What should lie at the basis of this theory?

[D. Grodzinskiy] One of the main theoretical problems of modern radiobiology is the threshold significance of the dose. This is the dose after which, as some feel, radiation seemingly damages the animal. Are there, however, actually threshold doses? Some radiobiologists think that there are. Others—and today most of the radiobiologists in the world side with them—assume that even the slightest irradiation is fraught with danger.

[Correspondent] Why is there no unanimous point of view on this?

[D. Grodzinskiy] Because there is an unstable balance here. On the one hand, the organism will squeeze the radiation press into the cell, and on the other—the defense mechanisms will oppose it: the repair service of the genetic material, the immune systems, etc. In each specific case dramatic events are being played out, the outcome of which depends on the dose, the isotope, the state of the environment and the organism.

[Correspondent] Do you mean that the problem of the threshold significance of the dose includes many components and makes it difficult to evaluate the danger or safety of the dose?

[D. Grodzinskiy] Absolutely correct. In addition to the immunity, the repair service of the cell, one can also mention the state of the organism's oxygen exchange, the degree of its fatigue, the saturation of the tissues with vitamins, etc. The number is very broad. It must be stated frankly that today's specialists are quite unfamiliar with the arrangement principles of the organism's radiation defense. Therefore, a large number of radiobiologists are inclined toward the fact that even the smallest dose of irradiation is harmful.

In thinking of the health of the population, one must approach an evaluation of the ecological consequences of Chernobyl from a very strict standpoint. In the first period after the accident, certain unqualified medical personnel even argued that small doses of irradiation were almost beneficial to the organism—they said that it was possible to become accustomed to small doses. This is completely untrue. If one speaks of any sort of acclimatization, it is a process requiring a very long time—an entire evolutionary period. In the last analysis, radiation still damages the population.

In radiation damage to the organism of a human being and other living creatures, we are dealing with an equation with many unknowns. It would be erroneous to

assume that science can fill in these unknowns with specific values in a month or a year. It is precisely because of this that particular caution must be taken in evaluating the ecological consequences.

[Correspondent] I recall that you began to speak of certain theoretical aspects of evaluating the consequences of the accident.

[D. Grodzinskiy] Yes, essentially, I will continue this conversation. The second cornerstone that should be laid at the foundation of the theory of radiation ecology is the idea of the so-called stochastic and nonstochastic effects.

Let us say, when an irradiation dose is small, it is possible to judge, with a certain degree of probability, how many people will become sick. When a dose is very large, however, one can say accurately that a certain specific person who has received it will become ill with leukemia or will die. These effects are predictable with 100-percent probability. Specialists call them nonstochastic. At Chernobyl, one must not, with the exception of several dozen cases, speak of nonstochastic effects. The cases of radiation sickness were individual.

The appearance of stochastic effects depends on many conditions, but particularly—on the amount of the dose. One more concept of a collective dose of irradiation, extremely important in our case, is related to stochastic effects. Collective irradiation is the total irradiation of large populations. This bomb takes immediate effect. The point is that a great deal of the harm to the population is in the nature of latent recessive mutations. With marriage, however, these mutations can pass into a homozygous state and develop, which in succeeding generations leads to a different type of genetic disturbance. The degree of probability of these disturbances appearing is calculated according to the so-called risk coefficients.

To evaluate the ecological consequences of the Chernobyl accident, a knowledge of the precise risk coefficients is very important. There is one difficulty here, however. Risk coefficients were calculated a long time ago—for Hiroshima and Nagasaki, for persons exposed to X-ray therapy and for the families of X-ray technicians. Under the conditions of Chernobyl, there is, essentially, no risk coefficient. Especially since a revision has recently been made in the dosimetric characteristics of the explosions at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and even the risk characteristics for these long-ago catastrophes will be revised. The risk coefficients have been officially confirmed by the International Commission on Radiological Protection, and according to them, in principle, possible consequences can be calculated. These coefficients are very rough, however, and the errors in the calculations will certainly be very large.

It cannot be said, as sometimes happens that they say, that the number of additional tragedies of Chernobyl is very small as compared with tragic events due to other

causes. We should fear for the life and health of each person, and must do everything possible to avoid tragedies not only in our generation, but also in the generations of our grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

[Correspondent] As far as I have understood, the present theoretical development of radiobiology and, if it can be expressed this way, the "uniqueness" of the Chernobyl accident make it impossible to predict, with a great amount of accuracy, the ecological consequences of the catastrophe.

[D. Grodzinskiy] That is absolutely true, evaluating the ecological consequences of a catastrophe of this scale will always be very relative. There are many consequences, let us say evolutionary, about which we are in general unable to judge. The interactions are very fine here, and the connections arising in the systems of the organisms are very mediated and unpredictably unexpected....

[Correspondent] Then what can a person do to withstand radiation stress on the population and indeed, can he do anything?

[D. Grodzinskiy] Before beginning this subject, I should like to make an important digression. As soon as the Chernobyl accident occurred, the counters in my laboratory immediately showed an increase in radioactivity. At that time we could only guess: what had happened? So then, instead of explaining to us, the radiobiologists, what had happened, so that we could make recommendations to the population on how to behave correctly in the first hours after the accident, they sealed up our counter. They told us: what has happened in Chernobyl is a complete secret.

The people who did this are ignorant, but they have the power. An ignorant person always prefers to close his eyes to what has happened, and to substitute illusion for reality. They can tell me that all this is the consequence of the stagnant period, etc. But how then explain the fact that these same people are now, even if not sealing up the counters, simply classifying as secret the information pertaining to the consequences of the accident? Why? From where does this wave of instinctive hush-hush attitude come? It has long been time to realize that there should be no secrecy in matters of ecology—a secret and ecology are incompatible. This secrecy again flows from a lack of professionalism. When the accident happened, I met many so-called "professionals" who held forth on the catastrophe and gave recommendations without having even an idea of what this collective dose of irradiation was! They did not know what the stochastic effects of irradiation were.

The secrecy has already led to bitter results. Before me is a brochure "The Second Edition of an Internal Report on the Radiation Situation in Finland, May 1986." Only a few days after the accident, and the Finns had already issued a second edition of the bulletin. In it was written in black and white how a person should behave in the

contaminated territory. There are recommendations on where children can play, when, how many and in what areas to pasture cattle, what to eat, what to drink, etc. They had several such editions. We, however, printed nothing like it, even though, according to the concept, the entire population of the stricken territory should have been provided with this type of printed recommendations. Here too, however, "secrecy" of its own type was observed. Because of this rumors circulated. They began, for example, to drink iodine out of the vials. They burned mucous membrane discharge.

The fear engendered by a lack of information led, for example, to complete cessation of milk drinking. Dairy products are the main source of calcium. The people immediately placed themselves in a condition of calcium insufficiency, and in this case radioactive strontium, which is similar in its properties and "behavior" to calcium, actively entered the organism. They sent us the entire quantity of albins available in the Union—300 grams. Tons of it were needed. Even in this respect we proved powerless. This is also the phenomenon of a total lack of professionalism in the oblast, where highly skilled professionals should be working. It proved simpler to classify things as secret than to solve the problem. Perhaps things would turn out all right. After all, though, in principle, that is what those people to blame for the Chernobyl accident thought.

Even now, the logic, in my opinion, is the same. The people received the dose, they say, there is nothing more to do about it, it must be kept secret, to avoid a panic. The logic is very strange, and it reiterates that which caused the counters to be sealed off. It is panic precisely that comes from it. Kiev is now filled with absurd rumors on what happened and what will happen. It is filled with fears. Television speeches to the public have called for calm. These speeches have the same leitmotif, however—now there is nothing the matter, the situation has improved, the situation is improving and will get better and better and there are no ecological consequences, or almost none.

It seems to me that psychologists are not participating in the preparation of these broadcasts. They would have explained that this type of approach to the matter only increases the number of rumors, the mood of panic: the people do not believe in most of the calming talk. In this sense, our approach to the consequences in other countries is very characteristic. I recently returned from the 8th International Congress on Radiation Studies. Twenty reports were presented there on problems of the results of the radioactive contamination for Sweden, Switzerland, Finland, France, Spain and other countries, and the only report lacking was on our country.... This lack of glasnost is particularly annoying, because a great deal more can and must be done, despite the out-of-the-ordinary situation, the unique nature of the catastrophe and the lack of precise data on the threshold doses and on the risk coefficient.

[Correspondent] Dmitriy Mikhaylovich, our reader may form the opinion that almost nothing has been done to eliminate the consequences of the accident....

[D. Grodzinskiy] No. A great deal has been done, and everyone well knows about it. A sarcophagus has been built and huge territories have been processed. The situation has been straightened out. My duty as a scientist, however, compels me to speak of the negative aspect, of what is hindering the work. A scientist should speak the truth in any situation. A great deal can still be done to reduce the risk, and a great deal can theoretically be foreseen. If this does not happen, we will have tragedy for many people and birth defects on our conscience. The accident should contribute to our, the people of the 20th century, forming a new, humanistic moral code, a moral code of responsibility for life, not only ours, but also that of future generations. We will not see these people, but we should remember that these are our children and grandchildren, for whose sake, essentially, we are living on earth.

[Correspondent] What remote ecological consequences will there be, and how can they be overcome?

[D. Grodzinskiy] Interesting data was recently obtained, which makes it possible to predict potential ecological consequences. Radiation will damage DNA. At Chernobyl, however, the tragedy on stage will come forth as different processes, no matter how strange, unrelated to the formation of tumors or the appearance of genetic anomalies in our descendants. The remote damages appearing over the months, years or decades after the irradiation are mainly the result of a disturbance in the endocrine balance. No matter how amazing, however, as the result of these infections, certain "ordinary" illnesses of the type of inflammation of the lungs, infarctions (in the affected vessels) and neurotic illnesses develop. In some cases the immune system may be affected. Incidentally, this is the most probable consequence of this type of accident. A certain weakening of the immune system is now taking place in a number of people.

In the early days after the accident a large number of dead mice and rats appeared in Kiev. This in itself is a surprising circumstance. We know, for example that after the explosions on Bikini Atoll, it was the rats precisely that became sick. In Kiev, however, the radioactivity which would lead to the death of these rodents was not so high. What had happened? Right here the question arose of something I have already mentioned in the first part of our conversation—the possibility of predicting the reaction of the organism and solving an equation with many unknowns. What link had been yielded by these rodents, who became experimental involuntarily? Can this information not be utilized to study the situation with people?

These questions disturbed us. It turned out that the death of the animals was not directly connected with the radioactivity, that here mechanisms of mediative reactions come into force. During the accident, radioactive

iodine was released. This iodine, as experiments showed, accumulated in the thyroid gland, causing changes in its work. This affected the hypophysis, which regulates the organism's immune responses. This weakened the immunity in the animals and they perished, not from radiation but from the epidemic that flared up among them.

This story may also be the same for people, but fortunately, without such tragic consequences. There were no epidemics, but all the same a certain growth in morbidity is observed. A weakening of immunity as an indirect consequence of the radiation is now being observed among many contingents of Kiev inhabitants. The length of the various types of illnesses has increased, including lung inflammations, and the influenza epidemic has taken a more serious course. Medical personnel complain of the weakening of immunity, and it is fully possible that this is the result of the accident. There is nothing catastrophic here, however. There are many means of putting the situation right. Unfortunately, no one tells the people how to behave. After all, there are simple means of strengthening the immune system. For example, vitamins are necessary. Many people have in general ceased to eat greens, fearing radiation. This is completely false. Radiation affects a vitamin-deprived organism more intensely.

Now a whole class of problems has arisen requiring a scientific solution, precisely on the plane of reducing the collective dose. There are, for example, substances called radiation protectors. They increase the organism's resistance to radiation. Some radiation protectors create oxygen insufficiency in the cell. As a result, the cell does not split so actively, and the amount of damage from radiation is considerably reduced. We also know of such substances for acute radiation damage. The problem now lies in finding radiation protectors for chronic irradiation. The problem is fully capable of solution. It lies in various groups of vitamins, pectins, succinic acid, carotene, contained in carrots, and a number of other compounds. The most effective of the radiation protectors approximately doubles the resistance to radiation.

I wish also to say that at the time of the accident, alcohol consumption rose. This was caused by the fact that many people knew that ethyl alcohol is also a radiation protector. This is true, but also untrue. The point is that, in reality, the alcohol increases resistance to radiation by a factor of 1.13, but at the same time it destroys the molecules of the vitamins that are themselves also radiation protectors. That is, the effectiveness of the alcohol is rather negative. It is much better to drink carrot juice or other juices which contain carotene. As you can see, despite the weakness of the theoretical base and the uniqueness of the accident, radiobiology can give certain useful recommendations.

[Correspondent] Apparently, there are certain methods of decreasing the collective irradiation dose?

[D. Grodzinskiy] Of course there are. The solution to this problem is again directly connected with the problem of glasnost. Right now, statements are appearing to the effect that the collective dose will almost decrease. But this is completely untrue.

The collective irradiation dose is inevitably increasing. It is in the next few years precisely that a very large volume of radioactive particles will begin to be included in creative chains leading to the organism of man and animals. It is senseless to hide this. It is not hiding that is needed, but action.

The increase in the collective dose can be delayed mainly through a correct diet and use of substances blocking the radiation effect. I have already spoken of them. They are the radiation protectors. To block the entrance of radioactive particles along the creative chains is a problem of tremendous complexity. A great deal is being done here.

Many problems still must be solved, however. For example, it is still possible for clean products to enter from a number of rayons located in the western and northern track of the radioactive cloud—that is, from Narodicheskiy and Poleskiyy rayons. In my opinion, commercial crops must be introduced on these territories. With some contamination, the application of fertilizers and lime to the soil must be increased. For example, cesium behaves, with respect to soils, in the same way as potassium. If you apply potassium fertilizers, under certain conditions, the entrance of the cesium into the plants may slacken. Therefore, it is necessary to treat potassium nourishing of plants very carefully. Strontium will be drawn out by means of calcium. It is possible and necessary to use leaf feeding, which reduces the intensity of absorbing radioactive substances. A great effect can be achieved here. In the last analysis, these simple measures reduce the collective dose.

Unfortunately, however, these problems are being solved very slowly. In particular, in our laboratory a method of leaf feeding plants was developed, which reduced the absorption of radionuclides by the plants. We tested the leaf feeding as early as the winter of 1986-1987. In order to sow on time, we broke up and cut out core samples of the soil from the winter wheat and set up experiments and studied how the compounds behaved in the soil. As a result the recommendations were made on time, and our laboratory immediately handed the documents to the Ukrainian Agroprom. The answer, negative, of course, came to us only in summer, when it was already too late to fertilize. At Agroprom, they did not even analyze to see what fertilizers were in question, and for what they were needed. Unfortunately, this is not the only case of a negligent attitude toward the suggestions of scientists.

[Correspondent] What, in your opinion, are other methods of reducing the collective irradiation dose?

[D. Grodzinskiy] First of all, the population should have at its disposal individual dosimetric instruments, as do the Japanese, who go to market with counters and measure the radioactivity of cabbage or fish. I do not mean that we have no monitoring of the radioactivity of the product, but still, there is a strong probability of an unmonitored contaminated agricultural product ending up on the table. Even from the most remote rayons, contaminated products such as mushrooms can suddenly appear. The same thing happens with water. You can measure the level of radioactivity of water, and it will be within the norm, but the sediment in your teacup will be radioactive.

A person should know what he is eating and drinking. We, however, not only have no individual means of dosimetry, but also, all the attempts to manufacture them are stopped as a criminal procedure. People will be dismissed from work, they say, so that they do not dare to do this. The explanation is again the same: "lest anything should come out of it," lest a panic be raised. The fact that absurd rumors are spreading due to a lack of information, and the fact that people's health is being damaged, it seems, does not bother them.

Indeed, we cannot yet predict with sufficient reliability the ecological consequences but, at least, we should prevent an increase in the collective dose to the population. This we can do. Because of people's lack of information, they themselves are increasing the irradiation dose. For example, cases of radioactivity in Russian stoves are now widespread in the villages. They have begun to heat with dry sunflowers and it is in them precisely that a large amount of radionuclides have appeared.

[Correspondent] Dmitriy Mikhaylovich, we know that as a result of the accident a number of specific problems have arisen. Are there among them, for example, psychological problems caused by stress?

[D. Grodzinskiy] Indeed, some people who are mentally unstable have decided that for them, as they say, "life is ended," and that they have died. Others have let go in revelry and still others have fallen into depression. In general, in my opinion, psychologists should become indispensable participants in analyzing the consequences of the accident. As far as I know, psychological studies are now being made of the group of the population evacuated from the 30-kilometer zone. Psychological help, I would say, is extremely important in this situation. The people need help to overcome the stresses, for which they seemed to be unprepared. Because of this, medical personnel should expect an increase in the number of nervous illnesses, infarctions, hypertension—in a word, the entire "bouquet" which blossoms on the soil of strong stress.

Another specific problem, to which, in my opinion, the attention of the scientific community should be drawn, is the ecobiological situation in the 30-kilometer zone. A

unique experiment was made here, willingly or unwillingly. Man left. Nature remained affected by the presence of man. How do the animals and the entire ecosystems behave there? We already know that flocks of chickens have suddenly formed. The roosters for some reason have begun to form new families and have increased their aggressiveness. The chickens and roosters have stopped fearing foxes. Large packs of dogs have formed, the structure of which resemble wolves. Fields of wheat and barley are abandoned. The young crops are included in the natural biosystems, and new, unheard of associations are appearing. The very process of cultivated crops growing wild is very curious. Appearing here are many conformances to principle, which can be considered as a reverse course of events—the cultivation of wild nature.

The most unexpected problems are also arising. For example, a tremendous number of ducks have appeared in the Chernobyl region. This is natural. It is peaceful here. There are few people. There is a great deal of feed. After all, though, these hundreds of thousands of ducks are accumulating radioactive substances. They fly off to the most varied places. Of course, it is not desirable for the population to eat radioactive game. It seems a trifle. In the matter of radiation, however, there are no trifles. This problem once again indicates that individual means of monitoring are needed.

A large amount of radioactive contamination, as calculations show, has now accumulated in the mud. How will it behave in case of a heavy flood, will the activity of the water not increase because of it, and will the fowl inhabiting the rivers and reservoirs not suffer? This is really a problem that requires prompt theoretical thinking, and then the adoption of some practical measures. After all, if this mud is discharged onto the fields with heavy flooding, this will also be a catastrophe. Huge masses of very fertile land will prove to be radioactive.

In a word, increasingly new problems are being revealed, sometimes completely unexpected and relating to different spheres of knowledge—psychology, medicine, radiology, mathematics and construction. It cannot be expected that the number of these problems will suddenly be sharply reduced. Rather, the opposite will occur. Once again I emphasize—we must not hush them up, we must be open and frank, and any secrecy will only do harm, since it conceals the problems and makes it impossible for the broad scientific community to take part in their solution.

[Correspondent] What can you say about the reports appearing in the specialized publications which say, in particular: "The effects of direct radiation action on the plant and animal community in the form of radiation damage to coniferous forests and noticeable changes in the number of soil mesomicrofauna have appeared in a limited zone of strong radioactive contamination, several kilometers away from the Chernobyl AES. On the

rest of the territory exposed to the effect of the accidental emission, no strictly ecological effects of radioactive contamination have been noted”?

[D. Grodzinskiy] Look at this. (Dmitriy Mikhaylovich took a small photograph from the table). This was taken far from Chernobyl, outside the zone. What kind of tree is this, in your opinion?

[Correspondent] A pine, the needles are long....

[D. Grodzinskiy] From this photo even an expert specialist cannot tell that this is a spruce—the needles are 5-6 centimeters long. This is the result of the action of radiation....

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**Rumors of Accident at Khmel'nitskiy AES Refuted**  
*18000553b Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian*  
22 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by P. Vorobey, RABOCHAYA GAZETA correspondent: “Where Did the Market Place ‘Blowouts’ Come From”]

[Text] The long-distance call, coming in to the press center at the end of November, was amazing. “I just talked to Mama on the telephone,” A. Reznik, a teacher from Vinnitsa, was worried. “I learned that at the Khmel'nitskiy Nuclear Plant there was... an accident.” “How true is this information?” asked the woman.

To tell the truth, it was not the first time that rumors of defects at the Khmel'nitskiy plant had excited the inhabitants of the city and oblast. No, not at all, and, having duly broken through invisible sluices, a wave of talk about the next “blowout” at the nuclear plant suddenly rolls up, giving food for conversation and false rumors for more than one day. You have hardly managed to go through the period of half-decay from one rumor when a second, a third, rushes to take its place. You go through the marketplace queues at Slavut or Khmel'nitskiy, and if you are lucky—you meet an “eye-witness” of some “luminescence and strange mushroom-shaped cloud” over Netishin, attesting, in the opinion of the teller, to nothing other than an accident at the Khmel'nitskiy AES. You get accustomed to the “relatives” or “friends” of the firemen who, they say, extinguished the fire at the cable and other facilities of the plant.

In a word, you hear enough for an adventure story. Is it any wonder, then, how surprised I was recently at my friend who, after feeling a tickle in his throat during ordinary tonsillitis, among other medicines, bought a bottle of iodine. Just like that, for any eventuality. He is not guilty simply of gullibility and radiation phobia. It is just that for most of the gullible, very likely, iodine is the only medicine and weapon against the rumor

“industry”, born in an atmosphere of insufficient openness about the state of affairs at the AES (the plant newspaper of the power engineers and the Slavut city newspaper cannot affect the matter). He heard something about the increased radiation background—five drops in a glass of water and—on to the next batch of rumors. For which, unfortunately, we do not have to wait very long. The last few calls to the press center attest to that.

“So all the same, what did happen at the plant?”, asks a reader. On 20 November, an outflow of oxygen at the turbogenerator cooling system was detected with monitoring instruments. The reason was a plant reject for which the Leningrad Elektrosila Enterprise was to blame. The workers there had done poor quality work on welding the pipe butt joints. The defect went undetected at first. Only in the process of operation, when the butt joint failed to take the load and gave forth the flow, did the instruments here establish the malfunction. Understandably, the reactor of the first power unit was stopped on the same day, which gave rise to rumors among the population.

“I can state with full responsibility,” explained V.A. Vikin, chief engineer of the plant, “that this malfunction could have no effect on the radiation background at the plant, or anywhere else, beyond its limits. The turbogenerator is in the machine room and is reliably insulated from the reactor. We have three protection systems, and all of them operate automatically and are more than reliable. Rumors of nuclear contamination or blowout are especially absurd. It is a different matter that such a situation could not help but affect the production of electric power. During the 9 days that it took to eliminate the breakdown, we short-supplied the network about 100 million kilowatt-hours of electric power, and incurred a loss of several tens of thousands of rubles. The fines that we intend to impose on the Leningrad firm are poor consolation for that. You cannot make up for the power lost.”

In continuing Vyacheslav Andreyevich's idea, I thought: it is not only the loss of energy that cannot be compensated. The loss of trust of the people in the fact that information on the Khmel'nitskiy AES can be learned outside the market place can also prove to be impossible to compensate for. It would appear that it is simpler than that: to inform the people on a regular basis in the press and on radio broadcasts of the level of the radiation background in the oblast, implement one or two “direct lines” with the readers and community of the region, thus answering, publicly and officially, the questions of the upset people. You will see—some of the rumors would have stopped by themselves and the soil for the appearance of new ones would be less. This is not so far appearing, however. Seeing in the newspapers not so far only the opponents of the construction of the AES, the plant management proceeds with contact very cautiously. Even the publications that appear in the newspaper RADYANSKE PODILLA often do not have an

answer—as it turned out with the appearance of a group of writers and with an article by Comrade Kovalchuk, deputy of the Slavutskiy raysovets.

“The materials are inaccurate, the questions diffuse and not to the point, and in many ways are not within the scope of the plant directors”—that is the whole reaction.

I remember the sensation caused in the summer by the rumor of the “crack” in the cover, or, speaking in the language of specialists—the upper unit of the reactor. How high the feelings ran because of it! There is nothing surprising here. People see danger everywhere, just as ears hear it. So is it worth exacerbating it with ignorance, which farms out the truth to lovers of different types of sensations and gossip? I think: well, would the matter, or the authority of the nuclear construction workers and operators, really suffer if the population immediately, on first hearing and not after some time, found out, by the “corrupted telephone” method, that there was no crack. It was damage of a corrosion nature (metal eats metal) at the upper unit. True, the possibility is not ruled out that then it would have been necessary to explain to the people why the equipment, the operating period for which (and that means the reliability as well) numbers in tens of years, has to be replaced and repaired six months after it was launched? Other questions would equally have to have light shed on them. No matter what, however, the benefits from this type of talk would be much greater than from the uncontrolled chain reaction of rumors on the break-up of the cover of the reactor and the mushroom cloud over Netishin.

It is as if, towards the end of the year, this indisputable truth had been understood at the plant itself, when it decided to gather the journalists of rayon and oblast newspapers and radio broadcasting at the first press conference. The actual fact of this meeting already indicates an attempt to change the existing situation and to give a fuller picture to representatives of the press and consequently—to the readers—about the operation of the AES. It is another matter that this attempt remained an attempt. As far as the assurances of the reliability of the equipment, accident prevention, fireproofing and other systems—there is no lack of them. On the main problems, however, especially on what stage solving the problem of power units Nos 5 and 6 is, no one received a clear-cut answer. And they are precisely what interest the readers most of all. True, on the basis of the words of N.S. Gabriyuk, plant director, that “there are problems higher than the local interests”, it must be stated that for the specialists at the plant the problem of the expediency of constructing additional units is not worth mentioning. Even though, as has been emphasized, it is the local organs of authority that have the prerogative in solving this problem, particularly the Khmelnytsky Oblispolkom. (The Rovno Oblispolkom should obviously not play a lesser role in solving this problem. After all, the first major city located closest of all to the plant—8 kilometers away—is Ostrog in Rovno Oblast).

A great deal of confusion remains in other answers. For example, in speaking of the expediency of locating additional units in the Ukraine, particularly at the Khmelnytsky AES, when the republic has the lowest provision of water, Nikolay Stepanovich stated that he did not consider his production facility a reservoir. A minute later, in reflecting on the main factors, which make it possible to carry on a conversation about this sort of expansion precisely in Netishin, he said that here there are additional sources...of water supply—the Dnester River. Is this not a paradox?

Then he just had to shrug his shoulders when it appeared that one must not speak about the quality and quantity of planned and unplanned shutdowns, especially revealing their relationship.

I had not yet managed to “cool off” from the press conference, when the telephone at the press center rang again: “You have not heard what transit passengers from Rovno said, that something bad had happened at the plant....”

I dialed the number of N.P. Dudchenko, the deputy chief engineer:

“There is a malfunction in the electric motor of the main circulation pump. There is a planned shutdown.”

“How often do these shutdowns occur?” I wondered.

“Unfortunately,” sighed Nikolay Petrovich, “this information is for service use.”

“That means that the only way to find out anything about this—is to go to the market place?”

There was a deep silence at that end of the line.

#### **UkSSR Academy of Sciences Against Construction of Crimean AES**

*18000553c Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian  
8 Jan 89 p 1*

[Article by I. Lukinov, vice-president of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, academician: “While the Commission Is in Operation”]

[Text] The UkSSR Academy of Sciences reviewed an article on the construction of the Crimean AES, “While the Commission Is in Operation,” published in RABOCHAYA GAZETA on 23 November 1988 and reports the following.

The questions raised in this article are important and urgent for the republic, and the materials presented objectively and consistently reflect the essence of the problem.

The commission, created by order of the USSR Council of Ministers, to define more precisely the seismic characteristics of the construction region of the Crimean AES, came to the conclusion that, before completing additional studies to determine the seismic danger for the Crimean AES in normative evaluations, an estimate should be made of a maximum calculated earthquake of 9 points for soils of category II.

In addition, in the opinion of the commission, it is necessary to evaluate the effect on the AES construction of today's diapirism along the clay deposits of the Maykopskiy series.

At the same time, there is no finding in the conclusion of the commission concerning the need to stop construction on the Crimean AES, since this task was not asked of them.

The UkSSR Academy of Sciences considers, however, that the facts available today are sufficient to make the conclusion unequivocal: construction of the Crimean AES should be suspended, and the objects already erected should be reprofiled and used for electric energy production at other industrial bases.

#### **Reader Challenges Motives for Special Work Day for Armenian Relief**

18000553d Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
7 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by V. Bondarenko: "Profanation"]

[Text] It strikes me that even during the earthquake in Armenia, we in Anratsit once again said hello to stagnant times.

The calamity of the Armenian nation upset people deeply. They spontaneously collected money and warm things. Then came an order from the rayispolkom: the cultural workers are to devote a special work day to help the victims. Indeed, who is against it, everything is clear without further words. Where will a cultural worker go for the special work day? It turns out—clear the snow away at the Shterovka Railroad Station. Well, after all, the rayispolkom is obliged to think of the cleanliness of the railroad. Even though no trains go to Armenia through Shterovka. Even when there are no snow drifts.

On the other hand, there is an army of cultural workers—a cheap work force. I want to emphasize—"cheap." A librarian, for example, earns from 6 to 8 rubles a day at her work place. The same worker earned 90 kopecks (!) clearing away the snow. If you consider the fact that, upon numerous requests from many women who were stiff with cold, they fed them warm tea and a roll, the aid to Armenia appeared quite pathetic. It will not be superfluous to note: the same women, a few days before the special work day, collected an extra 3-10 rubles each and turned them over to the rayon cultural division.

Thus, for four hours, the people stayed in the cold. They were equipped mainly with shovels, even though there were 6 locomotives standing nearby to machine clean the snow off the tracks. In the height of winter it turned out that...the equipment was out of order.

The question is asked: who, precisely, needed this special work day? Armenia? There is great doubt on this point. The station? It did, or rather, the engineers and mechanics, capable of repairing the snow-cleaning equipment needed it. The women—the cultural and education workers? If you could have seen their faces. Really, many of them at that time caught cold and fell ill. It is doubtful that any of them felt the benefit and need of their kopecks' worth of heavy work. Perhaps the rayispolkom needed this special workday? But for what? To report? Why, then, did the rank-and-file workers not see any of the directors alongside them? In the last analysis, no one would have refused to work even a whole day at their work places or to give an additional day's earnings. All of 6-8 rubles. And not 90 kopecks.

#### **Batalin on Functioning of Armenian Earthquake Commission**

18300412 Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK  
in Russian No 3, Feb 89 pp 6-7

[Interview with Yu. P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by L. Tsvetkov: "The Houses Collapsed—The People Endured"]

[Text] In Armenia the work of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission continues. Yu. P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, addresses questions raised by the editorial staff of PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK about how the organized effort is progressing.

[Tsvetkov] Yuriy Petrovich, our readers know that at first the working meetings of the commission were chaired by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, then for more than a month by you, but that since 26 January these duties have been entrusted to CPSU Central Committee Deputy Chairman L. A. Voronin. But, of course, the commission's work does not consist only of executive meetings about which we read regular reports in the press. Could you tell us about daily activities as a member of this special administrative body?

[Batalin] In that case, it would be better to begin with the first day or, more precisely, following the night of 8 December when the commission arrived in Yerevan.

In the morning, there was a short meeting with republic leaders. We received information about the scale of the disaster; for reasons that are understandable, it was not yet complete. It was necessary to travel to the stricken areas to find out what measures would be necessary and the proper priority order.

What we saw in Leninakan, on the road to Spitak, in the city itself, and then later in Kirovakan, exceeded our worst expectations about the consequences of the earthquake. It became clear that two or three hundred cranes for carrying out the rescue operations, as previously mentioned, were no more than a drop in the bucket. How much and what kind of equipment was needed was yet to be determined, if only in approximate terms. To accomplish this, I want to say, was no simple task. There was so much grief around us! It was necessary somehow to give a little encouragement to those who had fallen into despair, and to support the efforts of those who, overcoming their sense of shock, had begun to act, but they were few in number. At the same time, it was necessary to estimate the scale of destruction, the transport potential, and the amount of equipment needed. It was a tragic journey.

We came to two conclusions. First, professionals were needed here to carry out the work—medical personnel, builders, mine-rescue workers—united in detachments along clear-cut administrative lines, so that they could operate independently, and with their own material-technical and food supplies. Incidentally, subunits of union and republic ministries of public health and the rescue workers, especially the ones from the coal industry, provided exemplary models of the organized efforts that were needed. Through the heroic efforts of these groups, as well as of USSR civil defense units, more than 15,000 people underneath the building debris were rescued.

Second, the amount of people and equipment needed was so much that trying to manage with only republic resources and assistance from adjacent areas was out of the question. The main thing was delivery time. Transport was recognized as the crucial problem. There was only one recourse—an airlift.

This proposal was made at an evening meeting of the commission on our return to Yerevan. An hour later, I was released from participating in the meeting; for it was necessary to get down to practical measures. One hour after that, all the ministers and chairmen of the republic construction ministries or their deputies were in their places at work where they received preliminary tasks with regard to the mobilization plan.

[Tsvetkov] Essentially, what were these tasks?

[Batalin] To efficiently disentangle the wreckage, not only cranes were required, but an immense weight-lifting capability. In addition, it was necessary to provide for each unit a whole series of mechanized equipment, including bulldozers, earth-removal vehicles, electric welding equipment and gas-powered cutting tools, compressors, pneumatic drills, and generators—plus the operators to run them for two and a half shifts.

All of this was necessary to conduct a search operation and get the first batch of victims to airports for shipment by morning. By 1000 the equipment was fully mobilized and in place for loading. Let me say that even earlier we had managed to assemble required number of transport planes. Eighty trips were planned for 9 December, but we could not manage to complete this task on the first day, and the airlift operated without being fully loaded. This became the subject of a thorough investigation at the next meeting of the commission.

Yet, later on, the airport in Leninakan accommodated 200 aircraft and more in a 24-hour period, most of them heavy aircraft, and Yerevan only slightly less than that. This was far more than the projected capacity of either airport. In the air traffic pattern there were sometimes 45 planes at a time. Of course, loads were arriving from 70 cities in the country.

[Tsvetkov] You have had occasion previously to organize similar transport operations?

[Batalin] On a scale such as this one—no. Here, moreover, the situation was complicated not simply by the scale of operations but by the urgency. And the December weather was unsteady. This means it was necessary to anticipate other means of delivery, by rail and from other areas in the republic by automobile.

Whatever the means, over the 10-day period 10-20 December 900 cranes, together with a complement of other equipment, arrived in Armenia. This represents the approximate range of matters that concerned me more than anything else during the initial stage.

Each member of the commission, of course, has his own main area of concern for which he is responsible. But there is one principle that is the same for everyone. Matters are to be decided—not sloughed off on the commission chairman.

[Tsvetkov] Recently, one of the newspapers expressed doubt as to whether there were not too many officials converging on Armenia. Isn't the operation becoming bureaucratized, they asked, instead of being carried out? How would you respond?

[Batalin] That is, at best, utter nonsense, coming from ignorance of the situation and circumstances.

Who is considered a bureaucrat? N. Ye. Momot, head of Minsevizzapstroy, or V.A. Zhirnov of Minuralsibstroy, or deputy ministers M. I. Pochkaylov and N. I. Svistunov, who for days on end stayed in the thick of events at the site of the catastrophe? Or A. V. Mamichev, deputy minister for construction in the Ukraine, who expedited operations in Kirovakan? Or O. I. Lobov, head of the staff of the RSFSR Council of Ministers on duty in Leninakan, who has since been chosen Armenian CP Central Committee secretary? It should be recognized

that the leadership of the Russian Federation demonstrated the highest organizational efficiency. With respect to reconstruction efforts, not only the builders but all services and ministries in the RSFSR have become involved.

Or are the lower-echelon leaders to be called bureaucrats, such as the heads of the trusts and building-and-repair administrations of Minyugstroy who were in charge of operations at the ruins? Or perhaps the managers and specialists of the State Architectural Committee and its institutes, who in a matter of days have been completing research and design projects that usually require many months?

We have recently been strongly critical of the leadership of the trade unions and the Komsomol for bureaucratization and formalism, and justly at times. But how did they perform in the extreme situation in Armenia? One must see this—the immense amount of work they did to save people, to evacuate children and their mothers, and to render assistance in every way possible to virtually every sufferer. Many persons, I think, will remember them with gratitude always.

Under the banner of democratization, as you know, in Armenia as elsewhere, distracting questions have come to the fore—such as, for example, about the leaders of the “Karabakh.” I think that the question of bureaucratization is one of this kind.

Let me be perfectly clear. Not one of us has the slightest desire to reinstate arbitrary bureaucratic methods of administration. Yet we cannot close our eyes to the fact that in extraordinary situations it is precisely centralized management that is most effective—of course, as a unified whole, in combination with voluntary efforts locally. For example, in Georgia, where after an initial request they managed to locate and dispatch 150 additional cranes and many other items of equipment to the disaster area. Or at the airports where they cut off the cabins of the cranes with power saws, so that they could be loaded in IL-76's. Or in those departments where plans that had just been completed were hurriedly redrawn, so that the CPSU Central Committee and the CPSU Council of Ministers might process a whole set of documents required for the organization of reconstruction operations in a period of time so short that it is without precedent.

[Tsvetkov] Decrees have been published in the republic press on the restoration of the social and economic potential of stricken regions. But there are skeptics who say that little has been done about these fine decisions, as well as others that have not been complied with. How do matters stand in this respect?

[Batalin] I should like to say that compliance was under way even before documents were officially ratified. We took part in working them out, and they offered no

secrets for anyone; so as soon as an avalanche of immediate priority tasks subsided, the commission set this task before the ministries and departments: In pursuit of the objective, as set forth in the decrees, work out plans together with schedules for their completion. They began even at the stage of rescue operations, and by the time the documents appeared in print (in early January), we were already moving at full speed in terms of considering concrete programs.

I won't say that everything went smoothly. Certain ministries managed to turn over their action programs to the commission only after the second, or even a third, presentation. For example, it was necessary to return again and again to the problem of restoring teaching programs for school-going children in the disaster area. Priorities were given to this and other social problems.

Nevertheless, by the middle of January the reconstruction of housing and social facilities in the cities and rayon centers and the revival of the republic agro-industrial complex, as well as the life-support systems of the population, were being expedited in terms of specific assignments, clearly defining what was to be done and when.

To illustrate the extent of the work to be done over the next two years, let me cite these figures. The total volume of capital investments will exceed 8 billion rubles, of which 5.2 billion rubles represents the cost of construction and repair operations. To get this work done, the number of builders to be drawn from other areas of the republic for housing construction alone will come to 100,000 by the end of this year, and next year the number will have to be increased by approximately another 20 percent.

We are planning not simply to restore the city, but to take a very substantial step forward in developing Soviet city planning in its application to areas of increased seismic activity. Plans are under way for constructing high-density structures of few stories. No fewer than 60 percent of these buildings will be of poured concrete on-site construction. And other measures are being provided for to insure security. At the same time, considerable attention is being given to preserving the national character of these buildings and populated areas as a whole. On these matters, as in the choice of construction sites, the final word will be up to Armenian experts.

[Tsvetkov] Do you consider the resources at hand sufficient for the reconstruction operations projected? Will it be possible to get the work done within the two-year deadline?

[Batalin] I would call it a super-difficult task! But it will be done. Immense enthusiasm—a purely humanitarian desire to help people left without shelter—is a factor of prime importance; and, secondly, the fact that the resources being accumulated are large. Nevertheless, the

next two years demand quite a concentration of efforts. It will be necessary to strictly comply with the principle of parallel efforts and to clearly define priorities.

Right now, for example, the development of production of local building supplies is of primary importance. If materials must be brought in from the outside, then the railroad will accommodate our needs for a third year under the most favorable circumstances. Fortunately, Armenia is very rich in natural resources; it has excellent basalt gravel, pumice, and tufa. This will permit extensive on-site housing construction. At the same time, modular production with tufa and accordingly construction of houses and communal facilities with the use of this excellent material will double.

And how is all this to be undertaken? The fact is that the only plant in the country that produces stone-cutting machines was destroyed by the earthquake. To so much as define the task ahead for the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine-Building to produce 200 of these units within a specific time therefore, it will be necessary to rebuild the plant in Leninakan in the first quarter by enlisting the cooperation of other ministry enterprises.

It is no less urgent to put into operation a supply line from the Ararat Cement Plant. It is also vitally necessary for the USSR Ministry of the Timber and Wood Processing Industry to send a series of procurements to the disaster area for the manufacture of doors and windows and arrange for on-site installation.

[Tsvetkov] Should the CPSU Central Committee commission in your opinion continue to function throughout the two-year period?

[Batalin] Yes, I think it would be prudent in order to ensure that the decisions made by the government and the party are complied with. It is another matter that the commission's style of operations will obviously undergo a change. I don't think the "duty-watch" [vakhovyy] method is the only appropriate way for deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers to operate. (For the present they are taking turns in relieving one another on duty.) In future, the ArSSR Council of Ministers will increasingly take over operational oversight responsibilities, and commission members will make periodic visits to the scene.

### **Unofficial Rally Protests Tajik Battery Plant Construction**

*18300397 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 3*

[Article by R. Abulloyev, correspondent of KOMMUNIST TAZHIKISTANA: "Lessons of One Meeting, Leading to Reflections Apropos of Ecological Problems"]

[Text] Hand-written announcements, pasted one day in various parts of the city, called on the inhabitants of

Kulyab to assemble in Lenin Square to hold a meeting to protest against the construction of a battery plant. Then the announcements imperceptibly disappeared, but nevertheless on Sunday several hundred townsfolk and inhabitants of neighboring villages gathered in the square.

The meeting was not sanctioned because its organizers could not guarantee the observance of all formalities provided for by the Law. And the gorispolkom, naturally, did not give permission for the implementation of this measure. To avert mass disturbances, sub-units of the department of internal affairs were brought to a state of increased readiness.

The discussion of ecological problems, which recently has begun to call forth the increased concern of Kulyab residents in actual fact did not take place—the organizers of the meeting did not have a clearly formulated program, or scientifically substantiated arguments against the building of the plant. The statements by many speakers were dominated by emotions, which were quickly transferred to the—in terms of composition sufficiently motley—crowd.

The only time, perhaps, the situation became heated when Dzhamshed Bobokhonov, a worker of the city dairy plant, expressed bewilderment—why do the city leaders not want to talk with people and answer their questions? Passions began to become heated, the young people began to catcall the representatives of the local organs, but the speaker, having understood that he had gone too far, declared:

"There is no need to manifest hooliganism, to throw stones, to break doors and windows. Everyone of your unlawful actions is a blow to our goal, personally to me, Kurbon Zardakov, and other organizers of the meeting. . . ."

In the crowd they began to make way to start appeals for the collection of signatures for a petition of protest against the construction of the battery plant, to equip a delegation to Dushanbe, to start a broad campaign. . . . Fortunately, there were people who were able to overcome the mood of the participants in the meeting, to call them to their senses.

"Not long ago in the Palace of Culture," the teacher V. Fozylov said, "a meeting of the community with the city leaders took place. Taking into account our concern with the possible ecological consequences of the building of this project, the leadership decided to send a special commission for the study of the ecological situation to the Taldy-Kurgan, where an analogous enterprise is operating. Let us wait for its return, let us find out the conclusions of the specialists. . . ."

"This meeting is being held against the Law," declared the lawyer of the Selstroy-8 [Rural Construction-8] Trust, M. Musoyev. "It is impossible to act that way. We must not provoke disturbances. . . ."

The speaker explained to the people how to organize and conduct such mass measures, and he counseled them to subject their actions to reason, and not emotions. Having, apparently, realized the impulsiveness of their actions, Dzhamshe'd Bobokhonov and Matali Amirkhonov, laying claim to the role of informal leaders of the "ecologists, proposed to the participants of the meeting to disperse peacefully and to wait for the results of the work of the special commission.

Soon the square emptied. The last to leave it were the militia patrols, which, by the way, manifested wise restraint, tact and courtesy, so necessary in such situations. Everything was managed without any incidents. By the way, not a single violation of the public order was registered on this day in Kulyab, as A. Khakimov, the chief of the Department of Internal Affairs, reported.

Thus, everything was handled without special excesses. But the feeling of uneasiness, repressed in the soul, has remained because the very fact of conduct of a spontaneous meeting brings on serious reflections. The point is that questions of environmental protection previously worried very few people in Kulyab. For years, the people themselves, without a moment's hesitation, have thrown refuse on the carriageway of the road, into irrigation ditches and canals, have patiently endured thick puffs of black smoke from the chimneys of the numerous boilers, the stench of the meat combine, the effluents of dust and sweepings from the cotton-cleaning plant and the milling plant. They have only with irritation winced at the appearance of motor vehicles which leave a smoke tail behind them and car-lovers who have transformed the most densely populated areas into a wash of cars.

They were silent. That, apparently, is why the city "fathers" have not occupied themselves with the solution of these problems. But the inner dissatisfaction of people sooner or later is capable of exhausting the patience of any magnitude. The fact of the construction of the battery plant became the peculiar catalyst for this. The journalists of the now abolished oblast newspaper ROKHI LENINI were the first to sound the alarm. Then there appeared an open letter of representatives of the intelligentsia to the first Khatlon Oblast Party Conference. The discussion of the consequences of the building of the battery plant little by little began to conceal the other aspects of the ecological situation in the city, became, in essence, an isolated subject into which the interests of various circles of the population retreated.

A circle of open opponents of construction also clearly took shape, whose camp many townsfolk and inhabitants of the surrounding villages began to join. They openly rebelled against the unfortunate selection of the site for the building of the plant, which is located higher than the reserves of fresh water, in a peculiar corridor from where effluents and drainage possibly will get carried into the city by wind and mud-torrents. The city authorities limply countered these conclusions with the fact that the plant was planned by specialists and that

the project passed expert examination. The trouble was that both sides were not well acquainted with all the details of the technical-economic and ecological substantiation of the project and were guided in their statements basically by intuition.

Only after the atmosphere began to heat up and the participants of the dispute began to go to extremes, it was decided at a meeting in the Palace of Culture, to the complete satisfaction of all parties, to create the special commission, which went to Taldy-Kurgan to study the ecological situation in a zone of an analogous operating enterprise. This fact in and of itself noticeably sobered the most fervent opponents of construction, restrained passions somewhat, and made it possible to eliminate the tension of the situation in the city square.

It goes without saying, Kulyab today needs new factories and plants like air—factories and plants that to a decisive degree can predetermine the growth of the tempo of socio-economic development of the city, secure the employment of the able-bodied population and the increase of the material and cultural standard of living of people. And on this plane, the position of the most militant part of the "ecologists" does not withstand any criticism. At the same time, new construction should be conducted with such a calculation so as to reduce to a minimum the possible harmful ecological consequences of the operation of national economic projects, which are no secret to anyone and which are the distinctive sources of increased danger to the environment.

In these conditions, the role and significance of correctly provided ideological and explanatory work among the masses grow immeasurably. It must be openly acknowledged that the city ideological aktiv at a certain moment proved to be unable to exert substantial influence on the correct formation of public opinion. The secretary of the Kulyab Party Gorkom, L. Sh. Nasreddinova, refused even to comment on the situation that led to the unsanctioned meeting, justifying this with her incompetence in ecological problems, her lack of knowledge about the ecological situation in the city. But when the discussion nevertheless took place, reproaches were addressed to the journalists for allegedly stirring up, through their publications, the activeness of people concerned with ecological problems.

Most striking of all is the fact that the ideological secretary assessed the concern of the citizens about questions of ecology as a negative phenomenon. In my view, this is fundamentally incorrect. The ideological work will acquire much greater effectiveness if it will be accented in support of the movement for environmental protection that has arisen in the people, for the expansion of the range of questions which require an interested solution both on the part of the organs of power and the community.

It is necessary to cultivate in the people a high level of ecological education, high standards of discussion of the problems connected with the protection of nature. Let people raise questions—why is there not a single capital enterprise for the industrial processing of refuse, household garbage and production waste, why does the expansion of the capacities of purification installations lag behind the rates of industrial and civil construction, and why are reservoirs, rivers, the irrigation network, and many streets littered? And let the city authorities respond to these questions with deeds, let them solve these problems. And then the cart will begin to move and complete mutual understanding will be reached in the city between all the up to now polar positions.

The time has come to resolutely repudiate the pretentiousness of formalism and red tape in explanatory work. To hold a meeting, a session or a conference—this still does not mean convincing people, it is necessary to work in the midst of the masses. Why were those “informal leaders” [neformaly] able to persuade people to come to the meeting, and the ideological aktiv used only the tactic of prohibition? Was it really impossible to make use of the city newspaper in this matter, to target lecturers, agitators, and propagandists for explanatory work in labor collectives and in residential areas. Would people really not listen if the most authoritative townspeople enjoying the greatest respect among the people would address them from the highest platform of the city?

This is why it must be stated again and again that the process of restructuring in ideological work has still not taken the proper turns. As a result, up to now its activists have been sitting in passive defense, and lovers of keen feelings sometimes hang on to the ecological subject that has acquired great urgency and topicality. Thus we will predetermine the constructive character of the discussion of a problem of vital importance for all of us through our interested participation and considered approach in the solution of ecological problems.

### **Uzbek Philologist on Widening Spheres of Bilingualism**

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14 Feb 89 p 3*

[Article by Prof. I.Kuchkartayev, doctor of philology, dean of the Uzbek philology department of the Tashkent State University imeni V.I.Lenin: “To Undo a Complex Nod”]

[Text] For many years, the subject of language has been either discussed in a triumphant key or not discussed at all. The one-sided and superficial idea about the language situation in the country and in Uzbekistan in particular was fostered by Stalin’s theory of regional and world languages. According to that theory, national languages have no future: they would first merge into regional languages and then into a single worldwide tongue.

The years of the cult of personality and stagnation stunted the development of national languages, slowed the process of widening of their social functions and depleted their vocabularies. At times, the practice would become absurd: a person using words “domulla” or “muallim” would be accused of nationalism. Unfounded and forced restrictions on the use of words impoverished the languages. And Russian language instruction was poorly organized, as well: according to the data of the 1979 census, about one half of Uzbeks do not know it.

Our republic is multi-ethnic. Consequently, we have a system of a one-language, bilingual and multilingual coexistence. Uzbek and Russian are used universally on the entire territory of the republic, whereas only certain social groups speak other languages. Taking the diversity of Uzbekistan’s population into account, it would be possible to draft a special law on the republic’s languages. In our republic, bilingualism is the condition and the means of coexistence of different languages. Proof of this is the use of Russian and Uzbek as second languages: they are the means of communication between nationalities and ethnic groups. Bilingualism means fluency in Russian, in addition to the knowledge of their native tongue, among people of indigenous nationalities. On the other hand, it is also necessary for the Russian-speaking population to know the languages of the indigenous population of the republic. By not providing adequate Uzbek instruction to Russian students, we create artificial problems for ourselves. This idea was correctly expressed in PRAVDA VOSTOKA (July 9, 1988) by a student of the Russian department of the Tashkent State University: “School kids are lucky. They have a real opportunity to learn a second language. But what about vocational school and college students? Russian is taught at Uzbek departments, but no Uzbek is taught at Russian ones. How would future doctors, cultural and education professionals and those who work in services, retail and catering communicate with the people?”

In this respect, the example of bilingualism found among the peoples of Central Asia, especially among Uzbeks and Tajiks, is quite instructive.

The problems in Uzbek language instruction call for a set of urgent measures in the areas of research, methodology and organization. I would include among them the need to produce research studies on the Uzbek language in relation to Russian and other tongues, textbooks, study aids, dictionaries and aids for home study; to set up a network of groups and courses to study Uzbek in large cities and rayon centers of the republic and to set up departments at colleges and universities to train Uzbek language and literature teachers for Russian schools.

It is legitimate to mention the ethnic aspects of this issue. Many people have grasped the need to learn at least one foreign language. Yet, we do not have enough time to learn the language of those who we meet every day and among whom we work and live. Much could be done to

promote Uzbek and the languages of other indigenous ethnic groups by the republic's Russian-speaking intelligentsia, scientists and writers.

I think that this issue was correctly raised at a PRAVDA VOSTOKA roundtable (December 30, 1988): "We live in a country where bilingualism should be a necessity for every citizen. A Russian living in a union republic must know the language of that republic in much the same way every non-Russian must know Russian. Biligualism in a multinational state must be a normal, natural and integral part of public life. To achieve that, we must spare neither instruction hours nor resources."

It should be stressed that the knowledge and study of Russian and Uzbek, both as native and as second languages, fall far short of today's needs. There is a number of reasons for this. They include the low professional quality of teachers, shortages of highly effective modern equipment, poor material and technical resources at schools and other educational institutions, etc. Whenever we list similar shortcomings, we often complain about the inadequate system of foreign language instruction and call upon education professionals to improve the quality of instruction and textbooks, etc. Yet, we forget that the poor system of language instruction is not so much the cause as the consequence of the underlying problem, which is the sloganeering approach to the issue as a whole. Incidentally, taking into account the wishes of young people, the Tashkent State University has set up a department to provide Uzbek instruction at Russian departments; at a number of departments, groups to study the ancient Uzbek alphabet have also been set up.

As a subject, all national languages, and Uzbek in particular, are in need of radical reform: they need a new conceptual approach to language instruction at school.

The current approach is based on the assumption that students know their native tongue. As a result, the main thrust is to provide more information and knowledge about the language. Uzbek language textbooks and study aids are full of rules about its structure, whereas examples given to illustrate those rules have nothing to do with practical usage; using those books, it is impossible—or nearly impossible—to learn the language as a means of communication, or as a vehicle for developing and expressing thoughts. Many graduates who get excellent or good grades in Uzbek know it relatively well but cannot speak or write it imaginatively, colorfully, succinctly or in a lively style. A similar situation exists in Russian language instruction. The new conceptual approach to language instruction should cover preschool entities and higher education institutions, integrating them in a continuous learning process. We need textbooks, various study aids, dictionaries and phrase books designed for profound study of the language and to enhance the students' oral and written skills.

Perestroyka in language instruction in the republic entails a general broadening of the sphere of use of indigenous languages, including Uzbek, and their introduction into all areas of science and technology. To accomplish this, we need to produce Uzbek alphabet typewriters on a mass scale, to develop Uzbek language telegraph and introduce it into the postal system and much more. Naturally, the widening of the scope of the Uzbek language in public life should not be carried out at the expense of or in opposition to Russian. Upholding the principle of biligualism is the true path toward free development and equality of languages and toward a higher level of inter-ethnic relations in the republic. In short, all of us must undo this complex knot.

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