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Estonian Commission on Question of Universal Military Service

18010857 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 6 May 89 p 3

[Article by A. Kharchenko: "With Parental Care"]

[Text] The first session of the Commission on Questions of Universal Military Service, established under the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, took place. Participating in the meeting were A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet; A. Soydla, first deputy chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers; and M. Leosk, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet.

You will agree, it was not so long ago that we hardly concerned ourselves with what happens on the military's side of the fence. The chiefs went to the induction stations, said a few touching words, and waved to the shorn children departing for service. And that was all. It was distressing to listen to M. Leosk as she told the members of the commission that many of the letters and appeals addressed to the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet concerned compulsory service. They are signed by work collectives and private individuals and deal with so-called unsanctioned attitudes, the officers' careless treatment of the soldiers, and other negative incidents. This is why the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet found it necessary to form the commission, which is headed by P. Vasikov, deputy chairman of the Commission on Legislative Proposals of the ESSR Supreme Soviet and chief of the State-Legal Department of the Estonian CP Central Committee. The deputies are the officer Yu. Belov, deputy of the ESSR Supreme Soviet; L. Veskimyae, member of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet and secretary of the ESSR Trade Union Council; and K. Rey, member of the Commission on Foreign Affairs of the ESSR Supreme Soviet and first secretary of the Parnu City Party Committee.

"We must not waste time," said P. Vasikov to those assembled. "We must immediately be prepared to decide questions concerning the military service of our children from Estonia..."

And from this point on each of the speakers manifested—there is no other way to put it—a parental concern for the boys in uniform. They discussed service in accustomed climatic conditions, etc. And there was more. A number of units bear honorary designations pertaining to Estonia—the "Tallinn," the "Valga"... But there are very few draftees from our republic in them. This too is an omission.

There are also positive examples. I know that good relations have been established between the Tallinn Komsomol gorkom and the large ASW ship Tallinn which is part of the Red Banner Order Pacific Fleet. Our newspapers are regularly delivered to the ship. On leave, the Pacific Ocean sailors invariably stop in at the Komsomol gorkom to catch up on news and talk about the long cruises. And delegations from Tallinn visit the ship.

The more the attention, the more the consideration and contacts. It is all the more pertinent now that we have the opportunity. Returning to the session of the new commission, it was apparent to me, judging by the speakers, that communications between the command of the units stationed in Estonia and the leaders of the cities and rayons are poor at times.

A. Soydla stressed that the officers and their families live in deplorable conditions. This must not be. These problems must be solved. A. Ryuytel devoted attention to this question too.

Indeed, let them live in official quarters, but the officers and their families should live under normal conditions. The Army must build housing for its people. There are cases in Tallinn too. I had to visit the units, and I saw that the soldiers lived on one floor of the barracks and the officers' families on the other. That will not do. Is it a question of permits? How is an officer to devote himself fully to the service and train his personnel when he is overwhelmed by constant disorder?

The spring induction is currently underway. General Major R. Pyder, military commissar of the ESSR, reported on its progress. He also devoted attention to the problems the workers of the military commissariat have had. The topic was the medical inspection of the conscripts. A large number of the children are in need of a full examination. R. Pyder asked the commission to help solve this problem.

In addition, 126 people did not show up at the induction station. The reasons are ascertained. But in this case, our system of registration is at fault too. They looked for one fellow in Tallinn, and he lives in Valga. R. Pyder noted that there are no direct refusals to serve in the Army.

The members of the commission outlined a work schedule for the immediate future. It encompasses the units where the draftees of Estonia serve, as well as familiarization with the conscripts themselves and their problems so that the boys' wishes may be taken into consideration in the future. We must know the situation in the units where they will serve, and later we must go visit the soldiers of our republic.

For the present the commission does not have practical experience because it is the first of its kind in our country. But there are reference points, and there are questions which require an immediate answer.

And now I will report the names of the members of the commission:

E. Aus, barber at the Tartu Production Administration of Consumer Services and member of the Commission on Consumer Goods, Trade, and Public Services of the ESSR Supreme Soviet; Major General V. Vinogradov, deputy of the ESSR Supreme Soviet; A. Ingerman,

section head of the Social and Economic Department of the Estonian CP Central Committee and chairman of the Commission on Questions of the Labor and Daily Life of Women and Maternity and Child Protection of the ESSR Supreme Soviet; K. Kaur, chief of the Kolkhoz "Kolga-Yaani" Department and member of the Commission on Questions of the Labor and Daily Life of Women and Maternity and Child Protection of the ESSR Supreme Soviet; M. Kolosova, first secretary of the Valga Rayon Party Committee and chairman of the Commission on Public Health and Social Security of the ESSR Supreme Soviet; E. Luyk, chairman of the Kharyuskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee; M. Piyrimaa, first deputy chairman of the ESSR State Public Education Committee and minister of the ESSR; Yu. Pilt, diesel locomotive engineer at the Tapa Locomotive Depot and deputy chairman of the Commission on Transportation and Communications of the ESSR Supreme Soviet; Major General R. Pyder, military commissar of the ESSR; V, Ryatsep, deputy director of the Republic Cancer Center and member of the Commission on Public Health and Social Security of the ESSR Supreme Soviet; A. Tammlekht, chairman of the Kingiseppskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee and deputy chairman of the Commission on Public Health and Social Security of the ESSR Supreme Soviet; Y. Tasa, deputy administrator of the Tallinn Inter-Rayon Production Association for Technical and Production Supply to Agriculture and deputy chairman of the Commission on Youth Affairs of the ESSR Supreme Soviet; Kh. Eller, first secretary of the Khiyumaaskiy Rayon Party Committee and deputy chairman of the Commission on Legislative Proposals of the ESSR Supreme Soviet.

Arguments Adduced in Favor of Georgian National Army

18130072 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian 13 Jun 89 pp 4-5

[Article by Zaza Kavtaradze, member of council of Rustaveli Society's Dabruneba [Return] Association: "A Few Words About the Army"]

[Text] By now, the Georgian nation's movement to create a national army has become widespread and active. USSR Supreme Soviet deputies elected in Georgia have included the issue in their programs.

How has this come about?

Under today's glasnost, it is neither unacceptable nor harmful for a union republic to have a national army, to launch a movement or demand to create a national army—especially for a state striving to transform itself into a state of law. When speakers on the high rostrum discuss the restoration and defense of the sovereignty of the union republics, protection and respect for the rights of the various nations and nationalities, having a national army has become an essential necessity of the time.

A national army is also justified on economic grounds. It will spare us the expense of transporting conscripts over large distances.

Note must be taken of unfortunate instances in which unpleasant actions—to put it mildly—have taken place against Georgians in some Soviet Army units.

Exercising my freedom of speech, I wish to briefly analyze ongoing processes in the army and offer my own specific ideas on ways to correct the situation.

The major democratic changes that have taken place in our society thanks to perestroyka have hardly affected the army at all, unfortunately.

Exacerbated conflicts on grounds of ethnic strife have grown more frequent in the army, chiefly conflicts between Russians and non-Russians.

Keep in mind that the Soviet Army's generals and officers consist mainly of Russian military personnel, while the rank and file present a very variegated ethnic picture.

It frequently happens that Russian officers, on various pretexts (artificial creation of a conflict situation) or no pretext at all, subject non-Russian enlisted men to severe punishment.

Please don't misunderstand me: by writing of interethnic conflicts in the army I do not wish to fan ethnic strife. Conversely, we must not close our eyes to numerous instances of unlawfulness and harassment that would take too long to list. My purpose is to seek ways out of such conflict situations.

Officers frequently resort to forbidden methods of punishment; they invent and develop "creative" new forms and methods. And it all takes place mainly because some enlisted man has refused to obey an "order" to scrub the latrine or polish an officer's boots. The so-called "Dedovshchina" [old-man system] has become a grave moral sickness. In it, enlisted men who have served in the army longer and whose enlistment will soon be up call themselves "Ded Sovetskoy Armii" [old man of the Soviet Army], harass the recruits, force them to carry out humiliating orders. The "Deds" of today were once recruits themselves and were similarly harassed by the long-timers. Such a system has a damaging effect on a young man's spirit, brutalizes or blunts his moral sense, fosters human degeneration, and kindles base animal instincts.

Do you think that every young man who goes through the primary school of such a slavish institution is going to return spiritually clean to civilian life? If the officers of an army unit would take timely steps to root out Dedovshchina, they would probably succeed. The fact is, however, that this sickness has become a traditional legacy, and it damages human rights in the army.

It frequently happens that an officer or non-com will get drunk, can't keep away from the bottle—but often, no

one calls him to account for it. An enlisted man, however, will not escape punishment for the same behavior.

Corruption and protectionism have become just as pathological. By giving a non-com a bribe, an enlisted man can get a pass to go see his parents, or get a little more consideration than the others—for example, easier duties, work in the kitchen, or whatever. This is the source of the widespread army expression "ruka"—that is, the hand of a protector.

All of this attests to the unlawful character of the army. An unlawful state begets an unlawful army, which stands ready to defend the state's interests. An unlawful army and an unlawful state are two sides of the same coin. The army needs to be restructured.

To get a clearer picture, let's take a look at the present situation. M. S. Gorbachev stated at the 27th CPSU Congress, "Our ideal is a world in which there will be no arms and violence, a world in which every people will choose its own path of development and way of life."

It is in the context of perestroyka that the Soviet Union has begun to reduce its armed forces, destroy its nuclear arsenal, and remove some of its troops from the Warsaw Pact countries.

The complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan marked a major step toward preserving peace in the world.

In his work, "Perestroyka and New Thinking for Our Country and the World," M. S. Gorbachev, the architect of perestroyka, notes in connection with European security that "Many specific problems need to be resolved in this matter—namely, reduction in tactical nuclear weapons and, ultimately, liquidation of armed forces in conjunction with radical reduction of conventional armaments; removal of offensive weapons at points of immediate contact in order to rule out the possibility of surprise attack; and a complete change in the structure of the armed forces in order to make them exclusively defensive."

These moves foster the idea of a nuclear-free world, rule out an attack by the Soviet side, enable the army's conversion to defensive structure, and foster progress and the preservation of peace in the world.

These moves have been welcomed by all the world's peoples, enhanced the popularity of Soviet foreign policies, pointed the way to resolving problems through peaceful negotiation, and demonstrated once more that it makes no sense to speak from a position of power in today's world.

But these processes have evoked obvious dissatisfaction among... certain segments of the army's leadership.

This development is quite evident, but let me refer to KOMUNISTI's 24 May article, "TIME Discusses E. Shevardnadze." The article states, "if Matlock considers Shevardnadze a firm negotiator, his country's defense minister does not. Deputy Minister Yuriy Vorontsov said, 'When Shevardnadze told the generals that the negotiations on medium-range missiles would be followed by on-site inspection, the military said it was a betrayal of their interests. When the military people were asked why our missile sites could not be visited, they cited a ridiculous reason, namely, that we don't have any hotels.'"

One of the main reasons for the 9 April tragedy in Tbilisi was the fact that the democratic changes now taking place in society have not yet touched the army.

The brutality committed by the army units on 9 April were completely unjustified. The curfew that was imposed was equally unjustified.

It was a totally unconstitutional action. By committing it, the army flouted Soviet laws and defiled Article 31, Chapter 5 of the present Soviet Constitution.

A commission of the Georgian Supreme Soviet is investigating the events, and it is hoped that the guilty will be punished to the full extent of the law. However, I should like to point out one thing:

If the soldiers were ordered to clear the grounds of Government House by routing the people, why did they kill them? And if they were ordered to kill the people, why did they do it with such senseless brutality?! Were they also ordered to gouge some people's eyes out and drag others off by the feet?!

Behavior like that attests to the soldiers' personal pathological sadism. Is that the kind of personnel we want in our army?!

A soldier who will carry out an order like that is by nature a man who hates human beings, a beast. The reason for it must lie in the fact that he was trained as such.

And the fact that the soldiers taunted the victims with "Za vashego Stalina!" [that's for your Stalin] indicates that they had been ideologically poisoned against the Georgian people beforehand.

On the subject of ideology, I might add here that in some units of the army, the level of ideological-political training is unobjective and has failed to get rid of stagnation-era notions about the "rotten" and "evil" capitalist countries and "bloodthirsty" America. Who benefits from this kind of ideology, I wonder.

Also extremely disturbing is the fact that KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and NA STRAZHE are spreading slanderous rumors about the events of 9 April. They have depicted the bloody butchers as heroes and protectors of Georgian women and children. This is confirmed in the speech by O. Zhuravlev at the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Plenum (he is assistant chief for Komsomol work in the Northwest and Baltic Internal Troops Political Unit), who was properly rebutted by the delegates from

Georgia. And Col Gen Yu. N. Rodionov arrogantly and stubbornly denied that toxic chemicals had been used in dispersing the crowd.

This major, unlawful action is evil cynicism against the Georgian nation—it is, in fact, aggression against our own Soviet people.

By supreme law, the army is obligated to defend the socialist homeland. It is time to put an end to arrogance and high-handedness; it is time we demanded that the army observe its own laws!

I totally agree with Mr Akaki Bakradze's opinion that the punitive troops were sent to Tbilisi by those who favor military dictatorship.

Please don't think me too bold if I say that one right way to restructure the army is to replace compulsory military service with a volunteer army. Army service should be entered by those who so desire; it's a human right. I think compulsory military service is inhumane. Many conscripts, when drafted for compulsory service, do not go of their own accord. Why have we never given thought to the fact that for a boy who may have hoped to get married it is a terrible spiritual hardship to separate him from his beloved and forcibly put him in the military environment I described above?

The individual suffers mentally from it, becomes upset, is possessed by unpleasant thoughts and emotions, develops the attitude that he is the object of coercion and harassment, a negative attitude toward the state. Probably no one has thought about this, or perhaps it is thought unimportant....

In the capitalist countries, a soldier in the army is paid a salary in the same way that all other labor is appropriately remunerated. By virtue of this mechanism, service in the army is raised in a man's estimation, and those who so desire can join the army and are paid accordingly.

I believe this kind of mechanism is fully consistent with the protection of human rights. But I should add that broaching this issue in our country today will entail considerable opposition.

Above all, society must broadly support the demand that every recruit be allowed to serve his compulsory military duty in his own republic.

To do this we would very soon have to address the question of founding a military academy in Georgia and thus continue Georgia's exemplary military traditions, train national military cadres, and build a Georgian army—one which would serve the interests of the Georgian nation.

We are all perfectly cognizant of the fact that Georgians are an internationalist and generous nation and have absolutely no aggressive desires. This is attested by our centuries-long history, as manifested in the immortal words of the poet Vazha Pshavela:

> "We will deprive no one of their homeland
> Nor yet suffer anyone to seize what is ours;
> Anyone who tries will be trounced so badly
> It would make a corpse laugh."

And so, let's have our homeland defended by our own army!

Estonian Veterans Oppose Pacifism, Support National units

18010852c Tallin SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 1 Jul 89 p 3

[ETA report: "Declaration of the Constituent Assembly of the Tallin Municipal Club of Veterans of the Former Estonian Rifle Corps of the Soviet Army"]

[Text] The 8th Estonian Rifle Corps was formed in the most difficult period of the Great Patriotic War, 1942, as a national military unit within the Red Army. Its main task was the joint struggle of the nation's peoples against fascism, and restoration of a sovereign Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic. For the sake of achieving this goal, privates, sergeants, officers, and generals of national military units withstood all the difficulties of military life, many of them paying the highest price, life itself, in battles for the liberation of Velikiye Luki, Estonia, and Kurlandia.

The soldiers of the 8th Estonian Rifle Corps performed their sacred duty to Motherland and people with honor, and were awarded the title of Guardsmen of the Soviet Army.

We assure our children and grandchildren that we fought honorably, in the firm conviction that in the struggle for the freedom of our country and people no test could be too hard, no sacrifice too great. Thousands of our frontline comrades did not return home, many died before their times in labor battalions from wounds and illnesses received at the front. The Estonian people have no reason to be ashamed of their sons and daughters who served in the 8th Estonian Rifle Corps, for they steadfastly held to Leninist humanist principles.

True fraternity, mutual assistance, and friendship of comrades-in-arms reigned in corps subunits, also extending to relations between commanders and subordinates. To this day Estonian soldiers have retained their love and respect for their officers and generals, as is confirmed again and again in the gatherings of frontline friends and brothers-in-arms. We upheld the good name of the soldier of the national army, we fought for the interests of the people, their life and freedom, and the very idea that we might use our weapons against our own people seemed to us an incredible crime.

Now we understand that Stalinism was forced to mask its essence in the hard and terrible years of the Soviet Union, the Great Patriotic War, since only a free people can selflessly defend itself from an enemy's attack. Under the conditions of the cruel struggle, Stalinism did

not show its antihuman essence. But Stalinist repressions affected the officers of Estonian nationality before the war, and later they were a heavy burden on the shoulders of the Estonian veterans of the Great Patriotic War. Although enjoying the respect of the people, the national military units of Estonia, where military training was done in the Estonian language, were soon dissolved, contrary to the constitutions of the USSR and ESSR.

The majority of Soviet officers and generals retired. Estonian youth lost interest in army life and at present cadre officers of Estonian nationality have almost disappeared. The soldiers of the Corps, having gone through the hard school of war, now feel deep concern at the contribution of the Estonian people to strengthening the defense capability of the entire Soviet Union, and support the planned reform of military training.

The republic press has printed opposing opinions regarding questions related to the Soviet Army, its functions, development, garrisoning, service procedures, etc. Pacifist appeals are resounding, aimed against service in the army altogether. At the same time one hears demands for the rebirth of Estonian national military units within the Soviet Army. We unanimously support the latter demand. The Soviet Army was created as a multinational peoples army in civil war battles to defend the attainments of the October Revolution, in which a worthy role was assigned to national military units. The contributions of Latvian and Estonian riflemen to consolidating the victory of the Revolution are generally recognized.

Military development should be in keeping with the political structure of society. We call the attention of the leadership and people of the republic to the fact that the rebirth of the Estonian national military units today can become a reality only if a Tallin military school is recreated with training in the Estonian language, if basic military training in the system of popular education is democratized, and if provision is made for the training of a higher officer staff of Estonians in the higher military academic institutions of the Soviet Union. In any case, we support the proposal that Estonian youth perform their civic duty in the Baltic military district. We believe that the relevant commission of the ESSR Supreme Soviet should work at resolving all the enumerated urgent questions related to army service.

For our part, we are ready to do all we can to raise the interest of Estonian youth in the profession of officer, to promote the rebirth of prestige of the Soviet Army as a democratic peoples army in the eyes of our own and other peoples, to maintain the peace and integrity of the borders of our multinational Motherland.

The 19th All-Union Party Conference and the First Congress of Peoples Deputies of the USSR determined the directions of the radical transformations of the life of the entire Soviet Union, including our republic: democratization, glasnost, restoration of justice, humanism, economic independence of the republics. Veterans of the 8th Estonian Rifle Corps living in Tallin express their unanimous support for the decisions of the central committee plenary sessions of the Communist Party of Estonia and the Supreme Soviet of the ESSR on questions of sovereignty, IME, and language, and will do everything in their power to implement what has been planned.

We want to repeat our assurances that this will ensure the rights of all residents of the Estonian SSR, regardless of their nationality. We who fought on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War side by side with the sons and daughters of all nationalities of the USSR count our frontline friendship as sacred. Friendship between peoples should continue to be based on truly internationalist principles.

Therefore we find unacceptable even the slightest attempt to suspect us of wanting in some way to abridge the rights of persons of other nationalities living here, of attempting to weaken the defense capability of the Soviet Army, or even worse, to secede from the Soviet Union. We see a solution to the problem in consolidation on the basis of Leninist principles, in order that the transformations planned in our republic become irreversible. But they will not be complete if they do not include the restoration of Leninist principles of military development in the Armed Forces of our country. As war veterans and true internationalists, we do not see anything in our proposals that is contrary to the interests of the other peoples of the USSR, republics, or the Union as a whole. Quite the reverse, the strength and inviolability of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics lie in the political stability of the allied republics, their economic potential, and close cooperation and free development of national cultures. Therefore we again call on all residents of Estonia, men and women, young and old, workers, peasants, and intelligentsia to extend the hand of support to one another, so that by our common efforts we can struggle for the planned reforms and implementation of transformations.

The 45th anniversary of the liberation of Tallin and the Estonian SSR from fascist occupation forces, and of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War, is approaching. We hope that these days will be a true celebration of a sovereign Estonia.

Maj Gen Sein On 'Antiarmy Syndrome'

18010858 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 5 Jul 89 p 4

[Article by Maj Gen V. Sein: "Who Gains From the 'Antiarmy Syndrome'?"]

[Text] Closely following the course of the work of the first Congress of Peoples Deputies of the USSR, I noticed that running through the speeches of certain deputies was the idea that the Army is supposedly the source of much trouble. They say that it stands guilty before the people of Georgia, and nearly "imposed order" in Riga, Tallin...

But why are these unproven, frequently groundless accusations against the Soviet Army increasingly pouring in from all sides? How can we explain the pronounced antiarmy syndrome in a number of articles in the mass media, particularly in the Baltic media? To whose advantage is this?

How may we assess the fact that in 1940 the Baltic working people met the Soviet troops with flowers, with the National Salute, while now they are called "occupation forces"? Finally, is it not blasphemous to forget the exploits of those who saved the Baltic peoples from the yoke of fascist enslavement, sparing neither blood nor life itself?

You must agree, these are not idle questions. There is food for earnest thought and contemplation here. Without hustle and bustle, without wholesale accusations. Or perhaps there are those who do not care for this weighed and constructive approach? Are there some who want to win cheap popularity through this "fashionable topic"?

You must admit, this impression arises when you become acquainted with the arguments of some people, supposedly seeing to state interests, who focus attention on questions of military development. I will quote only a few excerpts from appeals and letters addressed to various military departments.

Here for instance is a request from the heads of the Duma of the Peoples Front of Latvia signed by P. Lakis and S. Kalniet. It contains the following demands: establish territorial military units on Latvian soil, where henceforth the residents of the Latvian SSR will perform their military service, reduce the number of forces on the territory of the republic, grant the right to military commissariats of the Latvian SSR in exceptional cases to replace compulsory service in the ranks of the Army with a mandatory labor obligation for the corresponding period.

Largely similar demands are put forward by such institutions as the Institute of Zoology and Botany of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, Tartu University, the workers of one of the shops of the Reversk starch-syrup combine... Asserts E. Seestrandt, a member of the sports-technical club of the above-mentioned combine, without hesitation: "No need to give examples of how soldiers are best at protecting their own home grounds, that soldiers of one nationality or one territorial affiliation have higher combat qualities.... On his own homeland a soldier more clearly understands the need to protect nature, he has better contact with the local populace, there are no language, cultural, or other barriers...".

And then on the basis of these, if you will pardon the expression, "weighty" arguments, E. Seestrandt draws his quite eloquent conclusions: "Besides all of this, this policy will have enormous political importance, since there will no longer be grounds to call the military units on the territory of the allied republic an 'army of occupation'." Original, is it not? Here everything is truly turned topsy-turvy.

Such, unfortunately, is the general tone of many articles in the local press, especially in youth publications. Their authors often adhere to a meeting-hall tone, at times downright hysterical, remote from true democratism. Forgive me, but many well-meaning souls have even turned up to opine on the "breakdown of the Army", the supposedly privileged status of the officer staff, the negative role of the Army in resolving the "Afghan question". At times ill-considered notions are expressed with regard to reform in the Army.

Of course the public interest that perestroyka and glasnost have aroused in an important aspect of our lives such as the organization of the country's defense and the development of its Armed Forces can only be welcomed. However, if it really is such an important component of our existence—and who could doubt it?—then surely the conversation should be at a sufficiently high and responsible level, and the suggestions should be well-founded, businesslike, and constructive. Precisely this is frequently not the case.

It goes without saying that the present system of military development requires improvement. There is a great deal of work to be done in this area. And most importantly, to jettison that which has become outmoded, to display state concern for even more economical conduct of military affairs without harm to the country's defense capability.

It is true, we do not intend to attack anyone. But this by no means implies that there is no direct threat of war. To judge from press accounts, our steps at unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces have been received positively in the West. But which of the main countries making up the NATO bloc have followed our example? The FRG, England, the U.S. perhaps? Nothing of the sort. Do we really have the right to forget about this, to reconcile ourselves to the pacifist appeals, to pull the Army apart into national barracks? You see, if war should break out despite our desire and our efforts, it will be a war of powers and blocs, and not of individual small states. What will happen then? Will each republic wait with its army until the enemy reaches its borders? Will each sit in their national apartments, ignoring the fire in our common building? The absurdity of this position is clear.

Or take another aspect. Will the territorial troops of each republic be able to include all services and arms, and to train all types of specialists? Of course not. And another thing. Will not this principle of manning the Army lead to even more exacerbation of already difficult interethnic relations, in particular to national segregation and isolation? And will this not promote parasitical sentiments and parochialism, about which we were warned by the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference? Here there is a clear gap, a divergence of goals and means.

Let's look objectively at what is being done today in our society to prepare youth to do their constitutional duty, i.e. for reliable defense of the socialist Fatherland. Is everything going well with us? Unfortunately, the facts indicate that we have accumulated more than enough unresolved questions.

For example, we are greatly concerned for the health of the conscripts, their physical, psychological, and especially moral tempering. Increasingly with each new conscription, the doctors are forced to make a diagnosis of "fit for non-combatant service". More and more young men do not confirm the data on physical training entered in the documents issued by the school or technical academy.

Unfortunately we learn of sponsorship ties, of popular concern for the Army, only on ceremonial days. When the ceremonies are over, when the applause has died down, some of the "organizers" heave a sigh of relief... and is that it until the next anniversary, "week", or "month"? Do we recall the slogan "The people and Army are one" only on the red-letter days of our calendar?

More than once I have had occasion to talk on this subject with party and Soviet organs of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. What happens then? Many, for example, cannot even recall when it was exactly that a military leader last spoke there. Is there really no one interested in Army problems, the state of military-sponsorship work? Clearly this is not the case. But I was alarmed when one person stated off-handedly that military sponsorship was allegedly not in fashion. I can't help but recall one incident. Just before Victory Day, an official of one of the party raykoms in Riga asked the political directorate for military men to speak in the collectives. Respected officers and generals were selected. And what was the upshot? Just before the appointed day the phone rang: "Sorry, we can't take you, the men will not understand...".

Can attention to problems of state importance really be decided by "fashionable fads". After all, the demands of the decree of the CC, CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers, aimed at further improvement of preparation of youth for military service, are well known on this point. How is this going in the provinces? Unfortunately, by no means always as one would wish. Many of our organizations and departments are involved in military-patriotic work. But frequently they operate like Krylov heroes, disjointedly, not to the point. Often the party gorkoms and raykoms, rayispolkoms and enterprises simply do not know what military unit they are sponsoring. In turn the military collectives, I am convinced, have largely forgotten who was in a sponsor school and when. Isn't this why the reading rooms and military classrooms have disappeared in many of them, and why some of the managers are literally itching to reduce or entirely abolish basic military training, to do away once and for all with the young-armyman movement? Such errors were also mentioned with concern by participants of a recent meeting at the Baltic Officers Club between representatives of interested ministries and departments, party and Soviet organs. At the center of attention of the meeting were the topical problems of increasing patriotic and internationalist youth education, given the complex inter-ethnic relations in the republic.

But what contribution do workers in culture and the arts of the Baltic republics make to sponsorship of the personnel of district units and subunits? I believe it could be more significant in all respects.

It goes without saying that we cannot rightly accuse only the "civilian" side, so to speak, of shortcomings in military-sponsorship and mass-defense work. In this context much also depends on the members of military commissariats, and representatives of military units and subunits.

Now as never before we require mutual understanding and interaction, consolidation of all societal forces, we need opinion exchange and engaged dialogue. Certainly not confrontation. Only then will the oft-repeated slogan, "The people and Army are one", acquire specific content.

Greens Announce Antimilitarist March

18001445c Vilnius KOMOSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Protest March To Begin"]

[Text] Tomorrow, Friday, 7 July marks the beginning of the Peace March through Lithuania. This is the second ecological and antimilitarist protest march which has been conducted by the Atgaya Kaunas Society of Greens and the Kaunas Youth Center.

Everyone is invited on 7 July to Nagorniy Park, where the march's first event will be held—a meeting to sing protest songs.

Participants will include the poet Kyastutis Gyanis, the following songwriters and performers: Vitautas Kyariagis, Virgis Stakenas, Rolandas Paulauskas (Lithuania), Aleksandr Dolskiy (Leningrad), and the Park Way group (Warsaw). Speaking here will be public and cultural figures, as well as representatives of the Lithuanian Greens and Sajudis. The program will begin at 2000 hours. Admission is free.

Those persons intending to participate in the march are requested to stop in at the participants' camp, which will be set up not far from the site of the event mentioned above.

Latvian Commissar on 'Considered' Approach to Military Problems

18010861 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 9 Jul 89 p 3

[Commentary by Major General Ya. Duda, LaSSR military commissar: "Open Letter to the Population of the LaSSR"]

[Text] Questions of the activities of the USSR Armed Forces, especially those involving the conscription of young people into the Army to carry out their military service, have always troubled people.

Appearing on television and in the press, I have repeatedly given explanations for the so-called "military questions."

Nonetheless, in the Presidium of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet, in the republic's military commissariat, in newspaper editorials, and on television there continue to appear numerous addresses and letters from the representatives of the group People's Front of Latvia who come from the enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and from private citizens.

An analysis of the contents of these letters and addresses shows that current public opinion in the republic regarding military service is characterized by varied and contradictory judgments, evaluations, and positions.

Without denying on the whole the need for military service, many people believe that the structure, size, and manpower acquisition methods of the USSR Armed Forces should be changed, that the youth should be granted the opportunity to choose an alternative service, that they should be allowed to serve in "their" republic, etc. In addition, there has been criticism that the Army has not done enough to combat negative phenomena, particularly the phenomenon of "dedovshchina" [hazing by senior conscripts].

I must say openly that not all of these proposals may be considered indisputable. Many of them, often advanced by people who never served a single day in the Army, have no basis other than emotions. They do not take into consideration today's realities, the scope of the tasks the USSR Armed Forces undertakes, the system of training personnel for combat, and many other factors.

I wish to emphasize that perestroyka in the Soviet Union has given rise to active processes of perestroyka in the Armed Forces too.

We are currently developing and will soon adopt legislative acts concerning questions of the country's defense which will reflect the concept of military perestroyka and will solve many pressing problems. Some of them have already been resolved. For instance, a resolution was adopted this year not to conscript students in day courses at any of the country's institutions of higher education.

Those questions which can be solved locally are being closely studied and reviewed at the headquarters of the Baltic Military District and in the LaSSR Military Commissariat, and the majority of them have already been settled in a positive manner.

For all the young people who graduated from educational institutions this spring and intend to enter an institution of higher education, the call-up is postponed until fall. Many of the republic's newspapers already reported this fact on 7 June this year.

A significant number of youths, or to be exact, more than 30 percent of those called up in the fall, will serve in Latvia and in the other republics of the Baltic region.

At the same time I wish to stress that the defense of the Fatherland is not just the defense of one's own republic. It is the execution of one's duties in the interests of all the republics. In this respect one must keep in mind that the assignment of new replacements among the branches of the USSR Armed Forces and the components of the services must provide for staffing at full strength levels and, relative to this, a high state of operational readiness in the various units and on the ships of all the regions of the country.

Thus it is clear that there is presently no possibility of sending all the young people to serve where they or their families want.

Moreover, the majority of youths with whom I have talked at the assembly point expressed a wish to serve in other regions of the country and in forces stationed abroad, which they justified by the desire to broaden their horizons, to see how other people live, and to become acquainted with other national cultures, customs, and ways of life. The parents of the conscripts expressed a similar desire.

However, I must admit that there exists another opinion. Some conscripts and their parents wanted the duty assignment to be in Latvia or, at the very least, in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Baltic Military District.

Arguing their point of view, our opponents as a rule allege that a youth has only to leave to serve outside Latvia and right away his intellectual development comes to an end, his ties to his ethnic culture are broken, his health deteriorates, and even mental disorders set in. Permit me to disagree with this. I cite concrete examples. In the local bodies of the military administration serve the officers A.K. Murniyeks, P.F. Ziyemelis, D.V. Berzinsh, G.O. Ziyeds, and many others. They are excellent specialists possessing profound knowledge, broad erudition, and a high level of cultivation and social refinement. It is also significant that, stationed 15 and more years outside Latvia, they have retained their national feelings and an excellent knowledge of their mother tongue.

The foregoing reflections should not give readers the impression that I am categorically opposed to the idea of allowing a portion of our republic's youths to serve in Latvia. On the contrary. This year in spring the LaSSR Military Commissariat and the Central Committee of the Komsomol for the first time organized and conducted a contest for the right to serve in specific units stationed on the territory of Latvia. The contest will become a tradition and will be conducted twice a year—before the spring and fall call-ups to active military service. The conditions of the contest and the time it will be conducted will be published in the republic's newspapers just before each call-up. I would like to take the opportunity to invite those youths subject to call-up in fall of this year and meeting the requirements to take part in the contest which will be conducted in September or October of this year.

I cannot ignore another phenomenon which troubles me very much.

Lately there have been frequent statements in the press and on television about a significant number of Latvian youths who have supposedly abandoned their units without permission and even died as a result of various negative phenomena in the Army. In this case the blame is put on the officers, who supposedly do not wish to join the struggle against "dedovshchina," barracks hooliganism, and other displays of unsanctioned attitudes. I cannot agree with this.

The so-called "dedovshchina" is a complicated phenomenon with deep social roots in those processes which originate in society. The Army is currently waging a fierce struggle against it using both educational and administrative measures. And this struggle is producing definite results. However, it must be remembered that the Army receives many different kinds of young people, and from different kinds of families.

Each year 3.8 percent of those called up have been convicted of various crimes, and about 14 percent of the conscripts have had dealings with the militia or have been logged with the authorities for juvenile offenses. And, as you understand, this is the result of poor education by the parents and the school system. For this reason we all must watch over and think about the child we are raising.

Yes, "dedovshchina" must be eradicated, but it is not the Army's task alone. It is a task for all of our community.

Returning to the question of service deaths, I must with great regret verify that such cases do occur. But not from inter-ethnic wars, as the authors of some statements have tried to represent, but primarily as a result of car accidents, death in the water, and violation of safety measures, including electrocution. About 16 percent of the servicemen who died are those who committed suicide for various reasons. Furthermore, about 30 percent of the deceased servicemen who were called up from Latvia had served in the Baltic Military District. Approximately 60 percent of the deceased were youths of Latvian extraction, which corresponds to the percentage of the ethnic strength level of the contingent called up from Latvia.

I wish to introduce one more figure for comparison at this time. The number of those who died in the republic as a result of car accidents, fires, violation of safety measures in the workplace, and murders in 1988 alone is 13 times greater than the number of servicemen called up from Latvia who died over the last 3 years.

Moreover, the data that I have shows that, as a result of measures which have been implemented, serious accidents resulting in death in the Armed Forces decreased by almost 30 percent in 1988 in comparison to 1987. And this year continues to show a steady downward trend.

Finally, I must touch on the question of Afghanistan veterans. This is a very timely issue for me inasmuch as my activities occupy me, more than most, with their problems. I must immediately state that the government of the USSR has allotted privileges to Afghanistan veterans and their families. But if there are indifferent or dull-witted people on the local level, then the most humane resolutions will come to nothing as a result of their lack of administrative abilities and inertia.

As the republic's military commissar and a deputy of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet, I continually occupy myself with these problems and address the government of the republic and the executive committees of the local soviets with the object of timely and complete satisfaction of the rights and inquiries of reserve soldiers.

However I wish to emphasize that the resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the privileges due to soldier-internationalists places the responsibility for execution firmly on the executive committees of the local soviets and the managers of enterprises, institutions, organizations, and collective and state farms. Therefore, your legitimate requests for action on this issue must be directed first of all to them.

COMRADES!

I appeal to all the representatives of the community and to all the republic's inhabitants to take a considered approach to the resolution of military issues, with due regard for the conditions and circumstances which have arisen in our society today. It seems to me that an important role in this must be played by the recently created Commission for Affairs of the Military Service of the Republic's Youth under the Presidium of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet, which has been set up to facilitate the cooperation of the public with the military commissariats and military units located in the republic concerning all questions related to preparation for and completion of military service. In addition, it will review suggestions for the improvement of laws and other legislative acts regulating military service and introduce them into legislative bodies for subsequent action.

In concluding my letter I would like to wish all the young people of our republic who stand the difficult but honorable watch over the defense of the borders of our homeland, and all those who have been recently called up for active military service, and their parents, success in the service, health, personal happiness, and a return to our native land with the feeling of a duty fulfilled.

Response to Critique that 'Political Organs Have Outlived' Usefulness

18010847a Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jul 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by Guards Colonel V. Marchenkov, commander of the Tamanskiy Motorized Rifle Division imeni M.I. Kalinin: "Support: Why A Division Commander Decided to Share these Thoughts on a Political Section"]

[Text] Lately we have had to encounter statements that Army and Navy political agencies and the institution of political workers as a whole have ceased to be an effective instrument for supporting high combat readiness, organization, and military discipline. In short, they have allegedly become obsolete. Recently this thought was even heard from the dais of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I consider it my duty to share a number of impressions on this topic.

As we all know, political agencies are tasked with ensuring party influence in all aspects of Armed Forces life and activity. In my view, a more demanding attitude toward them and the dissatisfaction of a certain portion of servicemen are first of all the result and reflection of the difficult situation the Party finds itself in. Many are inclined to blame the Party for all of our troubles and mistakes. Such is the fate of the leader: Glorification and applause in the days of victory and merciless snubs for each miscalculation or error... Yes—and this is already not a secret to anyone—we have more than our share of difficulties and confusion in the Army. But before making risque statements about the need for abolishing or at least substantially reducing some element of Army structure and this was exactly how, as far as I understand it, USSR Peoples Deputy V. Podziruk raised the question about the political agencies—he should have thought this over well, does this element, this section, provide support in some way. And can our Army and Navy organism function effectively and improve itself in those qualitative parameters which the party itself has proclaimed a course toward without it.

It is necessary, as a minimum, to recognize what position the Armed Forces now find themselves in in order to talk about the place, role, and future of political agencies at the current stage. Yes, protectionism and bureaucratism still persist and there is also the deception and ostentation about which Comrade Podziruk spoke. It is possible that staffs have grown excessively large in some places although these locations are not known to me. But we need to start with this.

Today an intense social and moral atmosphere has formed among the troops. An extremely complex contingent of conscripts, including participants of informal associations with extremist and nationalist tendencies, is entering into units and subunits. The imprint of the well-known events in the Transcaucasus, Central Asia, Baltic, and certain other regions is leaving its stamp on the interrelationships of servicemen of various nationalities. The housing shortage is becoming more acute in garrisons. Servicemen's wives are more often than not unemployed. Many officers and warrant officers are losing confidence in the future due to the Armed Forces reductions. And all of this—in the background of the loss of prestige of military service with the accompaniment of an unremitting anti-Army campaign at clamorous meetings and in other mass media. In these conditions, can a commander and unity of command support, or more often initially form, high ideological, moral, and other qualities of servicemen without which neither high combat readiness nor strong discipline is possible?

Based on the numerous years of my own experience, I say: It can. But under one mandatory condition: If it is based on a highly skilled and well organized political agency and on party and Komsomol organizations. I do not see any other instrument of influence on people's minds and hearts, especially in conditions of increasing glasnost and democracy. As I do not see in the Armed Forces a more ardent and consistent guide of party policy, read—perestroyka. Its integral components, its two wings—glasnost and democracy, are already becoming a real force in our division although with difficulty and more slowly than we would like, objectively "working" both on combat readiness and on unity of command, filling them with fundamentally new political and social content. In recent years, this is perhaps the main service of the political section headed by Guards Colonel A. Gerasimov.

We began, I recall, with the simple things. Anatoliy Alekseyevich insisted that we announce whom we plan to send for training, promote to a position, or present an award to at the officers meeting. He sought advice from the collective regarding certain nominations. It seemed like nothing special but how the eyes of the "lucky ones" lit up and how this spurred on the others! This was a novelty a year to a year and a half ago. But it has already become customary today that personnel questions are resolved with mandatory regard for public opinion and that the unit commander can be heard at the party committee meetings... It is true that I have not yet had my turn but Guards Colonel V. Sheryagin, division chief of staff, was already made to answer to the command communists for deficiencies in organization of troop services. I will speak frankly: Having only been present at this hearing, I understood the confession of Regimental Commander Guards Lieutenant Colonel A. Nikitin who had already undergone a similar "purgatory:" How better than to stand "on the carpet" before a military council... And no one raised a voice against him and he did not receive a punishment. On the contrary, a

very interesting and voluntary conversation took place. This is the potential of the new moral atmosphere which is being skillfully formed in our collective through the political section and party organizations.

But I am forced to stop here. Beginning these notes, I experienced a strong desire for specific cases with documents and numbers in hand to show those of our military and civilian opponents who have selected this "target" what place a political section occupies in our lives. I even made sketches: It is precisely the political section which has become the initiator of the radical turning point in the struggle with dedovshchina [hazing of conscripts]... It did quite a bit of work for preventing conflicts on national grounds... It came out against protectionism in a principled manner... It achieved a just distribution of housing in conditions of total glasnost... But this is what I thought of. But can we really lay out a political agency's work through graphs and charts: Here is combat readiness, there is military discipline—there is nothing like an obviously impoverished pre-perestroyka approach and a not very moral one. Everything is supposedly taken into account and described in glowing terms, except for the main thing: Man is not seen! But today we are finally not solemnly but actually placing man at the pinnacle and main meaning of all our aspirations and political workers' activities are directed precisely at the personality and the individual. And not the administrative but the political. In my view, we also need to examine their activities through this prism. Then it is possible that an understanding will come about that even the "distribution of blessings" which, in Comrade V. Podziruk's opinion, is hardly the exclusive prerogative of political departments, is serious and responsible work whose assignment is concern for compliance with justice and therefore for man, his self-perception and his feeling of self dignity. But the efforts of political section workers from morning until night are not mythical blessings.

Once Anatoliy Alekseyevich suggested that I conduct an experiment: Grant the opportunity for each soldier to go on a short leave. In accordance with a schedule posted for general review. The time came—they discussed the proposal at a Komsomol meeting. If the majority were "for," the commander would prepare the leave papers and everything is in order! I did not agree immediately. And what kind of commander would be happy with such an innovation. And what of it? In the company where Guards Lieutenant V. Yevdokimov is the commander, half of the personnel were on leave during the first six months and there was not one violation of military discipline! I became interested. I ask a soldier: Do you like serving? He says he does. And in his eyes I see he does—eyes do not lie. And on the whole the company is sort of fresh. Animated, cheerful, and dashing. I hear them, I look, and the numbers which the political section workers presented do not come to mind. In a survey completed by spring conscripts, 20 percent expressed sharply negative attitudes toward service in the Armed Forces and every other one stated, that if it had been up to him, he would not have entered the Army. Therefore, can such people also possibly be interested in honestly carrying out their duty without experiencing some sort of stress? In short, as they say, we disseminated and applied the leave experience...

For some time, we have not had any problems with what is called the combat spirit of married soldiers and sergeants. And it was exactly after a gathering of soldiers' wives. Thus the Tamanskiy Division met them just like they would meet a highly placed foreign delegation. What would the meeting's program not cover! Dinner in the soldier's mess, visits to museums, the barracks, a meeting with the high command, the video club, a concert, and dances... We have lawyers, psychologists, and sexologists at the counseling centers. You should have seen the newly-weds when we told them that the husbands—all of them—were being sent home for the May holidays.

Who would believe that, during the notorious 100 days prior to orders, there were no incidents of relations violating regulations in a fully-manned division! And there really have not been any! Because of the political section's efforts, the "100 days" has become one of the brightest and most colorful holidays which a soldier will remember for the rest of his life. And a celebration in honor of the best warrant officers and their families in front of the whole garrison? And the lieutenant colonel's tears when a letter of thanks to his parents was read in front of the formation? It turns out that all we need to remember and understand is that even a senior officer weighted down by high service obligations and a large family is also someone's son.

We are accustomed to carrying out the "great and responsible missions." Sometimes successful, sometimes not, but always—at any price not taking into account our subordinates' time, health, or family situations. Finally we get not only an understanding but also practical embodiment that it is only possible to really successfully "carry out the mission" with a firm guarantee under one condition—if you rouse, develop, and affect the human in man. It is not so easy. There is little innate consideration or good humor here. There is a large and extremely complex science of human leadership and enormous organizational and educational work which only a large and comprehensive collective of professional political workers is capable of performing. Incidentally, it is useful to recall that in the Armies of the NATO countries, especially the United States, primary attention is devoted to issues of human leadership and their "political apparatus" is a very powerful structure.

Continuing the theme of professionalism, I must point out this fact: Among the officers commanding a division, the only one who received the rank of master of combat skill is Political Section Deputy Chief Guards Major A. Chistyakov. Officers and Political Workers V. Sergeyev, S. Myakoshin, N. Perepecha, Yu. Skornyakov, and many, many others are capable of not only delivering a

fiery appeal, but also of going ahead of everyone and working out a combat training mission better than the others.

Guards Lt Col M. Kozak, secretary of party commission under the political section is called the conscience of the division—and not only by communists. Unit Party Committee Secretaries Guards Lt Col V. Medvedev and Guards Captain N. Astakhov enjoy incontestable authority... Can you really list them all?

I repeat once again: It is far from my purpose to idealize political sections. They have enough blunders and defects. And I do not always go along arm in arm with Anatoliy Alekseyevich Gerasimov and we are not always playing from the same sheet of music. It sometimes happens. But it has never come into my head that political sections have "outlived their usefulness" just because I do not like everything about them.

Right now, for example, political workers are talking a lot about new forms and methods of their work. Naturally, the political section of two or three years ago and today's political agency are quite different. There is a lot less blatant administration by decree. They are spending appreciably more time with the troops: At times they handle the situation a bit better than staff officers. But, in my view, under current conditions, they need to become proficient in not only new approaches but also in a new understanding of their mission. Let us speak frankly, political agencies used to have the functions of executors: Some ideas or orders came down from higher headquarters and they had to carry them out or, in their turn, send them "down." I see today's political section as a generator of ideas and the center of comprehensive and timely situation analysis. We have already taken the first steps in this direction: Thorough research with the recruitment of professional sociologists, youthful replenishment, comprehensive study and prediction of the development of inter-ethnic relations in military collectives... This permits us to work with personnel not instinctively or at random but with precise knowledge of attitudes and views which are predominant in some subunit and with guidance from party and Komsomol activists. It is difficult to overestimate the utility of this state of affairs. However, I repeat, we are only talking about the first steps. There is enormous potential for development and self-improvement of political agencies.

And lastly. As a commander, I wrote these paragraphs because I do not want to weaken the very support without which I cannot conceive of the Army...

Parents Concerned About Military Draft

18001446 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jul 89 pp 1, 3

[Article by Col K. Golubev, chief of the Political Department of the Lithuanian SSR Military Commissariat: "What the Draft Showed"]

[Text] The scheduled draft into the USSR Armed Forces has concluded. It took place in a rather unusual situation this year. Questions of military service are being widely discussed by the public. Whereas before young men completely trusted the decision of the draft boards, today they have become increasingly concerned about where they will be stationed and whether they will be stationed with fellow countrymen.

Of course, among both the draftees and parents there are still many who are displeased with the fact that some of the young men have been sent to serve outside the republic and the Baltic Military District. Alas, such is the situation today. It was explained in an address by USSR Minister of Defense D. Yazov at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 3 July of this year and in an address by the republic's military commissar, A. Visotskis, on 5 July at the session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

On the whole, the draft was conducted in an organized manner; the absolute majority of the young men had a respectful attitude toward observance of the article of the Constitution and Lithuanian SSR Law on fulfilling their duty to protect the fatherland. The young men appeared at the draft points in a timely manner and were disciplined.

For many years there existed an anti-humane procedure of keeping the draftees behind closed doors at the induction center—isolated from the masses. Only democratization of public life, including in military issues, has made it possible to break out-of-date stereotypes.

This is already the third draft that the republic induction center has been open for parents, relatives, close friends, and guests. It has become more difficult to work, but to make up for it, another zone of absurd prohibitions has been eliminated. And nothing terrible has happened. They have begun to trust us more, and parents are more at ease with the way of life of their sons at the induction center.

Conditions have been created for the lads. A dining hall with a wide assortment of food, a cafe, a newspaper stand, and a movie hall are in operation. Concerts were organized. Taking advantage of the opportunity, I wish to thank the republic's Ministry of Culture. The creative collectives of the Music School imeni Tallat-Kyalpshi, under the direction of R. Milashyus, the "Trimitas" brass band, and the performances of the "Pankration" center of military-sports single combat were a hit with the lads.

Col (Res) V. Ragauskas, veteran of the 16th Lithuanian Division, talked with the draftees in a non-typical manner, affably, and earnestly.

There were also problems. The Komsomol kept itself aloof from working with the young people. At the induction center, the lads saw the youth leaders only in the presidium at festivities, but during the regular routine, alas, no one came to them or said kind parting words. The Vilnius Gorispolkom Movie Department actually

disrupted the showing of movies for the draftees. But a solution was found—they enlisted the help of a movie specialist from a military unit.

There were anxious and uneasy moments. Among the guest there were considerably more young people in a drunken state, and attempts were made to pass alcohol to the draftees. There were instances where draftees collected money for vodka and sent a "messenger" to the "point." Thus, draftee V. Danilov from Klaypeda collected 138 rubles, purchased 12 bottles of vodka, and brought them to the induction center. The drinking bout was prevented by steps taken, and the money was returned to the "shareholders"—R. Stabingis, S. Poshkas, R. Barauskas, A. Pyatkyavichyus, R. Rybachenko, and R. Povilaytis—after a reprimand. I do not think it is necessary to talk about the consequences that could have resulted from a drinking bout by the draftees.

I am surprised by the unconcern of compassionate parents who hand over as much as 100 rubles to their son. Why? Their son is at the induction center for 2-3 days, longer in exceptional cases, when a special flight is delayed due to weather conditions. We give them money for food. The draftee still needs money for additional food, sweets, newspapers, and magazines. The movies and concerts are free.

Apparently, may are interested in whether there were those who evaded the draft. There were, and I would especially like to talk about this. Thirteen young men "evaded" the spring draft on various pretexts: Zh. Babulis from Varena; D. Grigaytis from Kaunas; P. Gauslis from Gargzhday; L. Pyatravchyus from Raseynyay; V. Bulavka and R. Ryameykis from Ukmerge; A. Mitkus from Shyaulyay; K. Kastigovas from Utena; N. Shipshinskas from Panevezhis; and E. Adomonis, M. Chekhun, G. Ratauskas, and A. Patilskis from Vilnius. They all will have to answer to the law.

Parents have many questions concerning their sons' first days of service. In particular, why are there no letters, they are probably being beaten and that is why they are silent, or roughly of this nature. I understand parents' concern. All the more so, having heard a lot about the negative phenomena in the Army, everyone imagines that from the first day their son has become the object of harassment and humiliation, and any extended silence is regarded as a result of relations that are at variance with regulations.

We, in turn, begin to look for the reason, make telephone calls, send telegrams to all echelons, and are happy when we are convinced that everything is fine with the lad.

The draftees do not always like this, and their reactions differ. The other day I received a telegram from G. Mikalauskas of Dzhambul. He wrote: "I am fine and feel very well in the Army. I ask you, please, not to bother the detachment command any more." Similar letters were received from N. Amanavichyus and A. Bruzhas of Khabarovsk Kray, R. Burzdzhyus of Kalinin, and others.

The military commissariats ties with parents have become closer, and the results more productive. During the second quarter of this year alone we received 236 parents of draftees and got 346 letters; this is 39 percent more than last year.

I am very grateful to V. Zhilinskayta and D. Taraylena, members of the Military Service Affairs Commission of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, and Ye. Kubilena and R. Paurayta, members of the organizing committee of the Alliance of Women of Lithuania. We have worked up a procedure for reviewing complaints and statements, and operate efficiently and harmoniously. Thus, at our request, privates A. Nautskunas, G. Karpavichyus, and A. Ivanauskas, toward whom relations took place that were at variance with regulations, were transferred to a different military unit. This is just one of the forms of work which has emerged as a result of perestroyka and proved its worth under today's conditions.

Not long ago, lads who had completed their service in the USSR Armed Forces returned home. Now they are facing problems with finding work; many of them will enroll in VUZes. I have a great favor to ask of the leaders on whom the fate of yesterday's soldiers depends: Assist them and accept them into your collectives cordially and with fatherly warmth.

The summer is short-lived, fall will come, and it will again be bustling at the republic induction center. We will be happy if the issues associated with the service of the sons of Lithuania being examined at the session of the republic Supreme Soviet are resolved before fall.

Your children—they are also our children, and their fate is by no means inconsequential to us. Emotions and a preconceived attitude toward us are not always justified. In the future we expect help from the public in order to bring up your sons to be courageous, strong in body and spirit, and true patriots.

Maj Gen Losev on Need to Declassify Detailed Maps

18010852a Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jul 89 p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Maj. V. Zyuvin interviews Maj Gen Losev: "Shall We Declassify the Maps?"]

[Text] **"When will we finally stop playing at spies? Why are large-scale maps not for sale? You wouldn't' want to go hunting in the taiga with a world map or a globe. Can it be that the process of glasnost has not yet touched everyone?" (A. Meshcheryakov, Khabarovsk Kray)**

This letter decided our choice of interviewee, Chief of the Military-Topographic Directorate of the General Staff and Chief of the Topographic Service of the USSR Armed Forces Maj Gen A. I. Losev. Our correspondent talks with him.

[Zyuvin] Aleksey Ivanovich, has the process of glasnost affected military topographers or not?

[Losev] Back in 1986 the USSR Defense Minister ordered that the security classification be removed from the topographic map with a scale of 1:1,000,000, also called a "millionka". Later we went further. Considering the present-day technical capabilities for making topographic maps from space photographs, we showed the possibility of declassifying maps with scales of 1:500,000 and 1:200,000.

Few know that a special commission has been working at the Library imeni V.I. Lenin to declassify old geographical maps and atlases. Many of them have been declassified. I stress many, but not all. There are even some several centuries old that it would be inadvisable to declassify. It's true, don't be surprised. The time has still not come.

Some press organs write ironically about the fact that a map of the Moscow Province of 1774 is in special safekeeping. But this comes from lack of expertise, ignorance of the specifics of our work. And this does us a bad turn, for this map has its important features. They also allege that the first volume of the Great Soviet World Atlas, published in 1937, was also classified, but this is not true. It was never classified. Volume two was, but now it is in general library holdings.

[Zyuvin] Some of our readers were concerned about whether free access to once secret maps might affect the defense capability of our country, while others, on the contrary, feel quite strongly that it is time to declassify all maps, that everything is visible from space anyway. Even the license plates on cars can be read...

[Losev] In declassifying a particularly map, our first consideration is whether it will do harm to our country's defense capability. On the other hand, we seek to provide maximum access of geographic, geodetic, and cartographic information to the user. On this basis, we believe that for now it is premature to declassify topographic maps with a scale of 1:100,000 or greater. Creating quality analogues to our maps for the whole territory of the country is a very complex task; there are a lot of problems here, even if we use present space technology.

[Zyuvin] So what about the license numbers on cars, which are visible from space?

[Losev] Be my guest! Even if the stars on my shoulder boards were visible. You see, aerial and space photos are not measuring documents. You can't determine any coordinates from them. You might be able to read that license number, but at what point on the planet is the car? A photo can't answer this question. But one of the most important purposes of measuring documents (the topographic map) is determination of the coordinates and various characteristics of an object. For instance, the carrying capacity of bridges, the depth of a crossing, the height and nature of a forest. These data then may be used in evaluating the tactical properties of the ground or preparing firing data for artillery or the air mission of a missile. Generally it is impossible to do this from a photo.

Although of course there are photos and then there are photos. If they are, as we say, large-scale, then they only provide a picture. But to create maps it is necessary to obtain photos possessing specific, given properties. And all this requires special technology, a great deal of effort and resources. Why then should we make the work easy for someone else?

[Zyuvin] Now we have begun to pay more attention to the economic and financial side of any work. In this regard, why not put outmoded and non-classified topographic maps up for sale? After all, they would still surpass those now in the stores in terms of accuracy. Prospecting groups, car enthusiasts, tourists, and hunters would be glad to use them.

[Losev] First of all, the Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography in the USSR Council of Ministers has the sales rights. Second, if we do sell outmoded maps, it seems to me that would also awaken buyer dissatisfaction. If for example someone couldn't find the road to his dacha, he would say, they took my money, but the map's no good... If you supply information, then it should be accurate.

As for economy. There are unresolved problems here. In order for us not to vainly "grind up" the old maps into pulp, our directorate, together with the relevant directorates of the General Staff, is considering the stocks of maps to be made in connection with the shift to a defensive military doctrine. In order to supply them to the forces and at the same time not create surplus maps.

[Zyuvin] Some views of our history and individual personalities are presently being revised. As a consequence there are frequent reports of changes in the names of cities and towns. Naturally these names must also be entered on topographic maps. Is this expensive?

[Losev] In topography we have the concept of the "operationally corrected map". A new object or name is entered on the same printing proof in a different color. The expenses here are not great.

[Zyuvin] Some think that it is time to abandon the phrase "proving ground in the region of Semipalatinsk". The proving ground has a precise address, the city of Kurchatov, which is a secret only to our people, and by no means all of them. Are there many such "blank spots" on the map of our country?

[Losev] This is not a question for the Military-Topographic Directorate. Other departments and organizations determine the list of populated areas and objects that should not be shown even on secret maps. We as topographers are ready to show everything that is visible from space. Not writing their purpose, that is another matter. This question is being examined.

[Zyuvin] People are presently showing a great deal of interest in the history of our country. Are special maps showing the memorable areas associated with the glory of Russian arms compiled in the Military-Topographic Directorate?

[Losev] Our directorate makes topographic maps. In addition, special maps: large-scale geographic, aerial navigation (all of Aeroflot uses them, incidently), and others. The maps you are talking about are called memorial maps. I believe we should all have them. Whoever loves the Fatherland and takes pride in its history. In addition to educational information, they pack a great patriotic charge. The USSR GUGK [Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography] produces these maps.

[Zyuvin] Conversion. Will it affect the enterprises of your directorate?

[Losev] Of course. We are ready to assign capacity at our cartographic enterprises for the publication of tourist maps and charts of tourist areas and mass recreation zones, compiled, incidently, on the basis of large-scale maps. In short, we need paper and originals, and we will help with production capacity.

[Zyuvin] If you compare our topographic maps with those of capitalist countries, for instance, who would gain from the comparison?

[Losev] Our maps are rated very highly by all world experts. This priority, if you can call it that, we have retained for a long time. Cartography was very strongly developed even in Russia. But we cannot be smug about it. The times demand qualitative changes in our work. Tomorrow much will be done in topography by computer.

But in conclusion I want to emphasize this: despite the many positive tendencies in international life, the time for declassifying all of our maps (both in the direct and in the figurative sense) has still not arrived. The security interests of our country must come first.

'Unhealthy Moral Situation' in WGF Aviation Political Dept

18010852b Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jul 89 p 2

[Follow-up article by KZ editors: "How a 'Deformation' Was Straightened Out"]

[Text] Such was the title of the critical correspondence of Col A. Vasilets, published in the April 20th KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

As was reported to the editors by the First Deputy Chief of the Air Forces Political Directorate, Maj Gen of Aviation A. Sidorov, the facts it mentioned were checked by him personally and by the Deputy Secretary of the Party Commission of the Air Forces Political Directorate, Maj Gen of Aviation Ye. Kabanov, on a visit to the site. The facts were found to be true.

An unhealthy moral situation in the political section and headquarters of the air forces of the Western Group of Forces was largely due to the friction between Maj Gen of Aviation K. Shapkin, a military council member and chief of the political section, Maj Gen of Aviation V. Ivannikov, the first deputy commander of the group air forces, and Col V. Yudin, the first deputy chief of the political section. The formation of the unhealthy moral situation was promoted by the disinclination of comrades Shapkin and Ivannikov to acknowledge the critical remarks presented in Col Yudin's article "Deformation" (5 May 1988). They both took advantage of Yudin's hastiness in selecting and arguing individual facts of the article in order to distort the interpretation of the article's main point.

While verbally acknowledging the correctness and timeliness of the article, at the same time they accused Col Yudin of deliberately undermining their authority and insulting their personal dignity and honor. All this together created tension in their relationships, a situation of mistrust and suspicion. In the situation that was created, Comrade Shapkin did not show principle or responsibility, failed to create a healthy party and moral situation in the collective of the directorate and political section, and failed to make a correct party assessment of Maj Gen of Aviation Ivannikov in a timely manner for his non-party-like reaction to criticism. What is more, as a political leader he himself violated procedures for forwarding excerpts of the minutes of the party commission in the air forces political directorate regarding the personal file of Comrade Ivannikov to the communists of the primary party organization at headquarters, displayed a lack of expertise in the organization of the secret voting in the election for secretary of the party commission, and showed a command-administrative approach in leading the party organization of the political section. In resolving cadre questions he tolerated protectionism and other violations of social justice. He reacted skeptically to the recommendations of the air forces political directorate, and did not draw the necessary conclusions.

The question of the unhealthy moral situation in the collective of the group's air forces headquarters and the role and place in this of comrades Shapkin, Ivannikov, and Yudin were discussed in the air forces military council on 1 July 1989. In the interests of healing the moral climate of the party organizations of the political section, in combat training and generally at the group's air forces headquarters, normalizing the atmosphere in the vanguards of the group of forces, the military council decided to request that Maj Gen of Aviation K. Shapkin be removed from his post and placed at the disposal of the Commander in Chief of the Air Forces for subsequent discharge from the ranks of the Armed Forces to the reserve by reason of age. To transfer Maj Gen of Aviation V. Ivannikov and Col V. Yudin to equal positions at a different posting.

The air forces political directorate is taking steps to prevent anything similar in the future. This case was

discussed at meetings of the chiefs of air forces political organs of districts, groups of forces, and large units in July of this year.

The editors also received an excerpt from the conclusion of the investigation by the military procuracy. According to the military procurator of the Western Group of Forces Maj Gen of Justice A. Perepelitsa, and WGF Air Forces Procurator Col of Justice V. Chonka, the investigation found that Maj Gen V. Ivannikov abused his service position, and in November of 1988 provided a "Volga" service vehicle to his wife for a trip to Leningrad to buy a fur coat. In compensation for the expenses incurred from the illegal use of the service automobile, he paid 204 East German marks to the account of the military unit.

During the investigation it was confirmed that the wife of the Maj Gen K. Shapkin five times had flown free on a military transport planes from the GDR to the USSR, and three times back. After the newspaper article Comrade Shapkin paid 294 East German marks and 91 Soviet rubles to the account of the military unit. In addition, he turned over to the warehouse a state-owned color television that had been in his apartment.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA New Rubric on People's Deputies

Introduction to New Rubric

18010865 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[Editorial on new rubric: "The Deputy's Rostrum: Introduction to New Rubric"]

[Text] This is a fact—the unprecedented openness of the Congress of People's Deputies and the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet has involved millions of people of various ages and professions and of various social strata in active political life. A dialogue, unprecedented in its breadth, between the chosen representatives of the people and the public has emerged, and it can be said without exaggeration that the rostrums of the congress and the session have become the rostrum of the entire country. Having acquired new powers, the people's deputies, perhaps for the first time in our history, have felt the entire responsibility for both the fate of the Soviet state and for fulfillment of those promises which they made to the voters during the election campaign. The weekdays of the chosen representatives of the people are filled today with a specific content, the range of their concerns is expanding, and the return from this work is increasing.

The new rubric, "The Deputy's Rostrum," which we are opening today, is called upon to help continue the dialogue begun in the Kremlin. It is precisely a dialogue—between deputies and voters, one another, and our correspondents—about the most important problems of our life that are awaiting resolution and primarily associated with social and political issues, with strengthening the country's defense, with stepping up perestroyka in the Armed Forces, and with interethnic relations...

The editorial staff will invite to the "Rostrum" members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, interview them, and talk about their activities. We are hoping for readers' assistance: Write and tell us who you would like to see on the pages of the newspaper, about which of the people's deputies you would like to learn about in more detail, and what kind of painful problems to raise!

Our telephone number is 941-35-82. You can call on Mondays and Thursdays between the hours of 1400 and 1600 and ask any question you want a deputy to answer.

Colonel Ochirov on Defense Questions in Council

18010865 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Aug 89 p 2

[Interview with Col Valeriy Ochirov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by Lt Col S. Pashayev, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, under the rubric "The Deputy's Rostrum": "I Live Filled with Life"]

[Excerpt] *Thanks to television, we now know by sight almost all the deputies who are servicemen. But it is namely "by sight." I think not only I but many other KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers, too, would be interested in learning about them in more detail on the pages of our newspaper, particularly those officers and generals who have become members of our Soviet parliament: for example, Hero of the Soviet Union V. Ochirov, member of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and member of the Committee for Defense and State Security Issues.*

P. Chizhova, wife of a serviceman, Chita Oblast. [Passage omitted]

[Pashayev] Just what kind of army problems have been raised?

[Ochirov] We are consulted mainly by people who have been either discharged or recommended for discharge within the framework of the reduction in the Armed Forces. For many the haste of this matter and the bureaucratic approach of officials turn out as bitter resentment and sometimes human tragedies. I think that today our concern for people is often limited to words and good wishes. Judge for yourself: units arrive at new deployment areas, and the regiment is allotted 10-15 flats. And the officers and warrant officer run to the homes of local residents and beseech them to let them live there for any amount of money. But you see, the reduction is not unexpected. Consequently, was this sort of ordeal predicted?...

[Pashayev] Valeriy Nikolayevich, as a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, you are involved in political work—you discussed the candidacy of ministers, took part in forming the government. Meanwhile, you are a combat pilot, an officer, a commander. How do you

compare these duties; doesn't your professionalism suffer? In general, how are you getting accustomed to your new role in the parliament, where is it more difficult?

[Ochirov] Of course, it was easier for me in the regiment; I had grown accustomed to and mastered that situation. But this work which I have now become engrossed in and which concerns the highest, most urgent, nationwide problems is also fascinating. Although, I repeat, it is more difficult here, much more difficult. But the loss of flying skills, of course, seriously concerns me. I should have to fly. I believe that the question of professional training can be resolved. To do this, it is necessary to assign deputy-aviators to one of the regiments in the Moscow Military District. We could go there several times a month and practice our flying technique.

[Pashayev] The parliamentary debates have already more than once touched upon the army, in particular, the budget of the USSR Ministry of Defense. Some deputies have advocated a further decisive reduction of the budget; others have proposed not going from one extreme to the other. What do you personally think about this?

[Ochirov] I am convinced that a comprehensive and qualified analysis must precede any decision in such serious issues. We have already rushed enough. Take the conversion of the defense industry. Will we gain much if we begin changing the specialization of production that is set up and production lines that are specialized in producing very complex products, switching them to producing irons, coffee grinders, samovars, and washing machines? The highly qualified workers will immediately begin leaving. Most of these production capacities should be reoriented to producing similar peacetime products. Incidentally, there is an enormous potential seen here for exports, for obtaining currency which we so need. In other words, we must look for the optimum paths of conversion. The same goes for the budget. Obviously, part of the funds in cutting the budget should be allocated for social needs of the army. What part is what we must think about and consider. By the way, it is not just the service member deputies who are talking about this. Purely civilian people are also demonstrating an understanding of such an approach. In particular, they have called for providing service members with everything necessary so that all the thoughts and concerns of an officer or warrant officer are concentrated on professional problems.

[Pashayev] The debates in confirming Army Gen D.T. Yazov as USSR minister of defense evoked much interest in the readers of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. What is your assessment of the debates?

[Ochirov] I believe that everything should be just like that. If everyone clapped their hands unanimously said "yes", this would not be sincere. And the officers elected people's deputies would have gone against the expectations and mandate of the personnel of the Armed Forces. The fact that a demanding assessment was made of the personality of the nominee to the post of minister of defense, that both the positive and negative aspects for each nominee were noted, and not just for our nominee—this is an achievement of perestroyka. And it is further evidence of its reality in the army. There indeed are many problems, and we must solve them together. Things cannot be corrected without taking into account the opinions of those who are in the ranks and without relying on them. Today you will do nothing with a peremptory shout.

[Pashayev] Valeriy Nikolayevich, there are now several service members in the Supreme Soviet. How are the mutual relations structured in the group of military deputies? Do you get together to argue and discuss some ideas and work out a common opinion?

[Ochirov] On the whole, I must say, we have complete parliamentary independence. Although, in the working procedure we, of course, exchange opinions and argue. I do not rule out that the need for working out a joint position may in principle be required, but so far that has not been done.

[Pashayev] Doesn't the military uniform constrain you in parliamentary debates?

[Ochirov] In parliamentary debates—no, it is simply hot in it. It is easier for a civilian—he simply loosens his tie, unbuttons his jacket... If an officer did this, you would agree, he would look sloppy. But it is not in the traditions of parliamentary etiquette to sit in a shirt.

[Pashayev] Some of our readers have the impression that you do not speak out very aggressively; is this true? And another thing: Is it interesting for you, a military man, to participate in discussing the candidacy of purely civilian candidates for some or other posts?

[Ochirov] Certainly, there may be such an impression. Although, you see, it is not the best variant to strive for any reason to appear as an aggressive speaker on the TV screen. One must bear in mind that the television viewers simply do not see most of the work of the deputies. Much is resolved in the course of the work. For example, several times I have had to address A.I. Lukyanov, ministers, and deputies on urgent issues. Although there are situations in which I do not speak out, it is simply impossible to say nothing. If you remember, after Academician Sakharov's address at the congress, I had to rise and object to him from the rostrum. And not because I wanted to expose him, but he simply could not make accusations without having proven facts, much less blasphemously address them at officers who never gave orders to destroy their surrounded comrades. Yes, it happened in the war that artillery brought fire down on a hill which a minute before we had taken from the enemy and, yes, the situation changed during the time aviation was approaching. But bad coordination, poor battle organization, and barbarity with respect to fellow countrymen—these are different things.

As far as discussing strictly civilian candidates is concerned, I try to arouse in myself an interest and especially delve deeply into who they are, how they worked, and why a debate may arise. I proceed from the fact that I represent the interests of an enormous number of voters, and it is possible that my decision may affect some of them directly.

[Passage omitted]

'Passivity' of Military Deputies

18010865 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Aug 89 p 2

[Letter to editor and response by V. Voblikov, USSR people's deputy, Kaliningrad Oblast: "How To Defend...the Defenders?"]

[Text] *I would like to address our deputy, Comrade V. Voblikov. We, communists in one of the military units, have closely followed the work of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and generally approve of the work of our deputies for whom we voted—comrades V. Voblikov (Chernakhovsk Territorial Voting District No 179) and A. Obolenskiy (Leningrad Rural National-Territorial District No 20). At the same time, the passivity of military deputies has evoked dissatisfaction. We expected to hear from them from the high rostrum about the fact that officers and warrant officers today are one of the most unprotected categories of our society, in both the legal and social aspects. Comrade Voblikov is a member of the Permanent Commission of the Council of the Union on Labor, Prices and Social Policy Issues. Our question for him is: What do you plan to do in this direction, Vladimir Aleksandrovich?*

On behalf of my colleagues, Maj A. Leushin.

Frankly speaking, I cannot share your opinion that military deputies have not shown businesslike activeness in the congress. If you judge this by the television broadcasts, then voters may get this impression. The position of many representatives of the Armed Forces were perceived differently on the spot. The work of the congress was not limited to the sessions. It proceeded heatedly in the congress party group (an this is 87 percent of the deputies), in the secretariat, in other working bodies, and in meetings with voters. I had numerous opportunities to observe how deputies, representatives of the Armed Forces, decisively defended vitally important interests of personnel.

Now, on the essence of the question. Indeed, a man in military uniform is quite unreliably protected both socially and legally. It was customary to attribute the many rigors which he and his family experience to the specific nature of military service. Problems also accumulated along the line of mutual relations between local soviets and military units. It is obvious that the interests of both do not at all always coincide. Moreover, the military deputies of local soviets, as a rule, came to the body of power without a clear position or platform. Their role in the soviets (in any case, it was that way for a long time) remained purely nominal. And what are they able to do, for example, for the painful housing problem?

In my opinion, the situation can change if the Ministry of Defense would participate in forming the budget of local soviets of those rayons in which military units and institutions are located. That is, it could earmark funds for housing construction for service members and for creating jobs for their family members. Appropriations could "pass" not in a centralized manner, but through the budgets of military units. Then commanders would be able to control their expenditure for the purpose intended.

For now, this is only part of my working plans. These problems, of course, require a more in-depth study. One of the directions of our commission's work is to study public opinion and determine priority directions in social policy. I must say that at the first session of the commission, I raised the issue of social protection of service members and intend to see that effective decisions are made on this issue.

Maj Gen Rodionov on Failing Officer Prestige, Recruitment

18010868 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Aug 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Maj Gen Yu. Rodionov, department chief, Main Personnel Directorate, USSR Ministry of Defense, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Col N. Kalmykov, in the column: "Interview on a Pressing Topic": "Prestige of the Officer's Profession"; date and place not given]

[Text]

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Much is being said and written about the failing prestige of the officer's profession and the resulting sharp drop in number of persons applying for admission to military educational institutions. It is even alleged that the schools are experiencing a shortage of applicants. Is there any truth to these allegations? What are the facts relative to admission to military VUZ's?

[Rodionov] There has been a slight drop in number of applicants compared to last year—about 10 percent. This amounts to an average of 2.5 men for each vacancy in all the schools. Let me break that down further. The number of applicants has either increased or remained the same in the case of combined-arms command schools; aviation schools for pilots; tank command, motor transport, air defense and communication schools of ground forces; naval and military engineering VUZ's. There has been a decrease in number of applicants for PVO, military political, artillery, chemical, and construction schools. The lowest number of appications, as

such, was received by the Tallinn Higher Military Political Construction School—only 1.5 applicants per vacancy.

Let me take this opportunity to mention the following. The admission policy adhered to by military VUZ's differs from that of civilian VUZ's. There are virtually no restrictions on admission to all institutes. It is another matter in the case of military VUZ's. As we all know, the latter accept only males, who must be of a definite age and possess good health. Furthermore, since the Ministry of Defense absorbs all expenses, including transportation and meals, the schools are authorized to issue invitations to a definite number of candidates. For example, the process of selecting candidates for military aviation technical schools may be limited to two men per vacancy. Persons unfamiliar with the process may not agree with this method of selection. Incidentally, this particular factor is justified in the case of this kind of school. The maximum possible number is five men. This figure is used for admission to engineering faculties of military academies, aviation schools for pilots and navigators, and naval VUZ's that train submarine service specialists. Compare that with the number of applicants for admission to the airborne school—18 per vacancy. Not many civilian VUZ's can lay claim to this number of applicants.

You must realize that a considerable number of applicants enter military schools directly without taking examinations. This includes graduates of Suvorov military schools and the Nakhimov naval school, specialized boarding schools offering intensive study of the Russian language and a rigorous physical education program designed to prepare youth for military service, and young men from native ethnic groups of republics accepted by republic admissions commissions. In a word, the number of persons desiring to become officers is sufficient to fill the cadet slots in all military schools and institutes with qualified candidates.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Be that as it may, Yuriy Nikolayevich, let us stick to the main issue. There is a trend toward fewer applicants. Also to be considered is the fact that the reductions in the Armed Forces have resulted in selecting a smaller number of candidates. It is a situation where admissions have been boosted this year by the present circumstances. What will happen in the future? If the trend continues, will there not be a drop in admissions to an alarming level in two or three years?

[Rodionov] There is litte likehood of that. If you wish to speak of the future, let us base our reasoning on the facts. Yes, there has been a reduction in number of candidates selected, but this reduction has had little effect on the admissions situation. There is something that is much more significant: This year appicants underwent a preliminary professional selection process, which was carried out at the military commissariat, military district, and large unit level. Some of them even required testing in school subjects. Many were rejected. We lost relative to the admissions factor due to the reduction in number of applicants accepted, but we won as far as qualified candidates is concerned.

By this I mean that the competitive examination as it applies to military VUZ's is not very helpful per se; we never did consider it to have any particular significance. The main consideration is what it leads to, the kind of contingent we have to work with to form the future officer corps. This, if you please, is the very epicenter of today's problems. We are concerned that there are fewer holders of gold and silver medals, whose number in ground forces schools, for example, is down by as much as a third; that youths possessing a merely satisfactory rating on their secondary school certificate are judged qualified to take the competitive examination; that even under these conditions a great number of graduates of rural schools and SPTU [rural professional and technical schools] cannot pass the entrance examinations; that there has been a noticeable drop in physical qualifications and medical fitness. We are dismayed over youth's lack of knowledge of the officer's profession and the conditions of living and studying in a particular military school. That is, I am trying to say that problems associated with admission to VUZ's are due largely to the system that provides information on the military as a career and the weak general educational and physical training administered to a considerable part of youth.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] You have not in any way expressed your personal opinion on the alleged lowering of officer prestige. Do you differ on this score?

[Rodionov] My answer to that is this: I am fully convinced that our youth have not lost patriotism or the sense of romance. The Soviet officer's profession has always been, and I believe will long continue to be, prestigious. I am not coloring the truth in any way. It is a fact that active and purposeful efforts are being made to swing youth toward definite goals and ideals and discredit in their eyes the essential values of the Army and Navy. To make an overall judgement, the efforts have been successful. For example, this year the number of Estonian youths entering military VUZ's is down by more than two-thirds, while that of Latvian and Georgians is down by a quarter. The situation is not much brighter in the case of representatives from Lithuania. In the light of these facts, yes, it may be said that prestige is dropping. However, there are other data. The number of applicants from Azerbaijan has increased, now amounting to 110 percent; we have for Armenia, 139 percent; Kirgizia, 170 percent; Moldavia, 173 percent; Tajikistan, 280 percent, compared with last year. There is noticeable growth in a number of oblasts of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Well, the numbers do sound convincing. Nevertheless, many young readers in their letters to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA express thoughts on the lack of a future if they choose the officer's profession. They say something on the order of the following: "If I

become a cadet, there is a chance that the school will be closed, I will lose the years I will have put in studying, and I will be tossed aside." What can you tell us in this regard? Another question is: Is there no way to inform readers of which schools will be closed?

[Rodionov] Let me start with the last question. Three schools will be closed by government decree: the Ordzhonikidze Higher Anti-Aircraft School; the Borisoglebsk Higher Aviation School for Pilots; and the Saratov Higher Aviation School for Pilots. I can state with full confidence in this regard that no cadet will be deprived of his entitlements, let alone be tossed aside. All those who have not abandoned their dream and are persistent in their goal will be offered the opportunity of continuing their studies in a related VUZ and winning their officer's commission.

The present Armed Forces reductions,including the elimination of about 100,000 officer billets, has naturally brought about a drop in number of cadets studying in military academies, but this elimination process will be restricted to admitting fewer candidates to military schools in the next two or three years. This is being done so that not a single cadet is dropped from the rolls.

1st Deputy CINC, Ground Forces, on New Regulations

18010863a Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Jul 89 First Edition p 2

[Article in the column:"Drafts of New Regulations—Opinions, Comments": "Much Work Ahead"; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA published (11-15 July 1989) the drafts of new General Military Regulations of the USSR Armed Forces: the Interior Service Regulations, Disciplinary Regulations, and individual statutes of the Manual of Garrison and Guard Duties. Troop and fleet discussion has been initiated. In response to a request made by the editors, presented below are comments by Army General A. Betekhtin, first deputy commander, Ground Forces, who is also a deputy chairman of the Commission for Preparation of General Military Regulation Drafts.

Each line of our military regulations is written in the blood of countless generations of defenders of the Motherland. The story of our military regulations has come down to us from the time of Peter's "Ustav voinskiy-"("Military Regulations"). The Russian soldier at Kunersdorf; the splendid Guardsman at Borodino; the freezing soldier at Shipka; and the indefatigable defender of Brest Fortress. They are not only heroes of our glorious country and its Army; they are also nameless authors of our military regulations.

The above has placed a great responsibility on the shoulders of the Commission for Preparation of General Military Regulation Drafts. On the one hand, it must not neglect any priceless contents of the previous regulations. On the other hand, it must introduce into the new General Military Regulations the spirit of that which inspires our people, the party, and the Armed Forces. They include all the statutes of the last few years that relate to the country's defense and the requirements levied by the new Soviet military doctrine.

The very process of formulating the draft regulations entailed difficulties. The Commission, headed by the commander in chief of the Ground Forces, performed a vast amount of preparatory work, heard from a large number of persons, and spent some time on various posts. Versions of the draft regulations were twice distributed to line units, up to and including division level. The effort enlisted the services of specialists in military academies and higher service schools. The Commission received more than 8,000 suggestions in the first phase of the effort alone.

There is a reason for the above all-encompassing, thorough approach to writing the drafts. For this is a matter of official normative-legal documents that govern servicemen's daily activities, their lives, living conditions, and service procedures, which all relate to military duty and discipline.

History has recorded for us the names of those who developed the first Soviet military regulations and the concern with which V.I. Lenin familiarized himself with their drafts. The resulting drafts were reviewed and approved by the RSFSR TsIK [Central Executive Committee] by his suggestion. Ever since, the General Military Regulations have been approved by the higher organs of Soviet government to be given the force of law. This act stresses their especially significant role in the matter of training and educating personnel, strengthening military discipline and order in the Army and Navy, and furthering of combat readiness.

However, this is the first time that new draft regulations have been made available to such wide scrutiny by the public and Armed Forces personnel.

The Ministry of Defense Collegium decided to publish the new draft regulations for the purpose of refining the input made by servicemen, Armed Forces veterans, and other citizens relative to the various statutes and improve the content of the latter. This at the same time will help to inform draft-age youth and parents of future servicemen of the privileges and obligations of service personnel, their legal rights, the legal basis of relations between servicemen, including the various nationalities, and their responsibility for discharging their military duty and satisfying the requirements imposed by military discipline. The most important purpose is to increase the role, significance, and authority of the regulations in military units and aboard ships, and raise the responsibility of command and political cadres for the state of military discipline and order.

Thus, we now have drafts of new General Military Regulations, which we are more accustomed to see in the form of pocket-size booklets in newspaper style. They are being read by generals with streaks of gray hair and first-year soldiers. Naturally, the first questions are being asked. What do they contain that is new? How do they tie in with our revolutionary times? For example, just how do military discipline requirements fit in with democratization of our life? On the basis of early reactions and first letters dealing with the drafts, I am also aware of other questions. Let me begin with what is new.

Thus, the draft Interior Service Regulations include a fundamentally new section—"General Information"—which lists the requirements the USSR Constitution and the Soviet military doctrine impose upon the Armed Forces, and provides general information on military service, interior service, one-man command and other topics. All servicemen must be familiar with this information so that they can fully realize their responsibility for defense of the Motherland and be mindful of their military duty.

For the first time, the draft regulations include statutes on the rights of servicemen and on social and legal protection of the military individual guaranteed by the Soviet state. These also discuss the spiritual bond

between commanders and subordinates and the inadmissibility of inflicting on the latter airs of superiority, crudity, humiliation, and mockery, or of violating relations between personnel as set forth in the regulations (so-called "dedovshchina") [hazing of conscripts by conscripts with more seniority].

The draft regulations attempt to point out that a commander can be successful if he is consistent and purposeful in setting a personal ethical example. The draft of the Disciplinary Regulations is worded: "The commander (superior officer) should be close to his subordinates; know their needs and desires and attempt to satisfy them; exercise intolerance of crudity and humiliation of subordinates; serve as a constant example of strict observance of Soviet laws, the military oath, and military regulations and orders; and act as an example of moral purity, honesty, modesty, and justice." What can be added here? In olden times it was properly said that "laws should root out vice and substitute virtue."

In my opinion, it was right and timely to develop and include in the Interior Service Regulations the new Chapter 6, "Alert Duty," which legalizes alert duty, a highly important activity of the Armed Forces and one that is most demanding with respect to time and volume required of servicemen. The inclusion of this chapter in the regulations should become part of the organizational basis of fulfilling the requirements set by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government relative to increasing the diligence and responsibility of servicemen for assuring the security of the Motherland.

For the first time, the draft General Military Regulations include statutes that deal with the role and significance of combat and political training. In particular, the drafts stress that combat and political training constitutes the essence of everyday activity of servicemen in peacetime. Training exercises and classroom sessions should be carried out without indulgence and simplification to provide servicemen with quality training in techniques of modern combat. A commander found guilty of denying personnel combat and political training is subject to disciplinary action. To effect maximum participation of personnel in the training, it is permitted to station a guard headed by an officer, with no replacements allowed, for a period up to seven days while a unit is undergoing training.

The above is based on past experience. Inspections and checks carried out in units and fleets this past spring indicated that combat and political training is often associated with major simplifications and indulgence. A rating of "satisfactory" has virtually become the sole level sought by some commanders. The practice of substituting administrative and support work for training still exists.

New approaches have also been established in the area of strengthening military discipline. The regulations define much more exactly the commanders' obligations for observing the regulations, effecting proper relations between subordinates, uniting the military collective, and strengthening the bond of friendship between servicemen of various national origins. In this connection, a commander, skillfully eliciting support from the party and Komsomol organizations, is required to utilize glasnost and the power of social influence as much as possible. He is obligated to personally analyze the state of military discipline, evaluate the work accomplished to date, and determine definite measures for improvement, while looking for occurrences of concealment of violations, crimes, and incidents.

The draft regulations make provision for activating duty personnel to prevent crime, incidents, and misconduct, including violation of relations between enlisted personnel and NCOs, as set out in the regulations.

To protect his rights and dignity, the serviceman himself should exercise vigilance to discover occurrences of violations of socialist legality. In addition, he is obligated to be intolerant with respect to himself and others of crudity, humiliation, and mockery. He must also take action to prevent other servicemen from committing undesirable acts. A change has also been made in the procedure a servicemen is to follow to report cases of illegal treatment by other servicemen to his superiors, in that he now can report not only to his senior commander, as stated in the present Interior Service Regulations, but also to the military justice organs and to other state organs, up to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Provision is made for expanding the disciplinary powers granted to commanders at the lower levels (squad, platoon, company, battalion). In particular, new types of citation are proposed (Chapter 2). Relative to disciplinary punishment, the "mild reprimand" has been eliminated for all categories of servicemen, since it has no practical value. The draft regulations include a new type of punishment: "reduction or deprivation of military specialty classification." Soldiers and seamen can be assigned extra duty not only within their specialty, as specified in the present regulations, but they can also be assigned other work. In this connection, the authority to levy this punishment is extended to NCOs—squad leaders and higher.

Complying with the general trend toward humanization of our society and with juridical norms, the Commission rejected all suggestions calling for intensifying punishment (introduction of arrest with detention and house arrest; authorizing commanders to assign offenders to a disciplinary battalion; levying of various deductions from pay, etc, all of which were suggested in letters we received). In our view, there are sufficient disciplinary punishments provided for in the draft regulations; it is required to merely apply them skillfully.

I should think that senior officers will see the merits of the regulation statute prohibiting their arrest with confinement in the guardhouse. Experience has shown that

this kind of punishment applied to senior officers was employed extremely rarely in the past.

The drafts of the General Military Regulations contain rewritten requirements for maintaining combat equipment and armament in a state of combat readiness, assuring skillful and accident-free use and reliable care of the same, and the organization and conduct of unit administrative and support activities. In this connection, for the first time the regulations delineate the obligations of authorities for a highly pressing problem of the time—protection of the environment.

The regulations deal in detail with all questions pertaining to the organization and carrying out of interior, garrison, and guard service, and with security and fire-fighting measures to be taken by servicemen. I wish to point out that the present regulations constitute the basis of the foregoing.

The draft Manual of Garrison and Guard Service includes the new chapters "Military Motor Vehicle Inspection in the Garrison" (Chapter 4), which was developed on the basis of the most recent enactments dealing with this topic, and "Organization and Carrying Out of Guard Duty Using Technical Security and Fire Alarm Systems" (Chapter 13), which sets more stringent requirements for facility security. In the last chapter it is proposed to write into law the most promising and modern facility security system that is finding wide application as a part of guard service of units.

The drafts include a number of new statutes intended to improve the living conditions of servicemen, provide them with authorized needs, and maintain health. Provision is made for a room (or place) in the company area for sports activities and a rest room. There are specific rules for public hygiene in buildings and barracks. Company commanders are authorized to issue a pass to servicemen in compulsory service for a valid reason (such as arrival of a serviceman's parents) on regular duty days.

It seems to me that a considerable change has been made in the daily routine. In contradistinction to the existing regulations, the draft provides for allotting the serviceman time to change out of special—purpose (work) clothing; clean footwear and wash the hands before mess time; listen to the news on radio and watch television; report for medical treatment; effect personal hygiene in the evening; and participate in mass sports work. It has been established that at least one hour must be made available for the serviceman's personal needs. In this regard, it is proposed to cancel the instruction specifying duration of training sessions (six hours). In this connection, it was realized that the actual duration of training sessions in military units, military educational institutions, training sessions of unit- assigned reservists, etc, varies, depending upon the particular tasks and conditions of service (exercises, sea cruises, flights, weapons firing, alert duty, etc). Duration schedules are now provided in combat training programs of the individual branches of the service.

I certainly cannot cover everything that is new in the draft General Military Regulations available to the readers. Persons who possess a good knowledge of the existing regulations will be able to pick out the differences themselves. We hope that the reading of the draft regulations will assist the Commission in identifying and eliminating all shortcomings. At the present time, it is especially important to ascertain the suitability of each new statute and each letter of the law. There is great likelihood that some provisions may not be to everyone's liking. Let us have discussions, find acceptable solutions, and write them down in the form of clear and unambiguous rules.

Not everything in the new drafts is to my liking, or that of the members of the Commission. We are acutely aware that they still fall short, especially regarding new trends in maintaining the defensive posture of our country and the perestroyka processes taking place in the Armed Forces. The absence of a Law on USSR Defense is felt.

Or take some other aspects, such as democratization and glasnost; assurance of legality and social justice; unity in military collectives; and strengthening of comradely relations in military collectives. They are present in the drafts, but are poorly worded legally. It seems that it is necessary to write into law that peculiarity of the Army whereby a commander can order a man to accomplish a mission that carries a risk to his life if so required in the interests of protecting the Motherland, but he cannot humiliate or insult the subordinate. To continue, it is important that the serviceman be entitled to well-organized duty time, off-duty days, and the full amount of leave due him. Officers and warrant officers should be entitled to open and democratic resolution of personnel and social problems in their units (aboard ship). This would make it possible to avoid many errors in placement of cadres and distribution of housing, places in children's pre-school institutions, and scarce commodities in stores.

I would like to receive opinions relative to servicemen's participation in unsanctioned meetings, demonstrations, and unofficial organizations. The Army is a special social body governed by Law and Order. The regulations should stress every serviceman's responsibility for intentional and proven undermining of the unity and security of the Soviet state, of the authority of the Armed Forces and the prestige of serving in the latter.

Greater interest should be exhibited in the draft regulations to the assembly of officers, which is the subject of a temporary statute being issued by order of the USSR Ministry of Defense. The regulations should elucidate the relationship between the assembly of officers and the obligations of officials of the regiment and ship. The point is that this a matter of a fundamentally new

democratic social institution of officer self-management. This in principle is a revival of the assembly of officers, familiar to us only in our reading, that rises to the defense of officers' honor and integrity. Since it always served as a reliable support for the commander, it is natural that the Interior Service Regulations and Disciplinary Regulations should determine to the greatest extent the interrelationships in accordance with the commander- assembly of officers line. Incidentally, it seems to me that these points are sufficiently covered in the temporary statute on assembly of officers.

There is no doubt that readers of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA will let their particular feelings on this score be known after they have studied the General Military Regulations.

Army and Navy collectives have already started to study and discuss the General Military Regulations. The district and fleet press has come into wide play in this regard. The Belorussian Military District, for example, has convened its first meetings and held evenings of questions and answers and public readings of individual chapters of the draft regulations. Commanders, political organs, headquarters staffs, party and Komsomol organizations have become actively involved in disseminating information and studying the draft regulations. In the Turkestan Military District, discussion of the drafts is being skillfully combined with disseminating legal information to servicemen and application of organizational and ideological measures dealing with strict compliance with the existing General Military Regulations.

Officers and warrant officers are to become familiar with the draft regulations primarily by self-study. Also to be employed are series of lectures and discussions in which officials of large strategic formations, large units, and units will participate. It is planned to arrange several training sessions for subunit commanders to instruct them in techniques to be used to teach enlisted personnel and NCOs the draft regulations. Plans call for teaching the draft General Military Regulations to sergeants, petty officers, and enlisted Army and Navy personnel via regularly scheduled training sessions as a part of the combat training schedule. In addition, time will be taken from self- study and the time alloted to preparing for daily details.

It is unfortunate that study and discussion of the drafts has not been initiated in many units. I believe that now is the time for military councils, commanding generals and naval commandants, commanders, political organs, headquarters, party and Komsomol organizations to become actively involved in the developing campaign by enlisting the services of military scholars, the best training specialists, and the ideological aktiv. All communists of the Army and Navy should become the most active disseminators of information on the draft regulations.

It is planned to hold discussions in August and September of 1989. This should be sufficient time for servicemen to discuss and prepare their suggestions and comments after they have studied the draft regulations published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. Plans call for collating these suggestions in subunits and military units (and aboard ships) and submitting them by chain of command. I request that the comments and suggestions be made specific by indicating the exact articles and paragraphs in which the particular additions or changes are to be made. And another detail. There is no need to send to the Commission suggestions dealing with organization of the Armed Forces, actual performance of military service, rates of allowances of pay, food, and clothing, or other topics that are not addressed in the regulations.

Plans call for eventually collating the suggestions in headquarters of the individual service branches, in headquarters of military districts, groups of forces and fleets, and in main and central directorates of the Ministry of Defense. These bodies have formed working groups consisting of generals, admirals, and officers who have been preparing for this. The suggestions are to be received by the Commission for Preparation of General Military Regulation Drafts by 1 October.

I anticipate that this procedure for submission of suggestions will not be to everyone's liking. On that score, I can say that the system of submitting suggestions through the chain of command does not exclude other means. Each serviceman is authorized to transmit his suggestions directly to the Commission for Preparation of General Military Regulation Drafts. In addition, we anticipate active participation in discussions of the draft regulations by USSR people's deputies, reserve and retired generals, admirals, and officers, veterans of past conflicts, and other citizens who are thoroughly familiar with the organization and performance of military service. I hope that the military press will not be inactive in this regard.

In a word, there is much creative and responsible work to be done. I believe that it should be of interest to everyone who esteems our Armed Forces.

After collating and analyzing the suggestions and entering the changes, the Commission will forward the draft General Military Regulations to the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Defense. The new General Military Regulations, after examination and approval by the higher organs of state authority and administration of the USSR, will become laws governing the life and activity of the Armed Forces.

Garrison Housing Shortage Continues

18010863b Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jul 89 First Edition p 2

[Letter in the column: "Letters to the NK [People's Commissariat]": "The Price of Empty Promises"]

[Text] Our military post is located close to the capital; it has been in existence since the middle of the 1930s.

Servicemen of many units live on this post, which has grown quite a bit over the years. However, there has been a continuing housing shortage. There are 270 families that lack housing, with another 76 families in great need of better quarters. The last house was assigned in 1981, and since that time not a single square meter of living space has been added.

Construction of a 12-story residential building was started in June of 1982. However, no end to this seven-year epic is in sight. The military builders, who are headed by Colonel V. Berest, are proceeding at what can only be described as a snail's pace. This has a telling effect on the quality of the building, which is decaying before our very eyes. Will it be safe to live in ? Will it be necessary to make repairs immediately after moving in? These are questions on the minds of the building's future residents.

The post is anxiously awaiting completion of the building. This should be a partial solution to the post's housing problem, but—alas! After making several visits to various offices that have something to do with the matter, we were told that plans call for opening the building to occupancy this fall. However, it is clear that this deadline will not be met. Why make empty promises?

A. Dobrynin
Captain 2nd Rank

Spetsnaz Troops Featured in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA

18010912 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed article: "We Serve in Spetsnaz"]

[Text] These soldiers in light blue berets and undershirts with stripes of sky blue are capable of doing if not everything then at least much that helps attain victory on the battlefield: to endure the fatiguing pace of a multi-kilometer forced march in full marching order; to hit targets with the first burst, the first shot; to work on communications equipment; to hide themselves in the depths of the forest in such a way that an animal with keen senses could pass by two paces away and not notice a human presence; to render medical aid to a comrade that has gotten into trouble. And, of course, to parachute into water, forest, or mountains. And, of course, in hand to hand combat to take on two or three adversaries. Senior Lieutenant A. Biryukov, Senior Sergeant V. Vychugzhanin, and Private S. Yakovlev serve in a special purpose unit [podrazdeleniye spetsialnogo naznacheniya], for brevity's sake—spetsnaz.

The commander of the unit was awarded the Order of the Red Star and the Medal "For Valor." The officer teaches his subordinates, and teaches by personal example, steadfastness, and fearlessness, and pride in service in such a unit and in what they have learned in the ranks of the army.

In the photograph: In the rear of the "enemy." From left to right—Private S. Yakovlev, Senior Lieutenant A. Biryukov, Senior Sergeant V. Vychugzhanin.

Greens Oppose Expansion of Military Airfield

18001421a Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jun 89 p 3

[Report by K. Budris: "Airplanes over the City: Shyaulyay's Inhabitants Protest Proximity of Military Airfield"]

[Text] At 1600 hours a group of "Greens" on bicycles surrounded the military airfield at Shyaulyay, an airfield which is located practically on the city's territory. A similar action was also organized almost a year ago. The changes are evident. The "Greens" have fixed their attention on more dumps which are spoiling nature and mountains of cast-off military equipment. There has been an expansion of the territory polluted by fuel and other substances. Local tractor-operators sometimes scoop up "food" for their steel horses from the meadows and gulches located here. Many far-sighted, clever Shyaulyayans have begun to trade in this "fuel." And the "Greens" have taken test samples. Toward evening, when several thousand Shyaulyayans and inhabitants from the nearby towns had gathered near the military airfield, the "Greens" set fire to these pollutants. A train of black smoke stretched out. That is also the way, the "Greens" said, that the meadows around the airfield have burned on several occasions. The military service people have not been in any hurry to stop the spread of this ecological wound. On the contrary, the danger for nature and people's halth has increased. Despite promises, the military airplanes have been flying over the city just as before. Day and night children and adults shudder from the hellish noise made by airplanes taking off. Heavy metals from the military airfield and the fuel storage areas have started to get into the municipal water supply, inasmuch as until now there have been no facilities for purifying waste waters.

Povilas Morkunas, chairman of the Shyaulyay Gorispolkom, spoke at the meeting and addressed an appeal to the military-service people. Stop! Stop! Look into the eyes of the people among whom you are living! Why are you discrediting the Soviet regime by not living up to the promises to stop these flights which are dangerous for our city's people?

A representative of the military people also spoke at the meeting:

"Eighty of our officers are on a list of those desiring to study the Lithuanian language. We appealed as follows to your municipal authorities: Give us Lithuanian-language teachers! In reply, we were asked where the wages were to come from. But why such commercialism? Be patriots!"

And so let's be "patriots." Whereas one out of every six pregnant women living in Shyaulay is ill. Chkalov Street, in the words of Povilas Morkunas, thanks to the "lofty ideological-political awareness" of the employees at the military airfield, has become a focus of drunkenness. However, conflicts and misunderstandings were avoided. The participants in the meeting adopted a resolution demanding that this military airfield be relocated beyond the city limits. Moreover, it was decided to appeal this matter to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Su-27: Dynamic Braking Capability

18010872

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian publishes on 3 August 1989 in the first edition on page 6 a 1600-word article by V. Chebakov entitled: "Memories of Bourget: the Pugachev Cobra", which discusses a unique maneuver of which the aircraft is capable and asserts the aircraft's defensive character vis-a-vis arms control negotiations.

The Su-27 is said to be capable of a dynamic braking maneuver, referred to as the "Pugachev Cobra". While in flight the aircraft can raise it's nose to an angle-of-attack of 120 degrees. By contrast the U.S. F-18 can only reach an angle-of-attack of 35 degrees.

The article also asserts that the Su-27 is an interceptor, despite the fact that U.S. experts have always included it among strike-capable aircraft in the context of arms control negotiations.

Reasons for Development of TU-160 Stated

18010909 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 20 Aug 89 p 1

[Article on the occasion of Air Force Day by I. Yermakov, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent, Long Range Aviation: "The Winged Guard"]

[Text] It turns out that not only a military unit and a uniform can be Air Force, but even... a joke. I heard it in the twice-decorated Guards 'Nth' regiment of long range aviation: "A real pilot should be able to fly extremely well on that which can fly in principle, and with some difficulty on that which should not be flying at all."

Today, the regiment flies the modern strategic supersonic missile-carrying TU-160. But they have to be flown in the same outstanding way. The crews take genuine superliners of the fifth ocean into the sky. So that the reader would picture how complicated this is and understand the measure of responsibility that lies on the shoulders of pilots, I will say only: After each sortie they lose several kilograms of weight.

Now, one can only guess what crew commander Nikolay Studitskiy, thought at the moment when, after flipping the toggle switch, he rose in the chair (as in an elevator—this is the kind of equipment there is) from the ground upwards, into the compartment of the TU-160.

Studitskiy himself answered all of my "but how?" questions with one word:

"It is normal..."

On that day he received an order—to take his TU at a very low altitude over a designated spot and in an assigned direction.

Here it is necessary to digress a little. Because if you do not know certain details about the birth of the TU-160, it will be difficult to understand what comes later.

While not going into the reasons for the arms race, I will note that the United States built the strategic supermissile carrier B-1B for a very specific purpose. At that time we did not yet have an aircraft with similar performance characteristics.

Time began a special reading...

Soon, a little more than 2 years ago, an OKB [experimental design bureau] under the management of general designer V. Bliznyuk developed the TU-160. This was the answer to the B-1B

And so, the TU-160—a 4th generation aircraft—is a qualitatively new level of aviation technology. The aircraft, which has a 275-ton takeoff weight—is equipped with modern apparatuses, and it takes to the air with four jet engines that are capable of developing a speed of 2,200 km per hour. Each flight system is triplicated.

But it is not enough to create. It is also necessary to equip an army. But before this there are test operations and elimination of the remaining rough edges.

If this were to be done in the usual way, by the forces of the OKB, the re-equipping of the Air Force would drag out for an unforgivably long time. It was decided to organize test operations right in a military unit.

All that remained now was to display the "answer." This was to be done when a high-ranking military delegation of the NATO bloc arrived in the Soviet Union. There was no intention, of course, of "intimidating" anyone. Those times, thank god, have passed. The episode was supposed to serve as information for reflection. After underscoring the merits of the craft through piloting skill, all that was needed by way of commentary was to say that it was not professional test pilots in the cockpit, but regular military personnel...

The snow-white "160" bird, which is especially impressive in its dimensions and smoothness of outlines at such a low altitude, appeared at the precisely designated time. The afterburner is on, the controls are pulled back, and the aircraft moved sharply upward, and in a few seconds it turned into a dot and disappeared in the blue sky.

And the crew landed, wearing officers' ranks that were now one rank higher.

"But just do not write," Nikolay Studitskiy told me in parting, "that we are somehow special. Our crew is like all of the others..."

Azerbaijan Gosplan Chief Interviewed On Defense Conversion

18010856c Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 4 Jun 89 p 2

[Article by V. Nalbandov: "Our Interview: A New Occupation For The Defense Industry Complex"]

[Text] The country's defense complex will produce tens of billions of rubles' worth of civilian products by year's end. Hundreds of types of consumer goods will roll off the assembly lines of enterprises whose names used to never even be mentioned in the press.

A BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY correspondent asked A. Gadzhiyev, Deputy Chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Planning Committee, to respond to a number of questions about the role that the conversion under way in the country is playing in improving the economic situation and about what conversion will do for our republic.

[Gadzhiyev] First I would like to speak briefly about what the complex of defense industry branches actually is, about how it is represented in Azerbaijan, and about its role in the republic economy.

Under the existing statute, the complex consists of the enterprises (associations), research organizations, and construction and installation subdivisions of several union ministries, as well as the State Committee for Computer Equipment and Information Science that was set up a few years ago. The defense complex also consists of radio electronics industry enterprises and communications equipment enterprises, whose impact on accelerated scientific and technological progress is, as we know, of decisive importance.

Azerbaijan also has enterprises and organizations of the defense ministries. Their development has significantly raised the technical level of the republic's machine building and promoted the training and growth of skilled personnel who are capable of successfully accomplishing major scientific and technological tasks. The overwhelming majority of defense industry enterprises have a high organizational, engineering, and scientific level. The use of this potential in reequipping the national economy, in manufacturing the producer goods so vitally needed today for the light, food, and medical industries, and in expanding consumer goods production will undoubtedly provide a powerful impetus.

[Nalbandov] As we know, enterprises of the country's defense branches made a substantial contribution to the national economy in the past as well. But just what sort of contribution the press was never allowed to say. What can the defense complex produce?

[Gadzhiyev] It produces optical equipment—including consumer optical goods, medical equipment, a sizable share of all computer equipment for the national economy, and a large and diverse mix of technically complex household appliances.

In recent years, enterprises of the defense industry branches have actively joined in the manufacture of producer goods for the agroindustrial complex. As a result of conversion, the scope of this work will grow considerably, and certain enterprises could shift to the production of civilian output completely.

[Nalbandov] For a number of enterprises, obviously, the process of converting to civilian output is no simple business. What kinds of problems are being encountered?

[Gadzhiyev] In a number of instances, it will be necessary to make technical preparations for the production of completely new output in a relatively short period of time. It must be said bluntly that not everyone proved ready for this turn of events.

The constructive international policy of our state and its new thinking with respect to the defense capability the country really needs have made it possible to reach agreement on mutual reductions in military potential in an unprecedented period of time. It must be said frankly that this caught some economic managers unawares. Now they are having to restructure production on the move, so to speak, and to come up with new types of output, something that inevitably entails production and financial losses. Yet the progress in disarmament negotiations and the types of defense hardware subject to cuts were widely covered in the press, and a good, farsighted manager was obliged to anticipate subsequent events and to prepare his enterprise for the production of new, civilian output in good time. Unfortunately, the old ways of thinking of some managers have made themselves felt in this area, too.

[Nalbandov] What scope will conversion assume in the republic, in view of the specialization of the enterprises located within its territory?

[Gadzhiyev] The reduced production of military hardware is expected to amount to several percent of these enterprises' total output volume. But even these seemingly small production volumes have presented us with a number of serious problems concerning the utilization of vacated production space and the retooling of production facilities under construction.

It must be pointed out that foot-dragging is inadmissible here, that questions must be resolved quickly, that initiative and persistence must be shown, and that nonstandard decisions must be taken. Procrastination could lead to not only economic losses, as all defense industry complex enterprises switched to full economic accountability as of the start of the year, but also losses of available skilled personnel. For this reason, the State Planning Committee, in conjunction with enterprises where conversion is anticipated and the relevant union ministries, is working to organize the production of new types of consumer goods starting this year.

And so the production of gas-fired water heaters and home stereo tapeplayers is being set up. Our proposals for the production of certain medical instruments are being considered.

Nevertheless, let me say that enterprises in our republic are still taking an insufficient part in the production of technically complex consumer goods. Meanwhile, analysis shows that there are considerable possibilities in this regard. The enterprises have enough production space to organize specialized shops for the production of civilian goods. The republic State Planning Committee has therefore raised this matter with union bodies, and its resolution will make it possible to put other types of goods into production. In conclusion, let me say that some of these production facilities are to be organized jointly with foreign firms.

Conversion: Lower Profit, Higher Investment at Kuybyshev Plant

18010873 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 30, Jul 89 p 9

[V. Ulyanov report: "A New Occupation for the Plant... The Difficulties That the 'Defense People' Have Encountered During the Switch to the Output of Civilian Output"]

[Text] Kuybyshev—Several months ago conversion marched into the shops of the Kuybyshev Mechanical Plant—one of the enterprises of the Ministry of the Aviation Industry. Production of equipment on orders from the USSR Ministry of Defense is being cut back 8.2 percent this year, and next year the figure will be 22.4 percent. But here is the paradox. Because of the structural shift in the volumes, this year the enterprise will be R2 million short on profit, and deductions into the social development and material incentive funds will be almost 60 percent below plan.

"It is naive to suggest that freeing up production areas and material resources and manpower will automatically insure a proportional increase in the production of civilian output. It is all much more complicated," says the plant director, A. Ponedelnikov. "Taking into account the program that has been adopted, this year and next we must spend R4 million just on reconstruction and retooling, and no provision was made for this in the estimates. Funding is an acute problem. It must be determined in line with the requirements for resources, and new contracts must be signed with suppliers. And it is not a simple thing to do this. To replace the output for the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry withdrawn from production we have a 100-percent state order for civilian articles, all of which are unprofitable for the plant. In order to maintain the financial health of the enterprise or gradually lose the collective we must ask for help from sector headquarters.

In fact, the situation that has developed is not simple. Profitability of labor-intensive and expensive defense output is quite high, and the withdrawal of part of it from the plan has left a palpable gap in the volumes of output, on which the wages fund is formed. Neutralizing the latter circumstance, the Ministry of the Aviation Industry has established for the plant a norm for average wage increases to outstrip labor productivity. However, it has not been possible to work up to production of a new range of output that is equivalent to the "defense work" in terms of value. As a result, millions have been lost from profits.

The new occupation for the plant is to manufacture articles designed to augment the "arsenals" of light industry and the agroindustrial complex. Already by the fourth quarter it is planned to ship 25 folding-and-cutting machines for the textile workers, 165 sugar mills for the confectionery workers, and 36 garlic-cleaning machines for the meat-processing enterprises. The engineers are now replanning equipment in order to free up 1,000 square meters of area, and are setting up special sections and preparing the technological process. Amendments to the contracts with suppliers of defense materials and subassemblies have made it possible to reduce above-normative stocks by 30 percent. But already the first estimates of the economists are showing that the value of civilian articles will be less even than the cost of preparing the technological equipment. And to this must also be added the cost of materials, wages, and high overheads.

It is difficult to say how accurately the Ivanovo "Ivtekmash" Plant and the Kuybyshev "Prodmash" Plant, designated by the Ministry of the Aviation Industry as general clients, have evaluated the requirements of the corresponding subsectors of the light and food industries for this equipment. But according to the ideas of the sector headquarters, after producing output worth R2.18 million, the Kuybyshev Mechanical Plant will be forced to curtail production, mothball the process, and wait for several years for the next order. Meanwhile, it will have to produce new models. It is thought that it would be difficult to find a more wasteful approach to the use of the unique capabilities of the defense enterprise.

"In our view, the decision to establish a 100-percent state order for conversion output was wrong," says G. Miroshnin, the plant's chief engineer. "Enterprises must be given the right to find clients independently and agree with them on the volumes and products lists of articles on the basis of mutual advantage. For example, a Belorussian organization proposed that we supply balloon tires for automobiles. We plan to use part of our additional freed-up capacities to handle this profitable order. There are also other attractive projects. But their realization again rests on the 100-percent state order.

The financial difficulties are also being made worse by other factors. Thus, the change in the production program in favor of less expensive articles is leading to a decline in total profitability at the enterprise. The dependence works like this: with the shorter production runs for military equipment, overheads are skyrocketing. And whereas previously losses from the production of one-off

orders were covered by the profit from standing production, with the increased proportion of civilian and consumer goods this opportunity is now being curtailed, and the enterprise is steadily sliding toward the "poverty line."

The structural change has also brought an imbalance to the relationship between labor intensiveness and output volumes expressed in cost terms. Reducing planned labor expenditures to produce defense equipment has already made it possible to free up about 400 main workers. They will be brought into play in the restructured parts of the production facility. However, given a similar labor intensiveness, labor productivity as calculated from the value of output will be lower here. With the increase in personnel, the normative relationship between labor productivity growth and the average wage will deteriorate, and this will threaten a freezing of payments from the wages fund.

"How can we explain this paradox to people? For in fact they are not to blame for violation of the norm," says N. Samoylov, the plant deputy director for economics. "In order to insure an accurate evaluation of efforts by the collective, in my opinion labor productivity in the converted sectors should be determined from the norm for net output."

Additional expenses for the "defense people" are connected with the preparation of technical documentation for new articles. For example, the design institute of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry sold the Kuybyshev Mechanical Plant some far from new documentation on the folding-and-cutting machine for R35,000. But the obsolete and poor quality documentation for light and food industry equipment requires additional spending to rework it. In the opinion of specialists from the engineering services at the enterprise, it is essential to be more active in recruiting strong design subdivisions from the sector for the preparation of technical documentation for civilian output, and for the Ministry of the Aviation Industry to adopt a special decision on this.

So how to fight the financial problems stemming from conversion?

"There are several organizational and economic approaches here but they all imply that we receive help from ministry sources," N. Samoylov continues. "We have submitted our own proposals to the sector headquarters for compensation for the costs of conversion. We are asking that R2 million be allocated this year for this purpose, or that the planned deductions to higher organs and payments for fixed capital and manpower resources include that same sum. But it would be more acceptable to amend the economic norms. In principle the ministry is not refusing to consider a review of the norm but it is not actually conducting such a review, making references to the lack of any appropriate government decision. Moreover, the sincerity of the assurances does not sit well with the continuing withdrawal of 35 percent of the enterprise production development fund, formed from amortization payments.

While setting their hopes in support from outside, the defense people, of course, must also take internal reserves into account. In particular, without significant additional spending the plant could already increase the output of profitable consumer goods about 10 percent. There is virtually endless demand for unbreakable, metal vacuum flasks in the country's domestic market. With appropriate design work, quite good export opportunities can be seen. However, because of lack of stocks of stainless steel the plant is producing only 250,000 of these scarce vacuum flasks annually, while the orders from trade total 400,000. What is the solution? The Ministry of the Aviation Industry Main Supply Administration should conduct a careful study and give consideration to the demands entailed in conversion at the plant, with an internal sector re-allocation of resources.

Obviously the plant faces the task of creating its own commercial service. Compared to this year, already by next year the production of civilian output and consumer goods will rise to 54.8 percent, and the need for knowledge about market conditions will grow stronger. Meanwhile the defense people have minimal experience in this sphere. For example, gadgets for small automobiles being produced with a view to sales to the "Roskhoztorg" happened to come about "by chance." In other words, the search for partners is being done blind. Sector predictions of the market, whose preparation could be assumed by the information subdivisions of the ministry, would also be useful.

Conversion: Su-25 Used In Geophysics Institute Experiment

18010856a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by N. Cheremisina: "Ground-Attack Aircraft Versus A Cloud"]

[Text] Nalchik—A Su-25 ground-attack aircraft has taken part in a scientific experiment being conducted at the High Mountain Geophysics Institute.

The blinds were tightly drawn across the windows at the command post of the High Mountain Geophysics Institute's central research test range. Only the screens of the MRL-5 weather radar glowed in the darkness. A communications link was open between the command post and the Su-25, which was piloted by experimental pilot P. Arendarenko. The ground-attack aircraft's work "sector" was determined from the ground. At the order "fire," a missile was launched from aboard the aircraft at the designated altitude and in the designated direction. Its target was a cloud, into which it was to carry special reagents. The researchers at their radar screens monitored the cloud's subsequent development, to see what happened to it after the missile detonated.

When the chosen cloud left the screens, another "Cloud" antihail missile—the brainchild of the institute's researchers—was fired into the sky from the test range grounds. The two devices' effect on a hail cloud were studied in this way.

"Conversion is enabling us to use combat weaponry in the civilian economy—for example, in trying to affect dangerous hydrometeorological processes like storms and hail... The traditional means of 'combating' clouds are cannon and missile launchers. Now the arsenal has expanded to include a combat aircraft, which enhances the systems' mobilitiy and guarantees that the target—a storm center in any locality, for example—will be hit. A cannon or missile launcher cannot be quickly moved from place to place, while an aircraft has very broad possibilities. We expect to be doing high-quality work."

Conversion: New Utility For Composite Materials

18010856b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by I. Litvinova: "From The Skies To The Earth"]

[Text] Riga—Conversion of the defense industry should result in widespread accessibility of unique composite materials, which will determine the technological future.

They have flown and are flying into space, they enable aircraft to fly at superhigh speeds. Yet they have received neither credit nor publicity. Reference is to composite materials, with which progress in many branches of science and technology is linked. In our country, they have long been used in areas in which efforts were made to discourage unwanted attention. But ever since the word "conversion" was uttered, the situation is changing. The time has come for scientists' best research advances to come down to earth and to serve not just space and defense but also the most varied human needs.

The story of composites is one of making the incompatible compatible. It is also one of producing the inconceivable. Composites are materials with prescribed properties. Hence the unlimited possibilities for their use. The idea was borrowed from nature—true, in a simplified form, for the time being. For example, two materials with diametrically opposed properties are combined—one imparting strength and resilience, the other manufacturability. These composite materials are produced the interface of several sciences—mechanics, chemistry, and biology.

What realistic possibilities does the use of composite materials offer us all? I put this question to Academician K. Frolov.

"Composites are a waste-free technology. There is virtually no subsequent processing—and hence the inevitable losses that processing entails.

"Composites make possible a sharp reduction in materials-intensiveness, which is to say in national product. When the use of these materials gets under way on a broad scale, metals consumption will be cut—and hence the extraction of many minerals. The benefit will be colossal! In a number of countries, metals production has not increased for many years now, while the production of composites is increasing 10% to 20% a year. This isn't fantasy but a realistic prediction: Some people will leave the mines, and others will leave the steel mills. Reducing minerals extraction and metallurgical production will solve many ecological problems. Incidentally, secondary raw materials can be a component of composite materials—another plus for you."

Let me point out that when we speak of composite materials, we are dealing with not only the production of new materials but also an entire branch of industry.

"The use of composites in automobile manufacturing in the United States produces a $970 million profit," said professor Ali Sirig, an official of the US Society of Mechanical Engineers. "What accounts for this profit? Materials intensiveness is reduced, the quality of many parts is improved, and they are not vulnerable to the great bane of metals—corrosion."

Composites are indispensable, for example, in underwater construction. They will also prove unexcelled in traditional, "surface" construction.

In conjunction with doctors, Latvian researchers are studying the possibility of using composites in medicine—in making artificial limbs, for example. Vessels and even an artificial heart made out of composites are by no means fantasy for research surgeons in Moscow.

Even so, to date these new materials with their unique properties are too far removed from the nonsecret branches—those that simply produce the things we need, from automobiles to skis, from washing machines to harvesters.

1962 Novocherkassk Strike, Demonstrations Reviewed

18300741 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Jun 89 p 13

[Article by Vladimir Fomin, LG Northern Caucasus correspondent, and Yuriy Shchekochikhin, LG special correspondent, in "Ethics and Law" department under new rubric "USSR Supreme Soviet Dossier": "Then in Novocherkassk"]

[Text] Rostov-na-Donu—Moscow—**At the recent Congress of Peoples Deputies of the USSR, Deputy A. Sobchak, a lawyer, recalled the 1962 events in Novocherkassk and suggested that justice should be restored and the participants in those events exonerated. The Congress asked the USSR Supreme Soviet to review the court proceedings of the Novocherkassk people who had been found guilty and act on its findings. Today we publish a feature by our special correspondents on what actually happened in Novocherkassk in the early 1960s. We hope it will help the Supreme Soviet in its review of the events. We propose to continue to publish, under the new rubric, materials designed to facilitate the successful work of the country's supreme legislative body.**

In the middle of December of last year, 1988, he received a letter he had been awaiting for more than 20 years:

"Matvey Kuzmich!

"Your appeal for steps to be taken for your exoneration has been reviewed by the Main Military Procurator's Office and resolved positively. The decision of the chief of the investigation department of the KGB Administration for Rostov Oblast dated 6 December 1967 to halt criminal proceedings against you for non- exonorable reasons has been annulled and your case has been closed in view of the absence of any criminal offense... During the investigation of your case by personnel of the KGB Administration for Rostov Oblast no laws were violated and all procedural actions were in accordance with the requirements of the Criminal Procedure Code. Actions committed by you in the 1960s provided sufficient grounds for indicting you for anti- Soviet propaganda. Only in the conditions of perestroyka and democratization of all aspects in the life of Soviet society has it become possible to judge you not guilty.

[Signed] *"1st Deputy Military Prosecutor-General L. M. Zaika."*

A week later Matvey Kuzmich sent a letter to the Military Prosecutor-General, B. S. Popov:

"...I am sincerely grateful to your apparatus for their attention and for the degree of objectivity displayed in reviewing my case, which was passed on to you from the Supreme Court of the USSR. At the same time, and of necessity, I feel compelled to ask you to explain some statements. Thus, the aforementioned document states: 'Actions committed by you...' I must say that this 'literary' device gives cause for wonder, and here is why.

"The thing is that these words would seem to refute all that is said before them about the absence of any criminal intent in my actions. Also, as I attentively—very attentively—read those two lines which speak of my 'actions' in the 1960s I couldn't help thinking that the author or authors of the documents referred to were for some reason trying to shield, in terms of the 1960s, the people who had caused the bloody events in Novocherkassk..."

The response from the Military Prosecutor-General's office which Matvey Kuzmich received in January of this year (1989) says nothing about "perestroyka and democratization," nor of the "actions" once committed by him. It merely states curtly that he has been "fully exonerated" and has the right to raise the question of restoring all his rights before the appropriate authorities.

What is this correspondence we have quoted here? What accusations were levelled at the person in the 1960s and quashed in the latter 1980s? What, finally, were the "bloody events" that the Military Prosecutor-General's addressee refers to in his letter?

Over the last four years we have found out so many things that one begins to feel as if we have finally cleared the well of all the dregs that accumulated on the bottom for decades. There are no more secrets. Rejoice, new generations just entering life: we have accomplished at least that much! But no, it is still too early to rejoice.

The fate of Matvey Kuzmich Shaposhnikov, lieutenant-general of the tank troops, Hero of the Soviet Union, in the early 1960s first deputy commander-in-chief of the North Caucasus Military District, then in the mid 1960s under criminal investigation, expelled from the CPSU in 1967, and only now, in May 1989, completely exonerated and reinstated in the party, is linked with one such page of our history, first mentioned by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on June 2 of this year.

What did happen in Novocherkassk in early June 1962?

The easiest thing, it would seem, would be to find out from newspapers of that period. We diligently went through files of the Rostov oblast paper MOLOT and the Novocherkassk city ZNAMYA KOMMUNY. On 1 June 1962 both papers (like, doubtlessly, all other papers in the country) carried on their first pages a Central Committee address to the people in connection with an increase in meat and butter prices: "...This is a temporary measure. The party is confident that Soviet people will successfully implement the measures in the field of agriculture adopted by the March Plenum of the CC CPSU... which will make it possible to reduce the prices of agricultural produce in the near future." MOLOT, 2 June: "N. S. Khrushchev attended a ceremony of the opening of a Palace of Young Pioneers and Schoolchildren in Moscow, he rode through the park in a motor train..." MOLOT, 3 June: "Soon the temporary increase in food prices in cities will transform into better supplies for the working people, which will ultimately lead to a reduction of prices..." ZNAMYA KOMMUNY, 5 June: "...The working people of Novocherkassk approve the

measures taken by the party and the government aimed at rapidly boosting the output of livestock products..."

June sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth... Nothing...

Putting the papers aside, we went to A. N. Konovalov, chief of the Rostov Internal Affairs Administration. Perhaps the militia archive has some document shedding light on the tragedy in Novocherkassk? A report, account, communique? "Alas," the general spread his arms. "I wanted to see for myself. But there's nothing there..."

Then maybe there is something in the oblast KGB archive? Some photograph, perhaps, even just one? "Nothing," we were told. "We would have liked to see one ourselves, but unfortunately, we found nothing..."

Finally, in a darkened yellow folder in the archive of the Rostov Party Obkom we found the minutes of a meeting of the city party *aktiv* held June 4th, 1962, with the flowery title: "Concerning Facts of Disturbances and Disruptions In the Normal Life of the City and the Tasks of the City Party Organization For Mobilizing the Working People of the City For Successful Implementation of the Plans of Communist Construction."

We read:

"...Present were members of the Presidium of the CC CPSU Com. F. R. Kozlov, Com. A. I. Mikoyan, Com. D. S. Polyanskiy, and Secretary of the CC VLKSM Com. S. P. Pavlov."

The agenda mentions a speech by Kozlov. What did he say? Nobody knows: there is no text in the folder. The minutes go on:

"Vyunenko, shop party organization secretary, Electrode Plant: 'We have never lived so well, in such conditions as now. The shameful events were typically hooligan outbursts, and it's a pity that those rabid hooligans were able to influence young workers... Electrode Plant workers demand that such persons—I don't know their names—be deported to parasite territory and made to work there.' (Laughter in the hall.)

"Ovodov, professor, Land-Improvement Engineers Institute: 'I would hope that the operations that have been prepared, of which Frol Romanovich Kozlov spoke in his speech concerning the provocateurs, be implemented as quickly as possible.' (Applause.)

"Yadrintsev, communist work team member, Synthetic Products Plant: 'The disgraceful bunch of rioters from the Electric Locomotive Plant...'

"Proposal from the floor: 'City party organizations must step up patronage work with Soviet Army units stationed in the garrison, because some comrades do not correctly understand the behavior of army units.' Kozlov: 'This should be written down as a resolution.' Chairman: 'The meeting of the city party **aktiv** is hereby declared adjourned.' (Stormy applause.) Com. Kozlov: 'We wish you success, comrades.' (Stormy applause.)"

Laughter, stormy applause, and guidelines from the distinguished Moscow guest. The usual attributes of a usual meeting.

But even this only accessible document says nothing of the main thing: What was the *aktiv* applauding?

It appears that entire pages have been ripped out of the past, and those that remain have been refurbished, edited and rewritten, as in Orwell's novel "1984" which has only just become available to our readers.

Viktor Valentinovich Kondrashov, candidate of psychological science, came to see us at the hotel. A year ago he had written a letter to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: "You keep writing about 1937... When will it be the turn of 1962, of Novocherkassk?"

In the spring of 1962 he had finished the 5th grade at school. June 2 was a Saturday.

"Mother sent me downtown for margarine. Before Revolution Square the bus stopped: people with red flags and banners were marching along Lenin Prospekt, which was then called Moskovskaya Street... I got out of the bus. A crowd of people was standing in the park in front of the party Gorkom... The Gorkom doors were wide open. I got curious..."

"Did you understand then what was happening?"

"No, I was only curious. I had never been inside the building so I went right in."

"What did you see there?"

"At the first-floor doors there were four soldiers who wouldn't let anyone in... I went up to the second floor, to a huge hall with a parquet floor. People were walking about the hall... I went out onto a balcony. I heard shouts: 'How can we continue like this? There's nothing to eat as it is!' The words didn't surprise me because I had heard such talk every day from morning till evening..."

"Was there any damage?"

"I didn't see any damage. Only several sheets of paper were scattered on the floor in the Gorkom hall. And people were opening the doors of empty offices because (as I found out much later) all the Gorkom personnel had run away."

"Did you spend a long time in the building?"

"No. I saw tanks drive in from a side street and soldiers in tight formation pushing the crowd away from the Gorkom building. I was curious, of course, so I ran down. I slipped through the soldier ranks and took up a position to one side of them. All the soldiers were carrying automatic rifles. An officer wearing an earphone headset came out onto the balcony, followed by a

soldier with a backpack radio. The officer leaned over the railing and shouted something, then turned to the soldier and said something to him. It was still all so interesting to me: the crowd, the flags, the soldiers, the automatic rifles. The soldier said something into the microphone and all at once a volley rang out. Then another. People dashed for cover. The square emptied rapidly. I saw some people lying in the square, then a woman in tears, then a running man carrying a woman with a bloodied head in his arms. I walked slowly away from the square and saw tanks driving up and down Lenin Street. Wounded people were lying in a yard in front of a pharmacy."

The following day they were told at school: "Yesterday enemies of the people and spies attempted to stage a provocation." The terminology was reminiscent of those memorable 1930s.

V. Kondrashov had witnessed the finale of the bloody tragedy...

What preceded it was recounted by Petr Petrovich Siuda.

We visited him in his tiny room in Novocherkassk. There were piles of papers on the floor, on the table, on shelves, in closets. Six months ago he had left the Novocherkassk Electric Locomotive Plant in order to devote himself completely to reconstructing the history of the Novocherkassk events, which some had so diligently attempted to expurgate from the chronicles of our time.

"Back in 1950, when I was in a children's home, we kids would argue heatedly about how many years of our lives we would sacrifice for a day of our beloved Stalin's life. I grew up in a children's home, and until I was 14 I didn't know that my mother was in a camp and my father had been arrested."

P. Siuda's father, who died in jail, was a member of the party since 1903, he knew Stalin, Voroshilov and Mikoyan well, and in 1962 the very fact of his dead father's erstwhile friendship with Mikoyan would save his son's life.

In 1962 Siuda was only 25 years old. He was arrested June 1, one day before the soldiers lifted their automatic rifles. Today the circumstances of his case can help us reconstruct the picture of the Novocherkassk events.

The verdict on Siuda's case states:

"During 1-3 June 1982, criminal hooligan elements provoked mass disturbances in Novocherkassk, Rostov Oblast, and at some enterprises of the city; the disturbances were accompanied by pogroms, attacks on local government workers and public representatives, disruption of the work of industrial enterprises and railway transport, and other excesses... On 1 June 1962, P. P. Siuda went to the factory and joined the rioters; he climbed onto a truck parked in front of the plant management building and asked plant chief engineer S. N. Yelkin a question of a provocative nature which incited the crowd to continue the mass disturbances. On the railway tracks he called for preventing a passenger stopped by rioting elements from proceeding on and engaged in an argument with plant activists who had arrived to establish order and resume railway traffic. In the evening of that day Siuda addressed a crowd from a tunnel ledge, calling for the people not to go back to work but to proceed to the CPSU Gorkom with provocative demands; he proposed sending 'delegates' to other plants to stop work at them. Upon arrival of militia personnel at the plant he tried to prevent them from establishing public order and demanded that they depart."

That was how Siuda's actions were characterized in the court's sentence. The consequence was 12 years in a strict regime colony. But here is what he himself tells of those events:

"Starting in January 1962, rates at the Novocherkassk Electric Locomotive Plant were again reduced by up to 30-35 percent. The last rates reduction was for workers of the steel foundry. That was already in May. Then, in the morning of 1 June, it was announced over Central Radio that prices for meat and butter were being raised. But it was not only the price increase that led to the strike. The housing problem was not being addressed at the plant, and the rent for private apartments at the time was 35 to 50 rubles per month, that is, 20 to 30 percent of a worker's monthly wages... There were virtually no meat products in the stores, and at markets everything was very expensive... On the 1st, people on the way to work voiced their indignation at the price hikes. In the steel foundry workers gathered in groups. The plant director Kurochkin came to the shop and said something that, naturally, incensed the workers: 'If you haven't enough money for meat and sausage eat liver patties.' Those words provided the spark that led to the tragedy. The workers turned on the factory whistle. Workers from the 2nd and 3rd shifts began to come to the plant. The strike began... Signs appeared: 'Give us meat, butter,' 'We need apartments'..."

"What did you yourself do?" we asked Siuda.

"I didn't want to speak at the meeting which had begun spontaneously in the factory square, but I was concerned about talk of taking over power in the city. I remembered the stories of participants in the events in Hungary and Georgia only too well. So I spoke of the need to maintain firmness, order and organization. I called for everyone to go into town the following day, formulate common demands, and submit them to the authorities."

"Were there any acts of violence against the authorities?"

"Neither the preliminary investigation nor the court could discover any acts of violence, except for two minor cases. The plant chief engineer Yelkin was forced into the back of a truck, but no one beat him. In the other case one of the 'activists' was punched several times by his own subordinates... Later that night some workers tore a

picture of Khrushchev from the front of the plant management building, and other pictures were taken from all offices, dumped in a heap and burned in the square... But I didn't see what happened the next day, June 2, because I had already been detained..."

According to Siuda, 105 people were sentenced for their involvement in the Novocherkassk events. Seven were sentenced to death by shooting (including one woman). The sentence was carried out. Siuda's mother managed to get through to Mikoyan, which is why he did not figure in the most extreme "death" case. Of the 12 years of his sentence Siuda spent four and a half behind bars.

We asked whether he had asked for his own exoneration.

"No," Siuda responded. "To me exoneration of all participants in the strike and the restoration of historical justice is more important."

That is why he has devoted his life to setting up his own archive of those events. There is, as is known, no other.

We walked along the highway from the plant to the city center. It's a pretty long walk, some 10-12 kilometers. That day, June 2nd, a crowd of 7,000 workers followed this road, carrying red banners and a picture of Lenin. The road is narrow. At one point it passes over a small stream called Tuzlov. There were tanks on the bridge. The crowd swarmed over them, but they did not fire a single shot.

Now we know why.

In mid May 1962, Lieutenant-General Matvey Kuzmich Shaposhnikov, first deputy commander-in-chief of the North Caucasus Military District, was conducting a meeting of district commanding officers. One day after the 20th of May, General I. A. Pliyev, the district commander-in-chief, received orders to place troops on combat alert and concentrate them in the Novocherkassk area.

"In the end of May, that is before the 1st of June?" we asked Matvey Kuzmich again.

Yes, he said, he remembered it clearly. The orders, as he understood, were from Khrushchev, through Malinovskiy, then minister of defense.

"For me, a military man, when I am told that troops must be placed on combat alert, that is, with weapons and ammunition, it is apparent that this is not to deal with some natural calamity. It means something has happened. Pliyev had left earlier. I wound up the officers' meeting and headed for Novocherkassk, stopping over at home in Rostov to change."

We asked the general what he saw in Novocherkassk. According to him things were calm in the city, but he noted the presence of army patrols. Pliyev told him that it was necessary to proceed to the Electric Locomotive Plant area and assume command of units arriving there.

Before leaving for the plant Pliyev told Shaposhnikov to report to Kozlov and Mikoyan.

"That is," we asked again, "two members of the Central Committee presidium were in Novocherkassk before the 1st of June?"

"Yes," General Shaposhnikov confirmed. "I found them in the medical aid post of the tank division, where their quarters were set up. When I arrived on the grounds of the military garrison I noted that tanks and automatic riflemen were positioned inside around the entire perimeter, and I couldn't help wondering from whom the two distinguished Moscow visitors were being protected so much.

"After introducing myself to Kozlov and Mikoyan I immediately voiced my apprehensions: The troops were deployed with ammunition, moreover not just the riflemen but the tankers, too. This could result in big trouble. Mikoyan remained silent, but Kozlov brusquely interrupted: 'The troops commander, General Pliyev, has received all necessary instructions.' I was convinced that a mistake was being made, so I suggested to Pliyev and Military Council member Ivashchenko that we send a joint cable addressed to Khrushchev requesting at least to take the ammunition from the troops deployed in the Novocherkassk area. General Pliyev raised a finger: 'There are members of the Central Committee presidium above us.'"

General Shaposhnikov arrived at the plant, around which troops were already being concentrated, and on his own authority ordered: "Unload automatic rifles and carbines and relinquish ammunition to company commanders." The same orders were issued for tank ammunition.

"What did you see at the plant?"

"Workers were milling around in the shops," the general said, "but there were still no rallies. The only talk was about the cut in rates: the decree on price increases had not yet been published."

"Did local authorities come to talk with the workers?"

"They behaved like scared rabbits," the general said. "Two men arrived, but when the workers rushed towards them to voice their complaints they escaped through the attic... To draw attention to themselves the workers halted traffic on the railway."

"Why?"

"They wanted Moscow to know about them, unaware of the fact that two members of the CC presidium were just a few kilometers away protected by tanks and soldiers."

On the first, according to General Shaposhnikov, workers emerged from the shops and filled the factory square. They wanted to meet with the plant management, but the doors to the administration building were barricaded. The rally continued all day long.

The 2nd of June dawned.

"Around eleven o'clock the plant gates swung open and a crowd of seven or eight thousand people carrying red banners headed in the direction of Novocherkassk. I approached the workers and asked: 'Where are you going?' One of them said, 'Comrade General, if the mountain doesn't go to Mohammed, then Mohammed goes to the mountain.' I reported by radio to General Pliyev that the workers were heading for the city center. 'Stop them!' I heard Pliyev's voice. 'I don't have the forces to stop seven or eight thousand people,' I responded. 'I am dispatching tanks at your disposal. Attack them!' Pliyev's order followed. I replied, 'Comrade commander-in-chief, I see no enemy before me for our tanks to attack.' Pliyev angrily threw down the microphone. Sensing trouble, I tried to overtake the column in my jeep. On the way I met General Parovatkin, whom I had dispatched earlier to get instructions directly from Pliyev. 'The commander-in-chief has issued orders to use weapons,' he told me. 'Impossible!' I exclaimed. Then general Parovatkin handed me a writing pad, flipped it open, and I read: 'Use weapons.' Parovatkin and I jumped into the jeep so as to overtake the crowd and prevent bloodshed. But we were some 400 meters from the square in front of the party Gorkom when we heard volleys of automatic rifle fire."

"How many do you think were killed, Matvey Kuzmich?"

"Twenty-four people, including one schoolboy, and 30 were wounded. I recall that I told General Parovatkin: 'You know what, let's drive over to Kozlov and Mikoyan and demand, as witnesses, that all those who used arms should be tried right in the square.' 'What are you saying, Matvey Kuzmich?' Parovatkin responded. 'No one will understand us there.'"

We asked the general what would have happened if he had obeyed orders and the tanks standing on the bridge over Tuzlov River had attacked the crowd. "Thousands would have died," he said.

On the way to the plant someone threw a rock at his jeep, hitting him on the shoulder and ripping off his left shoulder-strap. The general leaned out of the car, shouted at the person, "You stupid fool!", and drove on.

"When I heard that the city party *aktiv* would be meeting I decided to address it and informed the member of the Military Council of my intention. I wanted to say that we shouldn't have done what we did. I also wanted to remind them that our Party Program even states that from the point of view of internal conditions our society has no need for an army. I wanted to prove to them that it was lawless and a violation of all humanitarian norms. I wanted to ask the KGB and MVD leaders why they had dressed their own people in dirty coveralls while we were in uniform. There were many things I wanted to say, but they didn't invite me to the *aktiv* meeting. Then I decided to write a letter and asked my aide-de-camp to find the volumes of Lenin in which he gives his assessment of the Lena shootings and Bloody Sunday."

"Whom did you want to write to, Matvey Kuzmich? The Central Committee? Khrushchev?"

"That's the whole point: I realized there was no one to write to, at least not at those addresses."

Soon after that strange letters addressed to "Soviet writers" began to arrive at the Soviet Writers Union on Vorovskiy Street in Moscow. They were signed equally strangely "Furious Vissarion":

"...The party has become a vehicle driven by a bad driver who often drives under the influence and violates traffic regulations. It is time to revoke the driver's licence and thus prevent an accident..."

"...It is extremely important for us that the working people and industrial intelligentsia understand the essence of the political regime under which we are now living. They must understand that we are being ruled by the worst form of autocracy which relies on a vast bureaucratic and military machine."

"It is important that people should start to think instead of relying on blind faith that transforms us into animated machines. In a nutshell, our people have become an international laborer of a kind they have never been before, with no political rights."

The letters to the Writers Union arrived in rapid succession, and one can only imagine the reaction they caused—no, not among "Soviet writers,' whom they probably never reached, but in those organizations to which they were, as later became apparent, dutifully forwarded from the Writers Union.

What did this Hero of the Soviet Union, lieutenant-general, first deputy commander-in-chief of the North Caucasus Military District (later even acting commander-in-chief for a year and a half), that is, a person standing high on the ladder of the Soviet military hierarchy, hope to achieve by engaging in an activity so inappropriate for a general? What compelled him daily to make entries in his diary, reflecting less on military art than on the difficult science of civic-mindedness? (Incidentally, the diaries, like the letters—though not all—were returned to him only this year.)

What forced him to do this? Apparently abhorrence of the psychological slavery which the administrative system cultivated in generation after generation, stripping people of everything human.

And what did he hope for? Probably for times like these, which we have called perestroyka.

How long could it go on?

"Gradually I began to notice some odd things," Shaposhnikov recalls. "Letters I received usually arrived in damaged envelopes, while my correspondents began to complain that my letters to them would also arrive in tampered envelopes. I summoned the chief of the district special section and asked him to find out who felt it

necessary to monitor my mail. He looked embarrassed, then several days later reported that the envelopes were damaged because of the bad work of postal workers."

In June 1966, General Shaposhnikov was retired at age 60. He wrote at the time in his diary: "Today I received an answer to my letter to Malinovskiy which I had sent 6/8/66. The note on it reads: 'Comrade M. K. Shaposhnikov: We were unable to find a service slot for you, which is why you have been retired. There is nothing more I can do. Malinovskiy.'"

In late August 1966, Shaposhnikov was driving with his wife in his Zaporozhets car from suburban Moscow to Rostov. On the road out of Moscow his car was stopped. "What's the matter?" he asked. "Did I commit a traffic violation?" The traffic officer responded, "No, we are simply checking your documents." Standing with the officer were several smirking civilians.

"Usually I would drive through Kharkov, but this time I decided to go through Voronezh, cutting 150 kilometers off my route. Just as I was leaving Voronezh several cars with flashing lights blocked the road. 'Where are you coming from, Comrade General, and where are you going?' I was taken aback. I always drive in uniform, with my Hero's gold star medal. They looked at my papers and let me drive on. But just before Rostov I was stopped again. 'Will you also be asking who I am, from where and to where I'm going?' The young traffic officer looked embarrassed and lowered his eyes.

"I drove into my yard, but the arch through which I always enter was blocked by a ditch. Then I noticed that not only my house but the entire block was surrounded. The first person I saw in the yard was the chief of the military district's special section in the company of a dozen or so people in uniform and civilians. He approached me. "How-do-you-do, Matvey Kuzmich. Park over here and get out." As soon as my wife and I got out they began a search, perhaps hoping to find a hidden printing press. We went upstairs. Some strange-looking young people were standing on the landings above and below my apartment. One lock was broken. We barely gained access to the apartment. I was shown a search warrant. I asked the special section chief where he wished to commence the search. He immediately pointed to my den, sat down at my desk and pulled out the very drawer containing my personal archive, including originals of the 'Furious Vissarion' letters on the very top.

"'You're a poor conspirator, Matvey Kuzmich.'

"'I had no intention of concealing anything...'

"I am a very tidy person, and one glance at my desk told me that it had already been thoroughly inspected. All the papers were misplaced. There was also an appeal concerning the Novocherkassk events which I had copied in 1962. They said they would not detain me, but I would be required to give a written undertaking not to leave town. When they left my wife lifted the wall rug in our bedroom and we saw two holes drilled in the wall behind it with little tubes inside. Their technology was apparently pretty primitive."

M. K. Shaposhnikov was indicted under Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code—for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Only after an appeal to Yu. V. Andropov was the case closed—but without any exonerating circumstances. For that reason the materials were all handed over to the party commission of the Rostov Oblast Party Committee. On 26 January 1967 then first secretary of the party Obkom I. A. Bondarenko took away General Shaposhnikov's party card.

Of course, he appealed his case over and over again. He wrote to the Central Committee, to the Procurator's Office, to party congresses. He recounted his life as a young worker who had become an officer, participated in tank attacks and was awarded the title of Hero during those grim wartime years. He wrote about the tragedy in Novocherkassk, about the past and the future. Over 20 years he has accumulated volumes of copies of letters and responses to them. He has linked his fate with the Novocherkassk events. As a military man he realized the need for order and discipline (even in our time of rallies we cannot pass off elemental passions for democracy). But he could not accept the methods of achieving order. It was necessary to listen to the people, not drown their voice in a roar of tanks. He never recalled his own words: "I see no enemy before me for our tanks to attack." On the contrary, he wrote, appealing already to the 27th party congress: "As for myself, today, as then, I continue to castigate myself for failing to prevent the bloody action in June 1962."

Perhaps those words express the most stern self-evaluation which we all are so frequently incapable of.

In May 1967 General Shaposhnikov wrote in his diary:

"Personally I am far from harboring any grudge or hate for the perpetrators of unrestrained arbitrary acts. I am only sorry that I was not able to really combat that evil. In the struggle with arbitrariness and petty tyranny I lacked the ability to engage in mortal combat. In the struggle with the arbitrary actions of petty tyrants, baseness and hypocrisy, which are so prevalent and entrenched in army conditions, I lacked an adequate weapon, besides an illusory belief that truth could—just like that, by itself—win, and justice would triumph..."

Matvey Kuzmich Shaposhnikov is now 82. But there is no old age in him. He has forgotten nothing. He does not wish to forget anything.

Circumstances may be stronger than a nation as a whole, but they may still be weaker than a single person. We have the example of General Shaposhnikov before us.

U.S. Presence In Indian Ocean, Mideast 'Threat To Peace'

18010902 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Colonel V. Grebeshkov: "Contrary To The Will Of Peoples, The U.S. Is Impeding Normalization Of The Situation In The Indian Ocean"]

[Text] To turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, not in word but in deed, is a long-cherished dream of the peoples of the island and littoral states of that region. It is receiving the support of the world community. As early as 1971, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Proclaiming the Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace. The declaration calls for the implementation of a number of important measures in the region, including the dismantling of all foreign military bases and installations, the commitment not to deploy nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, the renunciation of the threat of force and the use of force, and so forth.

However, the United States continues to impede the declaration's implementation. Contrary to the UN's wishes, in 1980 it declared this immense region a "third strategic zone" (after Western Europe and the Middle East), and in 1983 it set up the so-called joint central command (Centcom), including in its zone of "responsibility" 19 states of the Near and Middle East, northeast Africa, and south Asia. Centcom's strike nucleus is the Rapid Deployment Force, which is to perform policing functions in parts of the world that are unstable, in American strategists' view.

There are many reasons for the special attention given the region. Incalculable natural resources are concentrated here—among them enormous reserves of gold, tin, rubber, uranium, and other types of strategic raw materials, and most importantly nearly 70% of the capitalist and developing countries' total petroleum reserves. The Persian Gulf alone accounts for a large part of Western petroleum imports. It is used by American troops deployed in Western Europe, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Indian and Pacific oceans.

No less important are the geopolitical designs of U.S. ruling circles and their drive to exploit to their own advantage the complex and contradictory processes in many of the region's countries and the extremely strained relations between them that sometimes develop into military conflicts. I have in mind first and foremost the Iran-Iraq war, the development of political processes in Iran, and the large-scale subversive activities of the forces of international imperialism and regional reaction against sovereign Afghanistan. The buildup, through the United States, of the military potential of Pakistan is assuming increasingly dangerous proportions, as is the Islamabad authorities' provocative course with respect to neighboring countries.

Nevertheless, the most serious and most dangerous factor remains Washington's efforts to consolidate the United States' military and other positions in the region and to expand its capabilities to intervene in other countries' internal affairs. In so doing, American strategists are also pursuing global objectives—to turn the territories of a number of countries of the Middle East and south Asia, as well as of the Indian Ocean, into a staging area from which to threaten the Soviet Union.

The pretext for the buildup of the American military presence in the region is the spurious claim of a "Soviet military threat" and Washington's professed concern for freedom of navigation, which was threatened by the Iran-Iraq armed conflict. At a time when the USSR has withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan and is decisively in favor of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, fewer and fewer simple-minded people are prepared to believe anti-Soviet fabrications. Meanwhile, military operations between Iran and Iraq have ceased, and no one is threatening freedom of navigation. Nevertheless, the United States continues to keep in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf a task force of more than 20 warships, including an aircraft carrier with 80 aircraft aboard. The ships are equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles and other modern weapons. Washington has no intention of withdrawing these forces. An American document of a truly great-power tone was recently distributed in the UN: "The notion that the withdrawal of the naval forces of a great power from the Indian Ocean will somehow promote strengthened peace and stability is, in the view of the United States, mistaken." Incidentally, up to 20 warships of France and Britain remain in the Indian Ocean.

The U.S. Armed Forces are actively assimilating theaters of combat operations there and making preparations to deploy large military contingents in them in crisis situations. A staging area for the RDF is being set up at an accelerated pace. A network of 80 military bases stretches from the eastern coast of Africa to Australia. Naval and air force bases that the Americans use in Oman, Somalia, Kenya, Saudi Arabia, and other countries are capable of receiving in an emergency RDF combined units and units that could include up to six divisions of ground troops and marines and 600 to 700 tactical aircraft.

The Pentagon attaches special importance to a multipurpose military base on the island of Diego Garcia. The base's airfield can accommodate any aircraft, up to and including B-52 strategic bombers. The pier is equipped to anchor warships, including aircraft carriers. There are fuel and ammunition stockpiles and a new communications and radio surveillance center. Seventeen supply ships are based there, carrying weapons, military hardware, and material and technical equipment for ground troops, air forces and one expeditionary brigade of marines. They can arrive in a combat zone in the northwest part of the Indian Ocean in five to seven days. In Pentagon strategists' view, the use of supply ships enhances the mobility and maneuverability of RDF

units and subunits, making it possible to move them from one region to another with "light luggage," to equip them with heavy equipment and weapons in a short time, and to put them into action quickly.

The operational plans the Pentagon is drawing up for using the RDF in combat, in conjunction with the armed forces of "friendly countries," are regularly tested in Centcom exercises code-named Bright Star.

As so the militarization of the Indian Ocean and efforts to turn it into a "third strategic zone" of the United States are in full swing. At the same time, American diplomatic activity seeks to derail negotiations and to prevent the convening of an international conference on the Indian Ocean.

However, there's no overlooking the fact that the absolute majority of the Indian Ocean states are striving to improve the situation in the region.

To move the cause of demilitarizing the Indian Ocean out of deadlock—such is the objective of the Soviet initiatives that M. S. Gorbachev unveiled on his visit to India in 1986 and in Krasnoyarsk in 1988. Among other things, the initiatives express our readiness to begin at any time, with the United States and other nonlittoral states that have warships in the Indian Ocean on a permanent basis, talks aimed at substantially reducing their number and naval activities, as well as to hold talks with the United States and interested Asian countries on military confidence-building measures with respect to Asia and the adjacent waters of the Indian and Pacific oceans. The USSR is prepared to participate in mulitlateral talks involving all states using the waters of the Indian Ocean aimed at devising security guarantees for sea lanes, including the Persian Gulf, the Strait of Hormuz, and the Strait of Malacca. Our country is also prepared to discuss any other constructive proposals.

A session of the Special Committee on the Indian Ocean concluded at UN Headquarters a few days ago. The opposition of several Western countries prevented the adoption of an agreed-upon decision setting a concrete date for holding a UN conference on the Indian Ocean next year. Yet that conference is called upon to be an important step in implementing the UN General Assembly's 1971 Declaration on Proclaiming the Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace. Efforts to hold the conference have been thwarted for almost two decades, above all by the United States.

The session's participants directed the chairman of the special committee to make efforts to promote the adoption of a corresponding decision directly at the 44th Session of the UN General Assembly that begins in September. And so time will tell whether the Indian Ocean is to become a zone of peace or the "third strategic zone" of the United States.

Plans for New USAF Cargo Plane Detailed

18010903 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by V. Belyayev in the column: "Military Technical Review": "The C-X Project, or a New 'Workhorse' for U.S. Strategic Forces"]

[Text] The Western press recently reported that assembly of the first experimental model of a strategic military transport plane, the C- 17, was about to enter the final stage at the McDonnell Douglas plant. This is the so-called C-X project. The history of this aircraft goes back to the end of the 1970s. At that time the U.S. Air Force was faced with the problem of supporting rapid deployment of large amounts of combat equipment and personnel from America to Western Europe.

The concept of the "aerial bridge" was devised in a short period of time. However, computations indicated that successful accomplishment of this task in a combat situation would require that it offer a capacity of 110 to 130 million ton-kilometers per day. That is the maximum figure. Relative to the minimum figure, U.S. Air Force authorities reason, and the Department of the Army agrees, that the bridge provide a daily payload of at least 96 million ton-kilometers. The existing fleet of American strategic transport aircraft plus reserve craft can assure only 65 or 66 million ton-kilometers. This gave rise to the tactical and technical requirements made of the new strategic transport plane.

In accordance with these requirements, the prospective "aerial truck" should be capable of carrying all types of U.S. Army combat materiel, including Abrams heavy tanks, combat helicopters, and self-propelled guns weighing up to 55 tons, over distances up to 5,000 kilometers. The aircraft should require an airstrip up to 900 meters long which may or may not have a hard surface. That is, under these guidelines it should possess all the qualities of the present "workhorse"—the C-130.

Plans called for producing 130 to 190 "aerial trucks" (the number was subsequently increased). The total cost of developing the new model was initially estimated to be 8 to 12 billion dollars. Bids were invited and received from the largest aviation companies—Lockheed, Boeing, and McDonnell Douglas. The effort drew a response from Rolls-Royce and General Electric. Lengthy deliberations resulted in selecting as a base model a design offered by McDonnell Douglas (which came to be known as type C-17).

It became clear at the very start of work that the announced schedule could not be adhered to. As a result, Air Force authorities decided, and the Pentagon agreed, to work on an intermediate solution: Satisfy current Army needs for transporting combat equipment by building 50 additional C-5s, and continue work on the C-17 at a steady but progressive pace. The first large sum—32 million dollars—was received, and McDonnell Douglas experts set out to make the plans a reality.

Just what kind of a new "workhorse" will the U.S. strategic forces receive? The C-17 is similar in appearance to the YC-15, an experimental frontal transport craft developed by the company in the middle of the 1970s under the AMST program. One of the features of this model is the capability of using short airstrips without hard surface. The AMST program was subsequently put on ice, but the company's experience came in handy.

According to information published in FLIGHT INTERNATIONAL and that provided at the French Aerospace Show at Le Bourget, the C-17 features a swept wing placed high up on the fuselage, with vertical aerodynamic surfaces on the tips. Wingspan is 51.6 m, while the footprint is 353 square meters. Supercritical shapes are employed to obtain advanced aerodynamic characteristics. In addition, the aircraft is provided with a system of powerful flaps that are washed with engine exhaust to increase the glide path angle to 5 degrees (instead of the usual 2.5 to 3 degrees), thus reducing the landing approach speed to diminish the need for a long airstrip.

Foreign experts are of the opinion that the C-17 in comparison with existing military transports will offer a longer service life due primarily to its high maneuverability, in that it can withstand 3 gs for an extended period of time and execute a steady turn at an angle of 60 to 70 degrees. Maintenance costs for the C-17 should be half that of its predecessors.

The cargo space (26.82 X 5.8 X 4.11 m) can accommodate the following: one Abrams M-1 heavy tank and several jeeps; or two infantry combat vehicles, two jeeps, and two trucks; or 48 wounded on stretchers and 54 ambulatory patients able to sit up during flight; or 244 combat troops. The C-17 can also be used to airdrop 120 airborne troops or up to 27 tons of specially rigged combat materiel. Maximum weight of payload is 78 tons, according to the TTX, but experts believe that the more typical load will be 58 to 65 tons (based on the various payloads listed above).

The proposed crew of the C-17 will consist of two pilots and a loading and unloading operator, with other specialists as needed. There is a compartment where crew members can rest. The flight deck is provided with modern electronic equipment, including color displays supplying necessary data. Plans call for installing two independent inertial navigation systems incorporating laser type gyroscopes.

Now briefly on the power plant. The company decided not to design a new engine for the C-17, instead employing the engine used in the Boeing 757 passenger liner. The C-17's engines, mounted in pylons under the wing, are capable of offering reverse thrust. They are designed for a maximum takeoff weight of about 260 tons.

As reported in the press, McDonnell Douglas will be working on the C-X project in collaboration with other large American companies: Lockheed (wing components); LTV (tail assembly and engine nacelles); Delco (electronics). However, final assembly of the aircraft will be at the McDonnell Douglas plant at Long Beach. Reconstruction currently under way will increase the plant's size by a factor of 2.7 (thus permitting construction of 10 aircraft at the same time).

In general, it appears that work is progressing at full speed. Plans call for increasing production to 210 craft. Production costs total 36 billion dollars. With the new air transport as a base, it is planned to design a flying command post, an aerial tanker, and a naval patrol version. Even so, there are difficulties that must be faced.

Thus, the April issue of the JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY reported that the U.S. Department of Defense noted two serious problems associated with the developmental program. One related to the increase in weight (by 10 tons) of the empty airplane. Will this not have an effect on the range? The designers confidently insist that it will not. However, the military has its own opinion on this score. The other problem has to do with software development. This is already causing a four-month delay. Foreign observers believe that we most likely will not see a C-17 in the skies until 1991, not next year as planned.

Yes, there has been another change in the production schedule, which gives rise to heated discussions relative to delivery of the craft. The fact is that the U. S. congressional budget office reviewed the work in progress and recommended that the Pentagon slow down purchase of the airplane to effect savings of more than 4 billion dollars. However, D. Cassidy, who is in charge of U.S. transport aviation, came out against this suggestion.

"Delaying production of the 210 C-17s," he said, "will cost the program an extra one billion dollars a year, starting in 1991."

Well, only time will tell who will win the argument. However, one thing is certain: the U.S. Congress is increasingly exercising its prerogatives as an organ controlling military expenditures.

Afghan Guerrilla Band Surrenders to Government

18010907 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Aug 89 Morning edition p 4

[Unattributed article: "They Recognized the Afghan Government"]

[Text] Yet another small center of the ten-year civil war was finally eliminated Thursday in a remote corner of central Afghanistan. A group of mujahidin, some of which were armed, gathered at the entrance to the village of Tagi Timur in order to shake hands with the representatives of the official authorities as a sign of formal recognition of the administration in Kabul.

"Before, we had some problems, and we fought because of them, but now we feel that the government of Afghanistan is a people's government, and therefore we decided to withdraw from the war," announced Ibrahim Big, the leader of the rebels. "We are counting on the help of the government and will fight with those that do not believe in the possibility of the reunification of the nation." Ibrahim Big brought with him 700 armed fighters, as well as 20,000 inhabitants of 30 settlements located on the territory that he controlled in Ghowr Province.

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