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## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

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**ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on Language  
Law, Public Order Decree**  
*18000182 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 23 Oct 88 p 4*

[Article by K. Propst: "At the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] A session of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet was held on 20 October. The session was conducted by Presidium Chairman A. Ryuytel.

The first question discussed was the date of the next session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet. The discussion evoked the unanimous opinion of the Presidium members that one cannot hurry with the conducting of the session. It is necessary to provide time for the deputies, the city and rayon ispolkoms, and the entire population of the republic to become carefully acquainted with the questions and the drafts of normative acts to be discussed at the session, and to express their opinion ahead of time. The drafts of the decisions and normative acts will be published in the RAHVA HAAL and SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA newspapers. Proceeding from this fact, it was decided to convoke the 8th Session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, on 5 December 1988. The duration of the session is not limited; the deputies themselves will decide how many days are needed to discuss in detail all the questions included on the agenda.

The participants at the Presidium session discussed a draft decree entitled "Statute Governing the Use and Protection of the National Symbols of Estonia," which had been submitted by the working group on the state symbols of ESSR. The approved text of the statute will be published in the press.

Heated discussion of the draft of the ESSR Law Governing Language continued at the session. The draft was prepared jointly by the working group on language questions, Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet and the working group of the Institute of Language and Literature, ESSR Academy of Sciences, and the ESSR Lawyers Board. When developing the draft of the Law Governing Language, its authors proceeded from the fact that Estonian SSR is a sovereign state, the language of whose indigenous nationality and simultaneously whose state language is Estonian. The status of Estonian as a state language does not infringe upon the constitutional rights of persons speaking other languages. The draft of the Law Governing Language defines the protection of the Estonian language as a national language, and also the working use of the Estonian language as a state language and of other languages in our republic.

The presidium decided to offer the draft of the ESSR Law Governing Language for public discussion. The draft will be published in the press.

A. Ryuytel emphasized that, in the course of the public discussion, the inhabitants of the republic will give their

evaluation of the draft. There is nowhere from which one can take a model for comparing such a draft, inasmuch as our republic is the first union republic to introduce a Law Governing Language. He deemed it necessary for radio and television broadcasts and the press to carry on a constant discussion of the draft. The work done by its drafters is not completed. They will study all the recommendations and opinions that are sent in during the course of the public discussion. The larger the number of opinions and recommendations, the more complete the draft that the deputies of the ESSR Supreme Soviet will have to discuss will be. Every inhabitant of Estonia can submit his opinions and comments to the ispolkom of the local soviet of people's deputies or can send them to the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet. Prior to the session of the Supreme Soviet, the deputies of the republic's highest agency of state authority will meet with the voters, and it is necessary for the voters at such meetings to express boldly their opinions about the draft of the Law Governing Language.

The Presidium session discussed the recommendations of the ESSR Supreme Soviet's working group on questions of illegal mass repressions. The working group prepared a draft of an ESSR Supreme Soviet decision entitled "Stalinism and the Elimination of Its Inhumane Consequences." A group of scientists at Tartu State University prepared a draft of the ESSR Law entitled "Illegal Mass Repressions in Soviet Estonia in the 1940's and 1950's." The purpose of preparing both drafts is to censure completely and unequivocally the illegal mass repressions in the 1940's and 1950's in Soviet Estonia. The enactment of a normative act at the forthcoming session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet would alleviate the illegal actions that were committed and would make it possible to restore the honor and dignity of those who suffered from the illegal mass repressions and enable them to obtain compensation for property losses.

The Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet deemed it necessary for both groups, jointly with the ESSR Supreme Soviet's Commission on Legislative Proposals, to continue the work on preparing a single draft.

At the session the Presidium members were informed of the work being done by the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet who were elected from our republic, on the eve of the next session of USSR Supreme Soviet.

A large number of discussions in our republic were evoked by the 28 July 1988 Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "Procedure for Organizing and Conducting Meetings, Rallies, Marches, and Demonstrations in the USSR." The Presidium members were pleased to learn the opinion of the group of deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet that had been elected from our republic, to the effect that we have no necessity to apply a number of the statutes in that ukase and that certain statutes require refinement. The deputies will

express their point of view at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet if the approval of this ukase is included in the agenda.

In order to implement the instructions of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, a commission on questions of demography and migration has been created under the Presidium of ESSR Supreme Soviet. That commission will be led by A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Presidium of ESSR Supreme Soviet.

By ukase of the Presidium of ESSR Supreme Soviet, paragraph 1 of Article 54 of "ESSR Law Governing Elections to Local Soviets of People's Deputies of ESSR" has been amended to read:

"In the event that a soviet of people's deputies recognizes the powers of individual deputies to be no longer in effect, and also in the event of the departure of a deputy during the period of time when the powers of the soviet of people's deputies is in effect, a new election is to be held in the appropriate electoral districts within a period of one and a half months. The election is to be scheduled by the executive committee of the appropriate soviet of people's deputies no later than a month prior to the holding of that election, and is to be organized in conformity with this Law. In such instances the okrug electoral commission is to be formed on the third day, and district electoral commissions on the fifth day, after the scheduling of the election. The nomination and registration of candidates for election as deputies are to begin after the formation of the okrug electoral commission and are to end 15 days prior to the election."

This amendment will give the voters more time to nominate their candidates for election as deputies in the event of an election to replace deputies who have departed.

**ESSR Party Chief Vyalyas Addresses CC Plenum**  
18000427 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 22 Dec 88 pp 1-3

[Report by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee: "On the Results of the November (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Tasks of the Republic Party Organization for Implementation of its Decisions"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

Today's plenum has convened a little more than 3 months after the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum determined the sore points in Estonia and earmarked a policy for overcoming them. The situation that developed during the "marking time" of the period of stagnation was evaluated honestly and in accordance with principles.

This time we did not make hasty judgments of the politicians of the preceding period and their blunders.

We considered a precise and candid description of the existing situation and way of overcoming it to be more important than a detailed disclosure of the past.

We are taking the same path today, although the passage of time and the experience we have accumulated make it possible to add something to the judgments made at that time.

The crisis of confidence in Estonia which reached its culmination in the spring and summer and the deepening alienation between the majority of the people and the ruling minority largely ensued from the essentially still remaining stagnation and the desire to retain the status quo forever. A lack of initiative and conservatism as well as the wait-and-see position paralyzed the Estonian Communist Party. Under the conditions of the command-order mode of economics and administration, an obedient cadre was formed, which proved capable only of adapting under the new conditions and not actually carrying out the restructuring. Verbose oaths were given concerning devotion to the CPSU course toward renewal, but in spite of the loud slogans the practical work never touched upon the essence of the restructuring, and above all it did not affect the interests of the people. The restructuring in slogans was backed up only by initiatives and loudly publicized experiments which made no essential changes in the lives of the people. One can say that during the past decade things have gotten worse and worse, both in the cities and in the rural areas.

The new possibilities opened up in connection with the restructuring were not utilized for real democratization of the life of the republic. Hence the extremely frequent loss of contact both with workers and peasants and with Estonians and the Russian-speaking population, not the mention the intelligentsia and the youth.

Inadequate desire and ability were manifested in drawing the Russian-speaking population into the life of the country, not to mention informing them of the real history of Estonia and its problems today. National groups essentially stayed separate, giving the Russians varying information about their problems. The advocacy of the vulgarized variant of internationalism that was typical of the past was received especially badly by the indigenous population. All this increased the tension in international relations and the polarization on national soil of the understanding of Estonia's problems, which in turn largely complicated the perception of the new course of the 11th Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee by some of the Russian-speaking population. Today's difficulties in international relations ensued largely from this. I shall note for general information: this year in our republic there was not a single serious case of hooliganism on national soil. Thus the people of Estonia as a whole under the difficult conditions manifested self-control and political behavior which deserves full recognition. This gives us strength and belief in the future.

The main direction for the work of the Estonian Communist Party after the 11th Plenum was to provide for a process of consolidation on the basis of the decisions of the 19th CPSU Conference, to achieve unity in the actions of the republic party organization, and to overcome the negative features that have accumulated in the sphere of international relations. Looking the truth in the eye, we must honestly admit that we are only at the beginning of this path. We have certainly not begun to seriously implement everything yet.

On the basis of this we must again clarify the role of the party as the main body conducting the revolutionary restructuring under the conditions of our republic. Allow me first of all to discuss our activity over the past few months and share with you certain thoughts about the work of the Estonian Communist Party in the first stage of the radical political reform that has been started in our country.

The point of departure here is the decree of the November Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the political reform in the area of state construction. One can say without exaggeration that the reform of the political system that has already begun signifies a very important step toward a state governed by law. On the basis of the decisions adopted at the last session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the next stages of the reform we shall begin to form the foundation of a state governed by law. We know that during the period of stagnation the law had limited application in our country. What was actually decisive were not so much legal and constitutional foundations as political tradition. Positive changes in this regard have been manifested especially clearly in the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet in its last sessions. They were also noticeable in the work of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. The democratic direction based on the will of the people has gained a clear victory. Everything that is taking place must be evaluated on the basis of the practice of the past and not on the basis of some abstract ideals. It is politically irresponsible to criticize those who are conducting the restructuring on the basis of the narrowly understood interests of Estonia or to consider our measures to be the only correct ones for the entire Union. Dividing the reform into stages is not somebody's subjective desire; it is dictated by our reality, by the fact that we can only patiently form democratic traditions. We must proceed from the concrete conditions of our life and not from some hasty desires. We communists of Estonia must also act according to this. We are aware of the realities of the moment. We know that at the recently concluded session of the Supreme Soviet they determined the basic structure of the future agencies of authority and a number of principles for further activity. We are aware that this will lead our search during the reform of the republic's political life into a particular system of coordinates, and this does not preclude our initiative.

We must also take into account the fact that, from all appearances, we shall have hard times since the tragic

natural disaster in Armenia will require additional funds. Thus practical results in the economy could be postponed for a couple more years.

In the platform of the delegation of the Estonian Communist Party submitted to the 19th Conference of the CPSU and also the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum we formulated as one of the basic goals of our activity the sovereignty of the Union republic and the ensurance of its real right to make decisions independently. Recognizing the harm caused by the deformations of Stalinism and stagnation to the interrelations between central Union authorities and the Union republics and understanding the special significance of this sphere for the strengthening of our entire federation and each national republic, we have presented a number of successful initiatives here.

At the last CPSU Central Committee Plenum we were criticized, sometimes strongly criticized, for the amendments made to the republic's constitution. We were also criticized at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session and partly at the Supreme Soviet session. My own speech at the CPSU Central Committee plenum and the speeches by Comrade Ryuytel in the Supreme Soviet explained the reasons for the situation that has taken shape in the republic. We confirmed that we have primarily proceeded in our political initiatives from the general state aims of restructuring and the paramount needs of the republic. I dare hope that this information has been accepted. The businesslike, principled discussion at the CPSU Central Committee November plenum offered a great deal that is new for the steady continuation of the policy of restructuring. This is evidenced both by the plenum resolution as a whole and by the fourth point in this resolution, which states that particular importance at the next stage of the political reform will be given to clarifying certain constitutional norms of the Soviet Union's national-state structure. The point of departure in this area must be the party's course is to broaden the rights of the union republics and autonomous fromations and harmonize relations between the USSR and the union republics.

On the basis of present experience, we can say that deputies' activity on 16 November—which reflected the people's will—and the subsequent broad discussions in the republic have helped to focus attention on an all-union scale on the above relations, in which no one now denies the existence of many tangled issues. We have vigorously and determinedly opposed attempts by central departments to continue the centralization of power within the framework of the new reform. Our action has produced results in many ways. M.S. Gorbachev, for example, noted in his speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session that "we must see that it is right to raise many real issues faced by Estonia which need to be resolved. We must pay them the greatest possible attention, and the Estonian working people and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet must know that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium understands and shares their concern."

The union republics' real proposals, including our own, concerning the union draft laws were reflected in almost 40 amendments, which is in itself an appraisal

And now let us return to the reform of the political system. Obviously this will make it necessary for the Estonian Communist Party to substantially revise its previous principles and style of work. It is necessary to determine the limits of competence and the functions of party and Soviet and also administrative-management agencies. The party and its leading agencies have been called upon to deal with the basic questions of the life of the society, above all strategic ones. Only in a critical political situation should one take responsibility for solving concrete problems. In the unexpected critical situations that have been encountered frequently of late the party has had to find optimal solutions and direct other authority structures to them. There are two reasons for this. In the first place, up until this point the party has duplicated these structures and the previous practice made them forget how to act independently. In the second place, these structures also suffered from bureaucratism, and personnel in favor of the restructuring have not yet taken over key positions.

The party should be in a position to analyze the possible consequences of the most important political steps. Unfortunately, even the party apparatus is now incapable of this to a significant degree. Just take the question of declaring the Estonian language the official language, which caused so many disputes, and the initial draft of the law on language that was submitted for public discussion.

It is not enough to admit after the fact that we acted hastily and that many points of the initial variant of the Law on Language needed to be polished and formulated more precisely. We should have foreseen how the majority of the Russian-speaking population would have perceived what was suggested. We must take unqualified responsibility for this mistake.

We have now drawn up a new draft of the Law on Language, but we must ask: at what price? Would it not have been more reasonable to use the energy spent on calming down negative emotions for preliminary work, presenting a mature variant for public discussion? Here I should like to express my complete gratitude to the language experts of the republic for the work they have done.

The times insistently demand a renewal of personnel. At all levels the Estonian Communist Party needs personnel with initiative who are capable of thinking and politically providing for the restructuring. Of course the Communist Party is mainly a union of like-thinkers in which the nationalities of the party members are of secondary importance. At the same time it is natural that political work with people should be conducted in their native language, and if it is necessary to discuss a national question, this can be done best by communists of the same national environment. This, after all, is a Leninist principle.

Here let us recall that the idea of consolidation of all national and social groups and movements was advanced by the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum. But we were not able to proceed expeditiously along this path. We were not able to take all of the political initiative into our own hands. This is the most important strategic task of the Estonian Communist Party in the given stage. It follows from real life that it is the party that is called upon to consolidate social forces and social movements. We are aware that we have two paths before us: either we reflect the interests of the main social forces in our political directions and practical activity and enlist them to implement the party policy or their desires will find an outlet, as it were, independently, in numerous nonparty social movements. We are now faced with the fact that a number of social forces are expressing their will and interests through social movements and the party's role in the direct expression of these is modest. We see clearly that the existing movements have extremely varied influence, have various goals, and submit to our influence in various ways. The party's goal is to actively influence these movements. They must be drawn into the general activity for the support and development of the restructuring. This must become the only point of departure. We must understand that the activity of the new movements has already had their own kind of vitalizing influence on the activation of our political life and caused us to work harder as well. Those who follow the constructive programs of the movement can exert a positive influence. Let us simply recall the fight against the development of phosphorites and the role of the "green" movement that originated as a result and also a number of actions of the People's Front in support of the party organizations when developing a unified platform for the 19th CPSU Conference.

Whether we like it or not, certain movements or groups have also acted against us—this is also reality. To sum up, we call this pluralism in action, and recently we have indeed been exhibiting democratism and tolerance here, and sometimes, unfortunately, too much complaisance as well. Obviously, we must be more active here too. Political dialog is needed when positions diverge sharply as well.

Obviously, we could not speak today about the increased activity of the people and a sincere desire to act if the party committees had used the old measures to rank all new, independent movements and "put them in their place."

I shall repeat an idea expressed at the last session of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "The party itself came out with the initiative for restructuring, it is the motive force for renewal today, and it is itself being renewed according to Leninist principles. Only the party with its authority and capabilities can fulfill the unifying role and integrate into a single policy the diverse and sometimes contradictory social interests. Only the party, having regained its quality of being the leading revolutionary force, constantly confirming its right to move in the vanguard of the society, can provide for our country's advancement to new heights of progress."

Naturally, the strategic goal of the Estonian Communist Party is to reflect in the program for its political activity the interests and will of the main social forces of Estonia: Estonians, the Russian-speaking population, workers, the rural population, the intelligentsia, and the cities and rayons.

Here the Estonian Communist Party has been, is, and will be one of the constituent parts of the CPSU and a militant branch of it. But for a long time even this axiom was interpreted simplistically.

The communist party of a national republic should in its activity reflect both the general state interests and the interests of the national republic and it should harmonize them. So far there is still much work to be done there. For a long time we were accustomed to acting mainly on orders from the center. We had a fairly poor awareness of our role in the larger policy, we were unable to properly interpret the course of the CPSU Central Committee, and we were not even sufficiently consistent in expressing and realizing the desires of the population of our republic. We manifested no initiative in communication with CPSU agencies.

Of course nobody prohibited us from participating in the development of Union policy. The lack of initiative born mainly of the time of stagnation was largely the reason for our own inertia and—it cannot be helped—timidity. But we represent not only 110,000 communists of Estonia in the CPSU, which includes about 20 million members, as the leading party we represent one of the 15 equal sovereign Union republics. A number of recent political initiatives ensue largely from this particular awareness of our role and responsibility. This was the case on the eve of the All-Union Party Conference and this was the case during the discussion of the latest Union draft laws in the Supreme Soviet.

The concrete political task for next year will be the preparation for the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the national issue. Here too we are developing our own platform and will explain it at the Plenum. We have already begun. Our goal should be businesslike collaboration with the CPSU Central Committee in preparing for this plenum, which is of principal importance for the entire country.

But here too, in order to prepare carefully, we must act in conjunction with others. We recognize that up to this point the contacts of the Estonian Communist Party and the exchange of experience with party organizations of other republics have been inexcusably inadequate and weak and have born the imprint of formalism or randomness.

First and foremost this makes it necessary for all levels of the Estonian party organization to conduct an election campaign during the next 3 months so as to provide for the election to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies qualitatively different representatives who would be

competent, politically mature, and capable as social figures of representing the interests of Estonia. We must make sure that the Estonian representatives to the new Union agencies are not formal leaders by yesterday's standards, but truly people's representatives who have earned to confidence and support of the workers and are capable of representing Estonia intelligently, boldly and with initiative at the highest level. To do this we are suggesting cooperation with the main organizations and social movements. It is necessary to have effective representation for Estonia both in the Congress of People's Deputies and in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

We must search for new possibilities of further developing the process of democratization at the lower official levels. Here I should like to express the hope that the elections to various agencies next year will proceed not in a routine manner but in keeping with true democracy. At the same time we shall develop a political tradition worthy of our republic of participation of labor collectives, social organizations, and social movements in the elections.

Above all the Estonian Communist Party should be the essential leader, the bold initiator of political reforms in Estonia. Even in the near future it is necessary to concentrate attention on what the basis of the activity of our future official agencies should be. Here we should proceed from the political traditions of Estonia.

This work should be conducted on constructive soil, with an analysis of what has been done and what is left to be done. We must not count on cheap popularity and play on the feelings of the public, attaching unjustifiably great significance to the steps and activities that have been undertaken. It must be stated that we have taken this path and now certain social organizations and movements are following it. They must understand that extreme statements do not correspond to the desires of the people and that permanent value is created only by serious labor.

On the basis of the tasks facing the republic, it is the Estonian Communist Party that should be able to direct the energy of all democratic movements and organizations toward the achievement of the goals of restructuring. As was already noted, here we must count on the formation of unified platforms, mainly through consolidation on the basis of common interests, and not on a one-sided dictatorship.

Within the field of our vision should be the creation of a sociopolitical situation for successful implementation of the political transformations and the economic reform. Under our conditions this means democratization and decentralization of economic life, the provision of actual cost accounting for labor collectives, and accounting for the market mechanism. In general we must significantly raise the level of economic awareness of the workers and overcome the widespread illiteracy in this area.

At the 11th Plenum we took a deep look at the republic's economic problems. Therefore there is no need to discuss the economy in detail again.

In our republic decentralization and democratization of the economy mean implementation of the program of cost accounting. The concept of cost accounting integrates our major tasks in various areas of life. Therefore we emphasize once again how necessary the Estonian Communist Party considers it to be to move forward to the final development of the program of republic cost accounting and the determination of the action programs of activity. We have clear-cut division of labor here: from scholars—theory, from the Council of Ministers—a practical program, from the Supreme Soviet—the laws, and from the Estonian Communist Party—political support. Of course all this should take place with the most active participation of the labor collectives.

Let us note that we expect that the party organizations will take a more active position in providing political leadership of the economic activity of the labor collectives. Work is now being completed on the formation of a plan for 1989. But the results achieved as of today cannot satisfy us. Many business leaders, labor collectives, and also party organizations have unilaterally taken advantage of the rights we have granted them in questions of formulating the plan, placing their own interests in the foreground and ignoring the interests of the consumer. There is no other way of evaluating the fact that a number of light industry enterprises and also many enterprises under Union jurisdiction have expended a good deal of effort so that the planned assignments for next year for goods that everybody needs will be considerably below this year's level. Thus the Volta plant plans to produce 260,000 electric engines in 1989 although this year's plan exceeds 300,000.

The conclusion of agreements for the delivery of products next year is proceeding extremely slowly.

Here one can see the results of the poor work of the labor collective councils of the enterprises, which are called upon to protect not only their own but also state interests. Let us recognize that a reduction of the production of consumer goods in a situation where there is a shortage and not enough goods to cover the available supply of money worsen the tension in the society and the problem acquires clear political coloring. Enterprise party organizations should exhibit wisdom and perspicacity here.

Because of the political situation in the republic we are somehow losing sight of the state of affairs in the economy. Meetings and gatherings have somehow become bogged down and attention has been distracted from the essential things.

Yet the results of the work of the national economy during the 11 months of this year do not inspire great optimism. In industry the matter of fulfilling contractual

commitments is not improving. Every seventh enterprise and association is failing to meet them. The condition of labor discipline has deteriorated sharply and absenteeism and losses of working time have increased.

The amount of coarse and juicy fodder procured on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes is 16 percent less than last year and the failure of the grain crops made things worse. Let us say frankly that the wintering of the cattle will be difficult on many farms.

The state of affairs in construction is extremely unfavorable. During 11 months they put into operation only 56 percent of the housing envisioned by the plan for 1988. That is, in December they had left to put into operation almost as much housing as had been released during all of the previous 11 months. There was an underassimilation of allotted funds for all facilities of the social sphere.

It seems to me that after all the concern for the development of the concept of republic cost accounting we have forgotten the truth that cost accounting begins with the labor collective, with efficiently organized work in all units of the national economic organism, including in the republic itself.

Here it is necessary to shift the idea of republic cost accounting from the ideological, political plane to the channel of practical solutions.

In carrying out these and other tasks of restructuring it is extremely necessary to form favorable public opinion, and a leading role in this, of course, belongs to the mass media.

We have already become accustomed to a broad range of opinions in the press. A pluralism of views and statements does not mean simply a diversity of nuances; it is the expression of the interests and will of various social forces and movements. Since in real life they frequently differ extremely from one another and sometimes are even opposed, this is reflected in the press as well. Understanding the need for democratic public opinion that relies on pluralism of opinions and reflecting the strivings of the main social forces and movements, the party must be able through the mass media to add the constructive direction necessary for the development of restructuring. We must provide for a party approach to the basic issues of our life even under the conditions of pluralism of opinions.

Unfortunately, this is far from always the case. I wish to emphasize once again the special responsibility of leaders of editorial staffs and all journalists for the fate of restructuring. Of course, we can demand this first of all from journalists who are communists.

Many of our publications have their own clearly expressed personality, their own stable traditions, and a high professional level. But how is this combined with the tone of the last issues of LOOMING, our oldest literary journal where everything having to do with

Soviet power in Estonia is discussed mainly in negative and purely critical terms. It is unbecoming for such a respectable publication to discredit itself this way.

The interesting and searching youth magazine VIKERK-AAR in searching for shortcomings in our society sometimes unjustifiably goes all the way back to the revolution itself. The publication of caricatures of PRAVDA in MAALAKHT is inadmissible and politically unethical. And this list could be continued. Many of our publications and television and radio broadcasts are not free of errors.

We are convinced that socialist pluralism of opinions is incompatible with banal attaching of labels and criticism of everything Soviet, everything associated with the years of Soviet power. For the black and white principle of the period of stagnation in inverted form cannot be considered to be the highest level of development of culture and democracy.

Therefore we have every right to ask of the publishers of the aforementioned magazines—the Union of Writers and the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee and also communist who work there: is this direction also their own platform? I should like to emphasize especially that today one of the main tasks of the creative intelligentsia is to be the mind and conscience of the society.

The ideological service of the Estonian CP Central Committee is mainly responsible for the ideological level of the work of the mass media. We are trying to radically change the style of our work, combining a trusting attitude with party demandingness. But what has been done so far is still far from what is required by the times.

Of course, in the future we shall continue to support the pluralism of views and the comparison of various ideas. But we do not support, and our press should not print, views that contain reproaches and insults against other nationalities, which sow mistrust among nations and do not contribute to consolidation. After all, we are well aware that the demarcation line in the minds of people in understanding today's processes is actually not determined by nationality. The differences pertain mainly to attitudes toward the party policy of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost. Naturally, today there are also differences in the understanding of the national policy, national pride, and national feelings, patriotism and internationalism, and recognition of all nations and their rights to self-determination.

Unfortunately, certain members of the press work according to the principle of the more scathing, the better. Such a puerile principle causes a great deal of harm since certain people who evaluate the work of the press pay attention only to the extreme examples and do not notice the unquestionable contribution of our journalists to the cause of education of the people and the formation of businesslike and effective public opinion.

We must take reality into account—without that which has been and is being done by journalists we would not have democracy or glasnost today.

It is impossible to pass over the series of articles in the all-Union press after the extraordinary session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet. And in one of the notes in PRAVDA quite unjustified accusations concerning rendering assistance to Armenia were made against Estonia and Tartu, which is the sister city of Leninakan. We went to the CPSU Central Committee regarding these cases. All these critical articles will be considered and some of them have already been considered by the Estonian CP Central Committee.

Understandably, it would be impossible to begin to solve our critical economic, political, ecological, demographic, and cultural problems in the presence of the tension that has arisen in international relations. Such a possibility is now opening up. One should note the dignified, politically responsible behavior of communists at the Tallinn city conference. In the republic Supreme Soviet as well the delegates were basically unanimous in their consideration of Estonia's most important problems. It would seem that in this regard attention should also be given to the suggestion of this year's USSR State Prize winner, David Samoylov, who lives in Pyarnu, concerning convening a forum which would unite the Estonian and local Russian intelligentsia. There is not the slightest doubt that the Russian intelligentsia who support the restructuring have an excellent understanding of Estonia's problems and wish to participate in solving them. The Estonian intelligentsia also understand the Russian intelligentsia and the excellent values of the Russian culture. In all probability this forum will be supported by the intelligentsia of Moscow and Leningrad, which would make it possible not only to find points of departure from both cultures for solving many problems of today's Estonia but also to suggest on the basis of experience here a model for the development of the two regions of the Soviet Union. We must be deeply aware that for the people in daily life human relations are more important than anything else and common sense has always prevailed over emotions. I hope that people at other levels as well, and mainly the intelligentsia, will be able to rise above national limitations. This is a requirement and command of the time.

Changes in the political life of the society, through feedback, also condition changes in the party itself and in the forms of its activity.

The task of consolidation of party forces and the forces of all social groups and movements for the continuation of the restructuring was reflected in the materials of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum. They were approved by the majority of local party organizations and the majority of residents of Estonia.

The Estonian CP Central Committee, on the basis of program goals of the CPSU, should develop a concrete

program of activity by the time of its forthcoming 20th Congress. This task has many facets and many stages. The program should be the development of the provisions of the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum and the platform of our delegation to the 19th Party Conference.

Respected members of the plenum! You have been given the plan for the primary measures of the battle Estonian CP Central Committee developed by the editorial commission of the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum, other members of the Central Committee, and the involved aktiv and workers of the Estonian CP Central Committee for implementing the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum, and also the corresponding decree which can be regarded as one of the concrete decisions on the path to the development of a program of action for the Estonian Communist Party. I ask you to express your opinion regarding this.

Today we must also consider the activity of the Estonian CP Central Committee and its bureau and find the optimal ways of democratizing life within the party. Complaints have been made against us that we are not efficient enough. Frequently there are demands for quick party evaluations of every phenomenon in life and each individual factor. The Estonian CP Central Committee has always set as its goal not only to express opinions quickly, but also to make sure of the content, depth, and political weight of this opinion.

The present day is very dynamic and the political situation changes very rapidly. Those communists who base their behavior and political activity only on instructions from above can hopelessly lose the initiative and fall behind the development of events. The situation is changing rapidly because of the multitude of social movements. The ideological maturity of each individual, their Marxist conviction, their general theoretical preparation, and their political experience and will—these comprise the basis from which a communist must be able to evaluate events, exert an active influence on them, and not be a passive participant. We have plenty of examples in which recent "party evaluations" have turned out to be wrong and instead of good have caused serious harm to party authority.

At the level of modern democracy and the real multitude of opinions it is impossible to hope that all phenomena of life and all expressions can and should immediately be given some high party evaluation or some "decisive rebuff" in the mass media. All party agencies and all communists must adjust to a pluralism of opinions and be in a position to prove the truth and defend their viewpoints with clear logic and convincing arguments, and not with orders and power plays. This is the reality of today and tomorrow, and it is also democracy.

Nonetheless the current political situation frequently requires on-the-spot actions and evaluations and also the

adoption of fundamental decisions. To do this it is necessary to relieve the Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of many routine tasks so that they can handle real policy. The secretariat should become an agency that is operationally in charge of life within the party. The bureau should solve tactical problems and the plenum of the Central Committee should develop the long-term directions for the work of the Estonian Communist Party and check on their implementation. We must also think our work out more thoroughly, plan it precisely over a long period, conduct regular plenums and meetings of the Bureau and Secretariat (one must say that the number of them has been more than sufficient) and prepare well for them so that the corresponding results will be achieved. Self-critically, I must admit that the current irregularity in the work has appeared largely as a result of the activity of the secretaries of the Estonian CP Central Committee.

The work of the Estonian CP Central Committee was complicated by the reduction of the staff and the change of its functions. We are suggesting to the plenum a new structure for the staff. Here I suggest returning to the relations between the Central Committee and the staff when a certain amount of practical experience has been accumulated and we are able to make a competent decision. After all, the staff is changing a great deal now.

When evaluating the current work of the party staff one should take into account the fact that the cadres were formed over a long period of time and fully in keeping with the long prevailing requirements of the administrative-command system. Now we need personnel who are capable of analyzing the situation in terms of its essence, seeing not only the tactical but also the strategic goals, and acting on the basis of the real state of affairs without waiting for instructions from above. We are constantly emphasizing that party work is work with people. But how many party workers were there, for example in February and March, who were capable of persuading intelligently in a party manner whom the people were ready to listen to and believe? There were not very many of them. The selection and placement of personnel as well as their training and retraining should as quickly as possible be placed on a different basis which provides for the professional level needed by politicians. It is also necessary to analyze the national composition of party personnel. A natural requirement should be the knowledge of languages. This is necessary in our work.

The reorganization of the party staff is taking place in a situation of increased political activity of the people, in which the political leadership of social processes should be well thought out and consistent. The current situation can be compared with restructuring on the move. The times of the troop inspections are not given and the changes in the functions of the staff should be accompanied by constant political activity, however this is precisely what we have been unable to provide. The reorganization of the structure of party committees has been drawn out in time and, as before, in many cases there is

a great deal of uncertainty. It can be noted that a considerable share of the party workers are experiencing uncertainty of their position in the future as well, and the work of a number of units has actually been held back. We must continue to be concerned about these issues. This, naturally, pertains to party personnel as well. The times have changed and so have the requirements that are now being placed on the party worker. But everyone who has been in party work for a long time and has worked honestly deserves our gratitude and respect.

In the current, politically difficult time special attention must be given to providing for unity of party personnel, which can be achieved only by the development of democracy within the party. The situation which came to be called the crisis of confidence in 1987-1988 in Estonia revealed the weak places in party organizational work. We see that the growth of party ranks has slowed up appreciably, that in the party there is an increasing proportion of people who are not young but have been around for a long time, that the nucleus of party intelligentsia is weak, and that the disproportions between the population of Estonia and the Estonian Communist Party have become appreciable. For many years we tried to artificially regulate the composition of the party organization and we devoted more attention to percentages than to specific people entering the party. Hence the increasing number of withdrawals from the party because people have lost their connection with it.

The shortcomings that had accumulated over many years began to make themselves known painfully as soon as the political situation changed. Democratization, pluralism of ideas, and the appearance of various independent movements have created a principally new situation in which belonging to the ruling party is no longer the only possibility of actively participating in political life. How prepared were our local party organizations for this? In the new situation were they able to retain their position as the political nucleus of the labor collective or did they turn it over to the support groups of various movements? One cannot give a simple answer here; the situation requires serious analysis both for the local party organizations and for the cities and rayons. On this is clear: if democracy within the party is not expanded, if we do not expand the possibilities for the rank-and-file communist to participate in the discussion and resolution of the most important issues for his labor collective, native city or region, then his personal authority will not increase and the lower party units will not enjoy more prestige either.

Comrades, we must not create a situation wherein communists, finding no opportunity to participate in the politics of their party organization, will begin to look for them in movements outside the party.

For we need something altogether different—for the communists, participating in social undertakings and movements, to follow the party political line there too. Both the workers and the peasants are waiting for

solutions to social problems. They need the opportunity to work and to take advantage of the fruits of their labor. Politics cannot be a goal in itself. The people will follow us when they see the real results, which lead to a higher standard of living.

During the course of the report and election campaign which just ended the party election aktiv was significantly updated. Forty one percent of the secretaries of local organizations were replaced. It is clear that more active communist with greater authority were found for leadership of the local organizations. But there was a considerable reduction of the proportion of laborers and rank-and-file kolkhoz workers in the party bureaus of the local organizations. One can say this: there was a stronger individual selection on the basis of the personal qualities of each communist. But one cannot but mention the need to increase the activity of communist workers and transform them into the real leaders of the labor collectives and make them the political nucleus. The party should not only express the interests of the workers, but directly enlist the working man in its activity in both the city and the country.

One should mention the great interest displayed at the report and election meetings in, as it were, global problems. Everybody was interested in sovereignty, republic cost accounting, the state language, and amendments to the constitution. Now it is necessary to proceed from general political issues to concrete problems pertaining directly to the life of the given collective and is party organization and depending directly on their active work.

We should also pay more attention to shop organizations and party groups since it is here that the people most directly encounter party work and the influence of communists is manifested most directly here. In the interrelations between the party organization and the lower units we should be able to create a permanent mechanism for cooperation and not just a situation of subordination. Will we be willing and able to take advantage of the ideological and business potential of the local party organizations, combine them with active participation in the formation of the party policy and, on the basis of this, increase their responsibility for what is being done?

I think that we are still acting inconsistently here and frequently, unfortunately, we are running around in circles. Unfortunately, we must state that not all local and shop organizations and party groups entirely support the policy of the Estonian CP Central Committee for renewal. There are, of course, deep reasons for this which in certain labor collectives are linked to the inadequate or unskilled explanatory work among communists. But there are also other problems which can be reduced to the fulfillment of the requirements of party discipline. Unfortunately, a number of party organizations of large labor collectives have remained outside the constant attention of departments of the Estonian CP Central Committee and also the party gorkoms and raykoms.

Now we have unexpectedly discovered in a number of party organizations that they have essentially not supported with political work the direction that was approved by the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum and sometimes have even opposed it. The efforts of the Russian language press of the republic for explaining the course of the 11 Plenum were not backed up by the corresponding explanatory work in a number of labor collectives. Hence the negative attitude of a number of labor collectives with respect to many of Estonia's problems. We have been able to explain convincingly and clearly the information about Estonia's past and present, its indigenous population and the new and different direction of the course of the Estonian Communist Party for all categories of the Russian-speaking population. Many stereotypes that are deeply ingrained in the everyday consciousness were not destroyed and in places the mistrust ensuing from inadequate information or malicious intentions even increased.

In the party groups or shop organizations we were unable to find correct approaches so as to dispel the deepening prejudices. As before, we waited passively for help from above, mainly from the Estonian CP Central Committee which would send propagandists for explanatory work. Very little work was done at the lower levels for publicizing and explaining in simple terms the provisions of the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum.

But it would be incorrect to stop with reproaching others. We members of the Central Committee and workers of the Central Committee staff have had ebbs and flows in our activity as well as rush work. Let us look at our own work over the past half year. Let us recall the increase political activity on the eve of the 19th Party Conference and for a certain amount of time after it. Then came a decline of overall activity and after that serious preparation for the September Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum. After this there was again more active work on the part of party organizations which was replaced with a certain complacency with what had been done. Cyclicity and rush work comprise one of the most significant shortcomings in the work of party committees that has been inherited from the past. We do not have enough experience or skill in constant, purposeful, systematic political activity.

The results cause one to think. Things have reached a point where, for example, at one of the last functions of Interdvizheniya they expressed a rejection of the entire course of the Estonian CP Central Committee. On the other hand, at certain meetings of movements which joined together mainly Estonians, there were voices that condemned the course of the CPSU toward restructuring and categorically rejected the entire Soviet period in the history of Estonia. Communists who actively participate in such measures are thus developing already overt nonparty activity, which contradicts the Party charter. It is time to understand that unwavering observance of the Party charter and the Party Program is required of every communist. Even if this must be paid for with a loss of "popularity" in social movements.

Now in a number of places party meetings have become discussion groups where critical discussion is rarely followed by decisions that are mandatory and direct all communists. In general it turns out that in some places we have forgotten such a concept as solidarity and militancy of party ranks and we have too little ability and desire to mobilize party members for concrete works in the name of common goals. Party discipline and demandingness are always modern concepts for us. Let us say clearly and distinctly that we must sharply denounce nonparty actions of communists, their errors, political mistakes and participation in extremist movements, and their mistakes must be pointed out. If a party member is not drawing the proper conclusions, one must raise the question of keeping him in the party. The restoration of demandingness must begin with the aktiv and gradually proceed downward, and changes in the customary approaches and opinions should also begin from there. We can fully restore the authority of the Estonian Communist Party only by winning the confidence of the people. We understand that we are expected to find solutions to vitally important problems. We ourselves have set them. But their solutions require more effective actions. One of the prerequisites for this is the unity of our ranks as a political party so that people will be aware of the unity of our political will, of our thought and deed.

The activity of elective party agencies also provides food for thought. What actually has brought about the fact that, in spite of criticism, the majority of members of party committees are still satisfied with everything that the regular party staff has prepared for them for discussion and essentially everything that has been decided for them? Is the reason for this not that during the course of all preceding report and election campaigns we were mainly concerned about the statistical proportions and the lists of representatives in the party gorkoms and raykoms and we were not concerned about the actual ability of these agencies to act and struggle. Before the restructuring few people were bothered by this practice, but as we moved along the path of transformations it began to deal counter blows. On the one hand there was the passivity of the elective agencies and their inability to act under the new conditions, and on the other, a certain group psychology began to appear.

One must understand that in party work we have begun a new period in which the elective party aktiv itself must actually solve problems and above all it must itself bear responsibility for them. This presupposes a change in the role of the party apparatus in the direction of intra-organizational processes.

New approaches to conducting the report and election campaign were manifested even with the change of the first secretaries of the Rakvereskiy, Yygevaskiy, and a number of other raykoms. They studied public opinion concerning possible candidates for party leaders and the press was also included in the election campaign. With the help of the Estonian CP Central Committee, everything that was new was carried over to other rayon and city organizations.

The public and the press participated at a qualitatively new level in the preparations for the conference of city and rayon party organizations. The drafts of the reports of many party committees were published in the press, as were the reports of candidates for city and rayon party committees and the pre-election platforms of candidates for positions secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms. In many places the conferences were broadcast on local radio. In Narva and Sillamyaie it was possible to give feedback. In essence a significant proportion of the population participated in the preparations for the reports and elections. This is something new that should obviously be reinforced in the activity of the Estonian Communist Party.

As a result of the changes essentially new aspects were also manifested in the organization of party work for forming the gorkoms and raykoms. In the cities and rayons the corresponding commissions were created for the selection of candidates for membership in the bureaus and secretaries. This work should be generalized and very carefully analyzed.

The report and election conferences revealed a number of problems that need to be solved. Thus this time the Central Committee did not specifically express its attitude regarding the leaders of the raykoms and gorkoms. Although through custom this is expected of us. We should have started the work with conference delegates earlier. There were shortcomings in the work of the rayon and city organizations themselves in preparing for the conferences.

We did not manage to avoid randomness, the work of the conferences of a number of rayon and city organizations was pervaded by emotionality, and decisions were made on the basis of immediate persuasions and not taking the future into account. In some places there was international tension. True, it must be recognized that there were also other processes. A large step forward along the path of actual consolidation was taken at the conference of the Tallinn city party organization. Now it is necessary to earmark its actual continuation even at the level of local party organizations.

The democratization of life within the party and the existence of real pluralism are also reflected in the unusual results of the report and election conferences. Of the first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms seven were new people, of the second secretaries—12 changed, and of the regular secretaries—11 were new. In other words one-third of the secretary positions were filled by different people. In many rayons (Raplaskiy, Vildyanskiy, Paydeskiy) the link with communists was partly lost and the report and election campaigns should have restored this connection. At the same time let us not that the candidates for many party leader posts did not have experience in party work. During the course of the natural democratic selection preference was given to leaders with experience in political work. Only two of the newly elected first secretaries had no basic experience in party work, and among the candidates

for secretary positions preference was also given to communists who know party work. From what has been said above it follows that there is an insistent need to train new personnel. The corresponding plans have been drawn up and the classes have already begun. But today we need to think more seriously about exchanging the experience in party work, and not only within republic party organizations but also by studying the experience of our neighbors.

In the rayon and city organizations we can no longer do work based on local practice alone. In updating the local party organization and forming ties with the people the comprise a decisive part of the Estonian Communist Party. Here one resolves to a considerable degree the problem of the authority of the Estonian Communist Party in the elections of people's deputies for the congress and for the republic's new Supreme Soviet.

The elected committees differ very sharply. There are committees with more than 100 people, which complicated practical work considerably and shows that there has been too much improvisation (Kharyusiy Rayon—140 members, Raplaskiy—100 members). A raykom should be a working agency and not a representative meeting. For comparison I should say that 135 members have been elected to the Estonian CP Central Committee.

The proportion of kolkhoz and sovkhos workers has decreased in the city and rayon committees as well as in the bureaus of the local organizations. There are none to be found in every second raykom bureau either. The representation of business leaders has increased sharply. Naturally, this is not a matter of percentages or formal proportions. It is important for party committees to be able to reflect in their activity the interest of both the workers and the directors, both the tractor drivers and the farm leaders.

An initial analysis of the recently completed report and election conference shows that there was a good deal of improvisation in the elections for many elective agencies, and few people were thinking about the fact that simply by attracting the most active party of all social forces we shall be able to express their will correctly. This should be understood first and foremost by certain leaders of rayon and city committees.

Based on the results of the report and election conferences, we must quickly analyze the processes in the rayon and city organizations. It is necessary to find optimal possibilities of decisively increasing the authority of all party units, having mobilized all democratic forces in support of the actual leaders of the restructuring.

It should be recognized that the recently completed report and election campaign can still not be called a review of all forces and a restructuring and consolidation of all restructured forces.

At the center of the party's ideological and organization work should be man, the labor collective, and the party organization. How frequently we forget this simple truth in our fruitless concerns, and we pay a high price for this.

Communists holding leading positions should today, first and foremost, experience the real sphere of political activity and evaluate the possibilities and concrete steps not only against the background of immediate interests and attitudes, but also against the background of the larger policy. We have many weak places here.

This is manifested especially in the interrelations between the Estonian Communist Party and various social movements which have become a reality in today's sociopolitical situation.

By now a new picture of political life is beginning to emerge. The movements and groupings have adopted their program documents, they are organizationally established, and they have their own proponents and leaders. Communists are at the heads of many movements. At the conference of the Tallinn city organization they gave an analysis of the essence of a number of movements. A detailed analysis should be conducted by other city and rayon organizations on the basis of their conditions.

One of the most important characteristics of the new movements is that they were created from below, as a result of civic initiative. They join together large groups of people, nominate the most active ones, and, moreover, they have a group of followers, sometimes a very large one. The party must not ignore a single one of these movements. It is necessary to be attentive to suggestions and ideas of every one of these movements concerning questions of our social life, during the course of solving problems we should develop constructive cooperation, and with various approaches it is necessary to develop dialog, to argue according to principle, and to substantiate the party's position in a logical way.

During the past year many new organizations have made a number of declarations and been active in connection with questions which at first glance seem extremely removed from their main goals. How are we to regard this? There is no doubt the nobody can prevent anyone from expressing his opinion on one crucial problem or another or from criticizing one official or another. But activists of all new movements must recall that we have certain procedures and organizations for solving problems. Otherwise social order will disappear. The leaders of many new movements love to speak on behalf of the people. I personally think that they should be more modest in this since in the past a good deal of harm has been done through manipulation on behalf of the people. Certain movements have the idea that their decisions and opinions are automatically mandatory for the corresponding party and Soviet agencies. Hence the ultimatums and the unrestrained and authoritarian tone in their statements and documents. None of this shows

democratic spirit, political maturity, or tolerance. The issues are still resolved by the same agencies for control of public life within whose competence the corresponding sphere falls. The basis for constructive cooperation between the Estonian Communist Party and the new movements and organizations can only be respect for the basic values of socialism and the laws and principles of the activity of the political system.

The second principle from which we must proceed is the leading role of the party in our society. This is established in the Basic Law. General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. S. Gorbachev has repeatedly emphasized that the party is not abandoning its leading role in the society. Communists play an important role in the new movements as well. Today we are quite seriously reminding all communists that when they entered the party they voluntarily made a political choice and made a commitment to follow the Party Regulations and adhere to party discipline. Communists are the link that binds the Estonian Communist Party and the new movements, and they should conduct party policy in this movements and not vice versa. The Party requires of all communists who participate in the new movements that their behavior be measured, partylike, and constructive. Only this approach will contribute to the renewal and consolidation of our society.

The new movements have revealed a multitude of new leaders and activists. At the same time one of the bottlenecks in our society is the fact that up to this point it has not been able to find the correct work from many capable people. The new movements have brought fresh blood and a breath of fresh air into the political life and management of the society. But we must not close our eyes to the other side of this phenomenon either. A broad field of activity has also opened up for people who do not infuse new blood or bring a breath of fresh air but are guided by personal ambitions, who are moved not by a desire to improve the society but by a thirst for power or a desire at any price to achieve cheap popularity and to aggrandize themselves in whatever movement or cause there may be. Through their activity these people have already caused harm to the society and undermined many reasonable decisions. The party and communists must resolutely put a stop to any political adventurism.

The activity of extremist groupings forms a special range of issues. We must admit that they exist. Communists and party workers must actively fight against views that are unacceptable to us and reasonably and flexibly explain party positions to people. It is necessary to argue pointedly, critically, and logically against extremists and demand the observance of laws and that they respect the social order and their fellow citizens. And we ourselves must conduct much more significant measures concerning subjects that are crucial to the people. Naturally, this kind of organization of party work places completely new requirements primarily on party workers and the entire party aktiv, and we must take these into account when selecting personnel at all levels.

We are disturbed by the painful and largely contradictory processes that are now developing in the republic Komsomol organization and among youth in general. In principle, of course, it is natural that youth independently seek their own paths, and that is the way it should be. We welcome the search for new forms of work and the creation of a large number of youth associations and special interest groups. But we are bothered by something altogether different: the decline of the authority of the Komsomol, the danger of a schism, and the destructive activity and inclination to extremes among some of the youth.

Of course this is largely brought about by the fact that our party committees are not taking the new realities into account. For a long time many party workers were to literal in their interpretation of the correct words of party leadership by the Komsomol, understanding this to mean the right to command. It is necessary to restore the Leninist principle of interrelations between the Party and the Komsomol, so that the Komsomol has solidarity with the Party and determines its own forms and methods of work for common goals. It is axiomatic that the party ranks are filled mainly by the youth who went through the school of political activity in the Komsomol. Hence the conclusion that all party organizations must give daily attention and support to the Komsomol, and not just in words but also in deeds.

What is taking place among the youth actually reflects a process that is developing in the society as a whole.

We should constantly consult with youth at all levels, speak before them more frequently, and carry on discussions with them while avoiding reproaches and a condescending tone. Youth want intelligent and frank dialog, but are we always ready for this?

We would be glad to see the Komsomol unified and responsible, capable of expressing and defending the rights and interests of the majority of youth.

The Komsomol should more boldly express to the party and Soviets their suggestions on issues we are discussing at our congresses and plenums, it should discuss with the party the tasks facing the society, and it should influence their resolution. Such friendly relations only increase the authority of both the party and the Komsomol. It is also necessary to take advantage of the right to legislative initiative that has been granted to the Komsomol.

Changes are taking place in work with children. It is understandable that the pioneer organization with its cliches, its excessive organization, and its showiness no longer satisfies children or adults either. If the form and content have exhausted themselves there is no point in clinging to them. Therefore we support the Komsomol leaders in their search for new forms of work with children of pioneer age. This is how the Estonian children's organization ELO originated. Here the children themselves set the tone. This organization is now in the formation stage, when it is necessary to determine its principles precisely. It

is the lack of clarity of the initial positions that caused certain schools not to recognize the ELO. We must delve more deeply into problems of children's organization, help the Komsomol to solve them, and unite children of all nationalities with activity that is interesting to them.

The creation of the Estonian children's organization is not some offshoot of the All-Union Pioneer Organization, but the introduction of many new aspects, comprehensive development of the organization, a closer approach to children, and the retention of traditions and customs that have been justified.

A couple of words about the work of our trade unions. A critical evaluation of the activity of our trade unions was given at the September Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum. They were quite justifiably reproached for the fact that they had turned away from working people and their vital interests. This departure took place over decades. We value the new trends that are setting the tone in the daily undertakings of the republic trade union council, but it is too early to call them a decisive breakthrough. So far no special changes have been noted in the work of republic trade union committees. This issue must be discussed seriously. One thing is clear: if in their activity the Estonian trade union are unable to turn back toward the workers, if the office policy and departmental prejudices continue, our trade union movement will end up on the threshold of a very serious crisis.

Party assistance to the trade unions has also been inadequate. Let us think about this and search for a solution together.

Comrades!

All of us will have to do serious work in a fundamentally new situation. The radical reform of the political system of the society in our country is taking place in a situation of rapidly growing social activity. It is necessary to take into account even greater changes in the composition of our personnel at all levels, having greatly strengthened the aktiv at the lower levels and updated the Central Committee apparatus. The different situation and above all the need for an energetic and effective policy require of us joint interpretation of all factors. And to do this we must first of all learn, learn to see the situation and the social development in the spirit of restructuring. There is a widely known truth that the party exists for the people and must acquire real content by solving problems that are vital to the people. This the only way we shall be able to strengthen the newly created faith in the party.

We must fill our work with new and concrete content and determine its goals at all levels—from the party groups to the Central Committee. The dynamic and deeply meaningful activity of the Estonian Communist Party must take into account the interests of all social and national groups of the republic. Working people in the cities and villages, the intelligentsia, youth, women, the cities and rayons—all these forces see in the Estonian Communist Party an

expression of their interests only if our actual steps confirm this. Words alone are not enough.

This means that we must act in conjunction with various social movements and deal with those who actually are our allies in the development of restructuring. Under the conditions of democracy this means that we must be able to make the necessary compromises. The Estonian Communist Party has demonstrated its tolerance and readiness to cooperate with all forces that support the restructuring. Only through joint concrete actions, enlisting the people, shall we be able to achieve broad support for the Party course toward restructuring and make it irreversible. Even in the near future we shall have to pass some serious tests with honor. We have before us the elections to the USSR congress of people's deputies and elections to the republic official agencies. Within a half year there will be the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the national issue. It is our duty to prepare seriously for these and develop our positions with the participation of the broad public. For the reform of the political system that is now taking place and the forthcoming Plenum on the national issue present a long-awaited opportunity for real renewal of socialism and the presentation of our views on these issues.

Under the conditions of Estonia our main goal is to consolidate all forces on the basis of the principles of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum, and to reveal and eliminate the factors leading to tension in international relations. The problems that have accumulated over a long period in Estonia can and should be solved by all of us together.

These days we have again seen the potential of the humanism and nobility that resides in the residents of Estonia who together with residents of all other republics hastened to the assistance of the Armenian people. I should like very much to believe that this truly international approach and joint activity will unite all residents of Estonia around the republic party organization as well. We can go further only together. No other path has been given to us!

**Armenian 1st Secretary Arutyunyan Addresses War, Labor Veterans Meeting**  
*18300156a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian*  
5 Nov 88 p 1

[Armenpress report: "Meeting at the Armenian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] How to employ the forces of the war and labor veterans and their sociopolitical activeness for carrying out the complex and difficult tasks confronting the republic. These questions were touched upon at a veterans meeting held at the Armenian CP Central Committee on 3 November. The meeting developed into a business-like and concerned discussion of the numerous problems which presently concerned each worker, each man in the republic. Permeated with concern for a

fundamental solution to these problems were the speeches by the Chairman of the Republic War and Labor Veterans Council, Maj Gen (Res) A. Kazaryan, the Chairman of the Armenian Section of the Soviet War Veterans Committee, P. Boshnagyan, Academician of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, G. Garibdzhanyan, Maj Gen (Res) A. Urumyan, the Director of the State Museum "Soviet Armenia in the Great Patriotic War," Hero of the Soviet Union A. Amatuni, Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Muradyan, the war veteran Ye. Karapetyan, the director of the Publishing House of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Prof Kh. Barsegyan, the Deputy Chairman of the Armenian State Committee for Labor and Social Questions V. Shakhbazyan, the Chairman of the Yerevan City War and Labor Veterans Council, Maj Gen (Res) Zh. Isaakyan and the Chairman of the Yerevan Gorispolkom E. Avakyan.

In speaking about the crisis situation which developed in the republic as a result of the policy of permissiveness carried out in the period of stagnation, the speakers, proceeding from the demands of restructuring and the normalization of life, made specific proposals, emphasizing the importance of the effective and direct use of the possibilities of the war and labor veterans in this nationwide struggle. The veterans, they said, should completely devote their great experience in life, their professional and organizational capabilities to the cause of normalizing life and indoctrinating the youth in labor and military traditions. They should intensify the struggle against such discredited phenomena which have put down roots in the republic as the theft of socialist property, bribery, protectionism, a disrespectful attitude toward the law and so forth. The 250,000-strong army of veterans is making a substantial contribution in all areas of republic life. However, the more efficient use of this large force requires that there be a complete change in attitude both toward the working and living conditions of the veterans and their activities in social organizations. It cannot be considered a normal approach where without considering the labor abilities or the inner capabilities of a man, without any analysis basically the veterans suffer the cutbacks. Proper concern is not being shown for the families of soldiers killed in the war or the veterans who performed their international duty in Afghanistan. The questions were also raised of creating an all-encompassing history of the involvement of the people in the Great Patriotic War, organizing a veterans club in Yerevan, broadening benefits to veterans and so forth. There was a serious discussion of a solution to the problem of Nagornyy Karabakh, ensuring a correct coverage by the mass information media of the events related to this problem and focusing the growing public activeness of the republic workers on resolving the arising tasks.

Speaking at the meeting was the 1st Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, S. Arutyunyan. He

pointed out that the party sees reliable assistants in the war and labor veterans. The Armenian CP Central Committee fully understands the great responsibility resting on it on the questions of overcoming the flagrant shortcomings from the period of stagnation, the uniting of the people's forces for restructuring and the renewal of life. On this difficult question the Central Committee must rely completely on the veterans who have gone through remarkable schooling in life and who have great experience. The people are now well aware of where lies the truth and where the falsehood and it is essential to speak to them only honestly, clearly and justly with party principledness. The Karabakh movement in and of itself must not be explained merely by the problem of Nagornyy Karabakh said Comrade Arutyunyan. Here deeper processes are occurring, this movement has been brought to life also by the social dissatisfaction in the broad public and this dissatisfaction as was pointed out at the September (1988) Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee, appears in all spheres. The Central Committee and the republic government cannot do anything to rectify the situation without the support of the communists and the most diverse strata of society. By our activities we should justify the expectations and hopes of the working people and not in words but in actual deeds carry out a decisive turn to their social needs. It is also a question of providing housing, satisfying communal needs, the service sphere, the supply of food products as well as ecological questions. A solution to these problems is our party and human duty.

The veterans should in every possible way assist the course set by the party Central Committee of improvement, that is, that decisive struggle which must be waged along the entire front against any phenomena which distort the true human face of socialism and the appearance of our republic, increase the responsibility of people and legality, and arouse their conscience and feeling of duty. This work must be carried out with an awareness that among us there are forces which do not like the process of restructuring and which in every possible way are endeavoring to exacerbate the situation in the republic and keep people in tension.

In speaking about such a problem as the recruitment and promotion of personnel, S. Arutyunyan emphasized the need to consider public opinion on this matter and seek the advice of veterans.

In answering questions from the veterans, he said that the Armenian leadership is making every effort to improve and stabilize the situation in the republic and that in its activity it proceeded completely from the interests of the republic workers. The task is for the war and labor veterans to unite their ranks, to participate actively in resolving the arising difficult problems and in every possible way help to increase the labor and political activeness of the workers as this is the guarantee for carrying out the tasks raised by the 19th All-Union Party Conference and for shifting the republic to the solid track of restructuring.

In conclusion, Comrade S. Arutyunyan warmly congratulated the veterans on their forthcoming holiday, the 71st anniversary of Great October and wish them good health and great labor energy.

Participating in the meeting were F. Sarkisyan, M. Arutyunyan, G. Galoyan, Yu. Kochetkov, M. Minasbekyan, G. Akopyan and R. Akopyan.

#### **1st Secretary Arutyunyan on Energy, Other Issues at Armenian AES Party Conference**

*18300156b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
23 Oct 88 pp 1, 3*

[Armenpress report: "At the Turning Point"]

[Text] We live in dynamic times. They abruptly change our notions of priorities as well as the economic and social advisability of various approaches. A clear example of this is our attitude toward the Armenian AES. Even recently we loudly proclaimed it a symbol of the republic's scientific and technical progress. And now we speak with no less excitement about the closing of the nuclear plant. There is no contradiction to this. The party's course of restructuring, democratization and glasnost have made us look more widely and more deeply at tasks and questions. We are actively turning to a farsighted technical policy which is permeated with high morality and true concern for man.

This important attitude resounded at the report-election party conference held at the Armenian AES. The report given by the party committee secretary V. Saakyan and the entire course of the debates showed that the communists feel themselves to be the real masters of their party organization, they delve exactly into all its affairs and openly and concertedly present their cherished ideas and constructive proposals to the forum.

Emphasized at the conference with particular force was that the collective of power workers shares the attitudes and aspirations of their people and shows understanding for the difficult but urgent decision to take the units of the Armenian AES out of operation. But for now while the plant is running, the main task of each communist, each leader and specialist is to achieve the greatest organization and ensure the strictest discipline and order in each shop and in each brigade. A whole number of scientific and technical measures has already been taken and these should greatly increase plant safety. They have put into operation systems for three additional reactor safeties, they have completely redesigned the industrial water supply system and have carried out difficult work to raise the seismic resistance of the equipment and facilities. For the first time in Soviet practices they have installed an automatic system warning of the appearance of a leak in the primary circuit piping and which was developed by republic scientists and specialists. They have installed an acoustic-emission monitor for the pipelines of the steam generators of both units, they have increased the monitoring of the primary circuit metal

and have fired the metal on the housing of the first power unit reactor and this has made it possible to lower the stresses in the housing which have arisen after more than 10 years of operation.

These measures are prompt and important, emphasized the director of the AES M. Vartanyan, the foreman of the centralized repair shop G. Markaryan and others. But the higher reliability of the equipment must be dependably backed up by the increased responsibility of people. An extra recertification of personnel was carried out. They organized a thorough study of the by-laws by the AES workers. In the near future the next step will be taken, that is, the switch of the collective to full cost accounting. However, serious party attention to this is still not felt. The party committee has limited itself to announcing a competition for the best proposal to organize intraplant economic accountability. Only one specialist participated in the competition and this was the chief of one of the laboratories Kh. Kazaryan. And this happened when the plant employs over 400 highly skilled engineers and a large detachment of economists and production leaders. Why is the party committee not concerned by their passivity? Why have conclusions not been drawn on how to proceed farther in order to focus the people on an innovative approach? The primary and shop party organizations have completely removed themselves from explaining the new principles for the organization of labor and wages. Here they have not realized that economic accountability will only become an effective factor in increasing responsibility if this permeates all aspects of the life of each shop and each brigade. The party committee very calmly has overlooked this very disconcerting symptom.

At present there must be great frankness and glasnost in all the party work and it must more quickly be brought out of the offices into the shops, to the work areas, said the foreman of the electric shop T. Matsakyan and the electrician and secretary of the shop party organization Zh. Agaronyan. In continuing their ideas, the chairman of the council of the AES labor collective and chief of the thermal automation and metering shop L. Chaloyan, the senior operator in the reactor division S. Arsenyan and other voiced the opinion that all the questions at the plant be settled with the active involvement of the collective, in a situation of the extensive exchange of opinions and the comparing of various viewpoints. The conference raised the questions related to the employment of the experienced and highly skilled power collective in the future, after the closing of the AES.

Vital work with the personnel has still not become a standard of party work, it was pointed out at the conference. Decisions are taken, measures are set, but the communists are not informed as to who is responsible for their fulfillment, who is holding up one or another question or who is to be held responsible for the failure. As a result, many critical comments move from minutes to minutes but there are no real changes apparent. The very striking fact was also pointed out: the decisions of

the September Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee which are of major importance for the republic party organization, in working out a constructive program for overcoming the crisis situation in the republic were not discussed in the AES primary and shop party organizations.

We must give up the previous stereotypes in the assessment in party as "satisfactory or unsatisfactory," stated the Deputy Party Committee Secretary A. Meliksetyan. Party work must be seen in its dynamics and a clear distinction drawn when it is being carried out unsuccessfully and when energetically and with initiative. This opinion was supported by the chief of the inspectorate of Gosatomenergondzor [State Atomic Power Supervision] at the Armenian AES V. Arzumanyan, the manager of the political office M. Arustamyan and other speakers.

A nuclear plant is a special enterprise. It is constantly at the center of attention of the Union ministry and the republic leadership. All the conditions for dependable, stable operation are created for it. At the conference it was pointed out that the party committee and the primary and shop party organizations must make fuller use of these opportunities in order to unite the collective and mobilize each worker and specialist for showing a responsible approach to their duties. Such great opportunities also exist to provide a good organization for the life of the people and for maximally satisfying their cultural and spiritual needs. However, as yet real party work in this area has not been noticed. Many social questions have become so neglected that they have developed into acute problems.

Twice decisions were taken to repair the dining rooms and twice the dates were put off. In the settlement of Metsamor there is no consumer service center or Pioneer palace and one of the schools is located in unequipped facilities. A difficult situation has arisen here in supplying the homes with hot and cold water.

These questions must not be pushed into the background, said the deputy director M. Shaginyan, the deputy chief of the TPK [abbreviation unknown] shop for treatment works S. Karapetyan and others. The social protection of people is today the most effective factor and it should become a priority one in the activities of the plant's party organization.

At the conference serious criticism was leveled against the workers of the construction and design organizations. The undefined status and organizational hitches led to a situation where the collective of the AES SU [Nuclear Plant Construction Administration] fulfilled the 9-month plan by only 59 percent, thwarting the completion of a number of projects in Metsamor and Buzhakan which are impatiently awaited by the power workers. The Armgosproyekt [Armenian State Design] Institute has also let the power workers down as for 2 years now the AES leadership has been requesting the

plans for a new school in Metsamor but up to now has not received these. Time has been missed. It will be difficult to catch up.

The conference participants expressed the unanimous opinion of the nuclear plant collective that the method of strikes and illegal actions does not help to solve the difficult internationality problems. They supported the firm course taken by the republic party organization of overcoming the phenomena of stagnation in the economy and social sphere, improving the ideological and moral situation in the republic and the efforts of the republic leadership aimed at a consistent political solution to the problem of Nagornyy Karabakh.

Speaking at the election-party conference at the Armenian AES was the 1st Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee S.G. Arutyunyan. In particular, he said:

The current discussion at the report-election conference of the Armenian AES has been marked by an exacting, business-like approach, by frankness and directness. With great satisfaction I heard the comments by the communists. Diverse opinions were voiced and at times these did not coincide. But behind each of them one can see a stance, serious analysis, justified dissatisfaction with what has been achieved and concern over how things are going at the AES and in the republic as a whole.

This is not the first time that we have seen how the party organization of the nuclear plant which brings together in its ranks almost 500 party members and candidate members, workers and specialists of many nationalities, responsibly pass an exam for political and professional maturity.

After the accident known to all of us at the Chernobyl AES, the communists immediately mobilized the collective for a thorough analysis of the plant's technical condition. In a short period of time, a large range of organizational and technical measures were worked out and implemented and these greatly increased the reliable operation of all the plant's units and equipment.

High praise for the effectiveness and timeliness of these measures was provided by the Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers B.Ye. Shcherbina, who recently visited the Armenian AES.

At present, I would like to mention those who comprise the vanguard backbone of the Armenian collective, who excel in an innovative, creative character and a feeling of heightened responsibility for their difficult job. These are the mechanics in the thermal automation shop Vazgen Artutyunyan and Zhyulveri Seyranyan, the senior foreman of the electric shop Edvard Nazaryan, the foreman of the electric laboratory Viktor Vartanyan, the senior duty electrician Grach Saakyan, the shift chief of the turbine shop Arutyun Akopyan and the senior mechanic Vladimir Balchyunas, the senior foremen for reactor equipment Vruyr Galstyan and Vanik Topchyan,

the senior reactor control engineer Yakov Fayvush, the senior operator Pargen Arsenyan, the shift chief Armen Markosyan, the shop chiefs Leontiy Chaloyan and Karapet Karapetyan and many others.

We know what an enormous role has been played by the AES workers and specialists in the development of power engineering and the entire economic potential of the republic. The Armenian Nuclear Plant generates 30 percent of all the electric power consumed in our republic. With its opening up it has been possible to stabilize the energy base of industry, create new opportunities for accelerating scientific and technical progress and increase the reliability of power supply to the population points. A noticeable, significant contribution has been made to our advancement and we should presently praise it properly.

But let us not overlook all the truth of life. Our people, the broad republic community and, I feel, you, comrades, are concerned by the fact that the Armenian AES is located on the fertile lands of the Ararat Valley in the immediate proximity of Yerevan, in an area with increased seismic action and a high population density. We share this concern as we said openly at the September (1988) Central Committee Plenum.

As you know, the republic leadership this year raised the question of taking the power units of the Armenian AES out of operation. The question was reviewed by the USSR Council of Ministers and thoroughly worked through with the involvement of prominent scientists and power engineering specialists. They were here recently as part of the representative Union commission and many of you met with them. Our proposal was supported. The Armenian AES will be closed down!

As specialists, you realize that we have chosen the best but in no way the easiest path. In order to prevent a sharp drop in the output of electric power in the republic, emergency measures must be taken: the Razdan GRES must be expanded in the maximum shortest time, putting into operation here four additional power units of 300 megawatts each. The collectives of Armgidroenergostroy [Armenian Hydropower Construction Administration] and other organizations are already focused on practical work. But their efforts are not sufficient. The expansion of the Razdan GRES should become a national undertaking. The sooner we put the new power units in operation the sooner we can close down the nuclear plant and thereby eliminate a potential center of danger at the very heart of our republic.

A task of enormous importance also confronts your collective: as long as the station is operating to be super-careful, do not let down for an instant and ensure the completely reliable operation of the AES. The AES collective is skilled and organized, with rich experience and traditions. We are proud of your collective.

On my behalf I want to assure you that the republic leadership will take every measure so that your collective after the closure of the AES can find employment for its knowledge and abilities.

We today plan to approach the development of power in the republic from broad conceptual positions. We will follow the path of technical reequipping and the building of new TETs, and the employment of gas turbine units at the GRES which exclude the firing with mazut. But at the same time, we will more efficiently use the nontraditional (replenishable) energy sources.

Just look what is happening. In our southern republic, where there is abundant sun, there is not a single autonomous facility (sanatorium, athletic facilities or agricultural farm) which has its own solar-powered sources. I feel that in the shortest time we must solve a complex range of scientific and technical problems related to the development of solar-power concentrators and convertors which possess sufficiently high power and efficiency and are convenient in mass use. Both the scientific potential and corresponding production capacity exists here for this.

Of exceptionally important significance is the construction of the pumped storage power plants (GAES) in the republic. Such a plant with a 1,000-megawatt capacity would make it possible at the expense of the nighttime surplus capacity to cover the morning and evening peak loads in our power system, without burning mazut and hence not pollute the environment. I could give a more concrete figure: with the presence of GAES, we could conditionally rid ourselves of wastes over our territory equivalent to 30,000 tons a year of sulfur and nitrogen compounds. Is this not a gain for our republic where the ecological situation remains very tense?

I will not speak about our other plans and opportunities. Let me emphasize the main thing and that is there is much hard work to be done. And if we do not handle this, then we could enter the next five-year plan with an annual minus of electric power production of some 2 billion kilowatt hours. You see how serious the question is.

I would particularly like to say something about the settlement of Metsamor. All the municipal and domestic conveniences will be created for the power workers. The recreational zone for children is to be enlarged and the spiritual life of the youth will gain an active content. It is our general duty to turn Metsamor into a model settlement.

We intend to decisively increase the ecological purity not only of power production but also industry and transport.

We already have some experience here as this year we finally closed down the Kauchuk-1 [Rubber-1] production at the Nairit NPO [Scientific-Production Association]. As a result, we have been able to sharply reduce the

release of chloroprene with the completion of construction of the incinerators in 1989, the chloroprene releases will be brought down to amounts significantly below the tolerable standards.

Effective intervention has been needed in Aboyan, where a biochemicals plant was under construction. A commission established by the republic Council of Ministers concluded that the decision to build was taken in violation of the existing sanitation requirements: they have not observed the requirements of establishing the required sanitary-protective zone, there was no permission for special water utilization and the capacity was in the immediate proximity of the republic antituberculosis dispensary. In considering all of this, the commission concluded that it was unacceptable to continue construction on the experimental industrial plant for biochemicals, it halted it and turned to the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry with a proposal to review the given question.

High civic awareness and responsibility at present should become the basis to the approach for any ecological problem. A simple example. If we accelerate the completion of the new cement plant in Araratskiy Rayon and respecialize the cement plant in Razdan, this will provide an opportunity to eliminate 9,500 tons of harmful discharges into the atmosphere, reduce by 9.5 million m<sup>3</sup> water consumption from Sevan and 4,200 m<sup>3</sup> of annual discharge of polluted industrial wastes into the Marmarik River. In this manner, we will preserve for all of us one of the republic's finest resorts at Tsakhkadzor and the unique natural environment in Razdanskiy Rayon.

What prevents this? Our slowness. This involves the completion of treatment facilities in Kirovakan, Echmiadzin, Dilizhan, Masis and Aparan, there have been ineffective measures against the polluting of the atmospheric air in Yerevan by the exhausts of motor transport, and a number of other ecological measures have failed.

We must think seriously not only about the ecology of the environment, but also about the ecology of human morality. Certainly it is no secret that irresponsibility has penetrated into the awareness of a portion of our people, there has been the devaluing of socialist values and this has led to the moral degradation of individual workers and to outright violations of the principles of social justice. Stagnation has infected our economy and the spiritual sphere.

The republic was in a state of crisis. The plans for industrial production and construction were chronically not fulfilled. Strikes and mass absenteeism injected serious destabilization into our economy. We lost our reputation as a dependable national economic partner, we fell seriously behind in carrying out a radical economic reform, all the elements of the new economic mechanism were not put fully into operation and economic accountability and leasing were not widely employed.

The situation has been exacerbated by the fact that forces pursuing aims incompatible with our nationality interests have joined the movement growing up around the problem of Nagornyy Karabakh. Individual groups of persons have advanced politically harmful slogans and in every possible way have attempted to defame the party, soviet and economic cadres and drive a wedge between the republic workers and leadership. Here certain individuals at meetings openly lie and circulate knowingly false ideas.

Such actions play into the hands of the antirestructuring forces who do not want real changes in the republic. In this light we must view the political provocation initiated recently by the former head of the Section for Party Organization Work Under the Central Committee, Kh. Mandalyan. This was an outright attempt by the antirestructuring forces to undermine and disrupt the unity between the republic leadership and the people, to keep passions high and prevent the normalizing of life in the republic.

As you know, at the September (1988) Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee a well-conceived, constructive program was worked out on the basis of which, we are certain, the republic can be led out of the crisis situation.

We will decisively carry out a line of eliminating the deformations in internal party life and cadre policy, and we will wage a steadfast struggle for an honest and pure figure of a party member. We must, all working together, initiate a steadfast struggle against theft, speculation, corruption, protectionism and a disrespectful attitude to the laws. At present, a range of measures is being carried out which should provide greater dynamism for our economy and lead it to a path of technological development and highly efficient management methods. The key point is the circumstance that the carrying out of a long-term profoundly conceived and strong social policy has been moved to the forefront.

Among its goals is a better supply of the towns and villages with food products. We have already set our prime goal of solving over the next 2 years the problem of supplying the republic inhabitants with fruit and vegetable products. Moreover, on the basis of the maximum utilization of internal reserves and opportunities as well as the extensive introduction of intensive technologies and cost accounting, we plan to increase milk and meat production. Thereby conditions will be established to raise per capita consumption for the main livestock products.

We are seriously concerned with the state of affairs in housing construction. An alarming situation has arisen in our republic: the annual increase rates for those waiting for housing have begun to significantly outstrip the housing completion rate. Entire categories of persons have appeared for whom the obtaining of an apartment has become generally problematic. These are teachers,

medical workers as well as the representatives of the scientific and technical intelligentsia.

We have set the goal for ourselves of providing by 1993 housing for persons on the waiting lists at the beginning of 1987 as well as those residing in decrepit and emergency housing and completely solving the housing problem in the republic in the year 2000. Decisive progress has also been planned in the building of cultural and consumer facilities.

The republic leadership plans to carry out a number of other urgent tasks such as providing the population with drinking water, improving the quality of consumer goods, and fundamentally improving the operation of public transport, public health, trade and consumer services.

A particular feature of the political moment through which we are now living consists in the fact that at present we can resolve the built-up sociopolitical and spiritual problems relying on the growing social activity which has encompassed all strata of the republic population. The task consists in making certain that the problems, however complex they may be, do not divide the people but, on the contrary, rally, consolidate and cement society. Only in this manner is it possible to untie many knots. And untie is precisely the word in dealing with such a complex problem as the problem of Nagornyy Karabakh.

The republic leadership completely shares the noble feelings of our people and their concern for the fate of the Armenian population in Nagornyy Karabakh. I personally do not see in this united surge anything that is supernatural or anything forced. One can only show bitter irony to the voices heard at times that a crack of miscomprehension has risen between the republic leadership and the people, if these assertions had not acquired a politically harmful character.

We openly stated our position at the session of the republic Supreme Soviet held on 15 June and at the 19th All-Union Party Conference, we spelled it out at a session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and reaffirmed it at the September (1988) Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee. We affirm this position in our daily work.

At present, the relationships of Armenia with Nagornyy Karabakh have moved into the plane of concrete deeds and these ties, regardless of all difficulties, are becoming ever-stronger and more irreversible. We must make more active use of the new opportunities and move from platonic patriotism to actual patriotism and to concrete deeds.

At the forthcoming session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet we intend to review the course of carrying out the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of

Ministers on Nagornyy Karabakh on the part of the party, soviet and economic bodies in the republic.

On 17 October at the CPSU Central Committee under the chairmanship of M.S. Gorbachev, a meeting was held of the Commission to Prepare Proposals Related to Implementing a Reform in the Political System. The commission reviewed the draft law on amendments and supplements of the USSR Constitution and the draft law on elections of the USSR people's deputies. The draft laws were published for discussion by all the people. The communists and all the workers of our republic are taking a most active part in this discussion.

Of fundamentally important significance will be the plenum being prepared for the CPSU Central Committee on improving relations between nationalities. We in the republic are presently working out our own proposals

for this plenum. The plenum will give great attention to the status of the Union republics and the autonomous formations.

Sumgait remains a festering wound. I must say that we have been very insistent in raising the question that the USSR Supreme Court take over the severest crimes. As you know, a trial is underway in Moscow for the perpetrators of these grievous crimes.

In the conclusion of my speech, I would again emphasize that we have adopted a constructive program which links the leadership and the people by common goals. Now, by joint efforts let us move this into the area of practical deeds. A new awareness and new approaches do not appear spontaneously, but they grow out of the corresponding economic and social realities. Who will create these? Only we ourselves, our labor and our creative search. We have set to a major undertaking. We will carry it out if we are united and together.

**Kondopoga Complex Reports Printing Paper Supply, Production Problems**

*18300168a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 88 p 3*

[Article by A. Kolpakov, chairman, labor collective council, Kondopoga TsBK, and Yu. Goncharov, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, senior gridman on paper-making machine No 4, under the "Urgent Alarm" rubric: "Forced Idleness (of Paper Industry Leader, Because There Is Nothing In Which to Remove Output)"]

[Text] In fulfilling the decision by directive authorities to increase the output of newspaper and printing paper, in the 9 months of this year the Kondopoga TsBK [Cellulose and Paper Combine] has worked beyond the state order of 14,000 tons, essentially by economizing on cellulose.

What was received in response? In October, the combine's work was seriously complicated due to insufficient rolling stock and imported cellulose—the Ministry of Railroads failed to supply us with 58 cars, which led to a reduction in paper processing. Even in November, the railroad car situation has not changed. In the space of 4 days, another 28 cars were not provided. The warehouses and shops are over-filled with paper.

With great delay, the USSR Minlesprom allocated the necessary funds for imported cellulose for the Vyborg TsBK and the "Kaliningradbumprom" Production Association. However, the former is in no condition to use the funds, and the latter is not acknowledging the funds. The Bratskiy LPK is disrupting shipment. In just 3 days of November, 238 tons of cellulose, according to the funds, were not delivered.

Idle paper-making machines are inevitable in the future as well. The combine has repeatedly turned to the MPS and Minlesprom for assistance, but for the time being the situation has not been corrected. Kondopoga produces more than one-third of the country's newspaper paper. It is considered the sector leader for good reason. If the situation does not improve, dozens of publishing houses, including the "PRAVDA" publishing house, will drop out of rhythm.

**Officials Squelch Independent Interschool Newspaper**

*18300168b Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 88 p 2*

[Article by V. Kiyaniitsa: "Between Those Who Insist on the Right to Their Own Opinion Today, and Those Who, as Before, Do Not Recognize This Right, Inevitably Arises a: BARRIKADA [Barricade]"; passages in bold-face as published]

[Text] BARRIKADA held out for almost 6 hours. Not a bad outcome: in neighboring schools it lasted all of two lessons. A newspaper lives for a day, they say. No, it

varies. A recent survey showed that this newspaper "lived" from 2 days (a sensation!) to 15 minutes (this is closer to the norm), depending on how rapidly the school administration reacted. As a rule, this happened rapidly. The newspaper was in great demand and in the breach, in the literal sense. It was torn from school walls, snatched from people's hands, twisted into tight rolls and carried off to the teachers' room. They tried to conduct the "elimination" without excessive fuss, even without exposing the "guilty parties." However, it was noisy as usual and added to the popularity of the unusual wall newspaper better than any advertisement, just like a restriction on subscriptions.

**Initial Data:**

BARRIKADA is an interschool newspaper. It has a circulation of 15-30 copies and is distributed in no fewer than 15 schools in Moscow, Kiev and Riga. Five issues have been published by now.

**From the Editors' Address:**

"Schoolchildren, recent graduates and young teachers participate in producing this newspaper. The children themselves discuss the problems of education and upbringing, self-management, and the rights of schoolchildren and teachers in the newspaper. Readers can receive information from BARRIKADA on the informal movement in our country and on events in school and extracurricular life."

**History of the Problem**

Alas, school newspapers are fairly wretched phenomena in most cases. Cheerless stands, papered with yellowed excerpts from official publications or wildly colored lists of the Whatman paper for each date. All criticism consists of caricatures on "general subjects" and the stern "who is disgracing the school" list. Yet these newspapers, sanctioned by no one, have immediately begun gathering crowds of students around themselves. Of course, this is no accident.

BARRIKADA did not spring up from nothing, but on the wave of the new social force of independent political clubs and associations. These have appeared in schools as well. Teachers no longer recognize their traditionally exemplary and somewhat inactive pupils in the "political clubs." Various sorts of incomprehensible meetings and political debates have begun, into which it has not been necessary to herd anyone. Proclamations, programs and declarations have been written which made experienced teachers shudder.

Of course, this is all reminiscent of playing "big politics:" noisy debates on global topics, historic "castles in the air," and the brilliance of quotes by Marx, Lenin, Bakunin, Schopenhauer and Solovyev. However, the

"rules" were drafted in the process of the "game"—they wanted to taste live, real political struggle. Naturally, some lost interest very rapidly and left, but most had begun playing in earnest...

The idea of an interschool wall newspaper was also formed at one of the heavily attended gatherings. In short, the purpose of the publication is to protect rights from bureaucratism and arbitrariness, and to protect the truth from withholdings and falsification. Yet, a newspaper should also compensate for the shortcomings in school social sciences programs and the shortage of information in general.

### On the Name, and More...

#### From the BARRIKADA Wall Newspaper:

**"If not quite a barricade, a separation between pupils and teachers definitely exists. Everyone sees it as proper that the smartest and most experienced friend and mentor is up ahead, in the vanguard, yet behind, at the tail end of the 'column,' there is a growing and gathering force. Here, however, is a question: why do the senior comrades often direct their worldly experience and considerable knowledge against us?"**

No one thinks particularly about the form of presentation or style and there are no special claims to being artistic. It is just the facts—mandatorily sharp and topical, and just thoughts—mandatorily one's own. There are no "closed topics." Any opinion is accepted and any is disputed.

BARRIKADA does not print poetry. It considers itself not a literary forum, but a tribune. That is why almost every issue contains appeals, statements and declarations, which are not really newspaper genres. Actually, BARRIKADA started with a bulletin by the senior students—"The Dark Staircase of Democracy" (its name is not, after all, "The Dreamer"). The name was justified: at first, the bulletin was simply torn up. However, after a long struggle the students were allowed to post it, but only in a dark corner behind the emergency staircase.

In this regard, serious accusations, the entire range from "apolitical" to "anti-soviet," were leveled at the publishers, particularly when they began printing BARRIKADA.

One name, to put it lightly, has already stirred up many people. Why call it "BARRIKADA?" Who was it against? The adults asked alarmed questions. The children tried answering this way and that: it symbolizes the leading edge, the vanguard, they say. It is not mandatorily "against," it is also "for." Nonetheless, the adults viewed it with suspicion. Then the students found an acceptable kind of answer: "The 'barricade' is on our editorial board. We have continuous battles."

However, even this was not persuasive. BARRIKADA is still being accused of "fault-finding" and "demagogy." Then, the "trump" question followed: "What have you done for restructuring?" In this case, let us say, if they had collected scrap metal instead, it would have been good, it would be work.

However, "words are work too." Is a newspaper really just a meaningless thing? It is printed "through a struggle," it is printed in order to impart a critical viewpoint, a feeling that we are finally freeing ourselves and can say and do a great deal, to the readers and (perhaps, primarily) the publishers themselves.

An observation by one of BARRIKADA's readers:

Previously, it was generally impossible to post a newspaper at our school. Now it is possible, albeit "with a fuss." Everyone has noticed this change. The newspaper articles do not affect people as much as the fact itself of the existence of a newspaper that has not been torn down...

Today a new argument against the "young critics" has appeared. It is enough, or so they say, to talk and discuss, and then it is time to do the work. Everything has already been discussed, decisions have been made and they must be implemented. However, decisions are not made in one day, "one-two... done." There is plenty of work to last a long time for everyone. The main load will most likely fall on today's 16-year olds. They should envision the future particularly distinctly. Therefore, it is necessary and important for them to investigate everything for themselves. Five and ten times over, everyone should think, talk, argue and question that which is the most, it would seem, obvious, in order to understand and then accept or reject. Let them come to this understanding in a roundabout, clumsy way, dashing from side to side, but let them do it themselves.

#### What Do They Think About? From the BARRIKADA Wall Newspaper:

**"At 16:30 hours, it was suggested that the 'parties' draft their own resolution."**

**"Three resolutions were proposed: by the 'bolsheviks,' by the combined 'SR's' and 'mensheviks,' and by the 'anarchists.' The 'bolsheviks' demanded radical actions and an uprising, the 'SR's' and 'mensheviks' proposed introducing democratic elections in the country, and the 'anarchists' rejected any government whatsoever and called for the universal arming of the people."**

**"Yes, the debate was successful, because the most staggering 'morass,' which usually remains silent, suddenly came into action here. The hall participated actively in the dispute (true, there were more reactions than arguments). Nevertheless, I am glad that, leaving school, I see a**

generation of children who will stay in it and bring the work that they have begun on the struggle against inertia, indifference and political blindness to a victorious conclusion. Dmitriy Pal."

"...We should not teach one person only politics, and others only professions. Everyone should be a politician. However, in order to do this, politics should be maximally accessible. This, is essentially also a way to ensure a normal fully-valuable life, in which a person is fed, clothed, given shoes and works in order to live, but does not live, in order to work. The red-tapists and bureaucrats could shout "You are a demagogue!" at these words. However, forgive me, but as far as I know, people should not exist for communism. Communism should exist for people. What kind of communism is it, if one cannot live like a human being under it?"

Fedor Boretskiy wrote these lines when he was a tenth-grader. At the time, he was "responsible publisher" of BARRIKADA. Although the newspaper basically has no editor-in-chief, just an editorial board, and all problems are solved together, Fedor was unquestionably the main figure around whom everyone gathered.

He studied in the physics and math class and he will be involved with physics in the future. He is not particularly interested in politics, at least, far less so than his companions. By nature, he is a mild person, very quiet, as though even complaisant. However, one day he happened to attend "talks" between representatives of student society and the administration. A unique "Declaration of Student Rights" was drafted. Every point was debated. When the children had already become crestfallen under study leader's streamlined flow of words and intricately spun statements, when they were ready to agree to anything he pleased, Fedor suddenly "woke up" everyone with the statement:

"You are engaging in demagogy!"

The study leader was taken aback. Yet Boretskiy, with a soft smile, explained quite clearly why it was precisely so.

Later, the "Declaration" which was "won" appeared in BARRIKADA. Boretskiy's programmatic article "What are They For?" was printed in its first issue. "They" are the children of that generation which has already managed to be named the "generation of restructuring" and which should still just be taking place. The article ends: "...They have a right to a life without humiliation and lies."

Tenth-grader Igor Garkavyy, one of the founders of BARRIKADA, it seems, has already sacrificed his "clean" character reference: they tried to put it "in his record" for participating in one of the street meetings.

For a long time, Maksim Kuchinskiy had not been accepted into the Komsomol. What Maksim does in his extracurricular time, and whether or not this activity is

compatible with membership in the Komsomol, was meticulously revealed at a talk with the raykom. This is what he does: he created an independent inter-brigade imeni Alejandro Diaz. At first, it consisted of three people. Then the "brigade members" grew to eight. They met with Paraguayan and Chilean communists, studied the history of the revolutionary struggle in these countries, and earned and sent money to the communist party funds of Chile and Paraguay. In general, they operated without being organized by anyone and without being subordinate to anyone. Perhaps because of this lack of organization, they began to examine Maksim closely: he meets with some incomprehensible strangers, they say. It would be best to write to the KID. What kind of children write letters about solidarity!..

At precisely that time, Maksim also wrote a poem which included these two lines:

"...Because I am not going with everyone,  
Or perhaps, everyone is simply not going with me?.."

It is hard to talk about these children. Firstly, they themselves do not like loud words. They prefer facts. It is also difficult, because these children have gotten the ideas of "not according to age" and "not according to rank" (we have even become accustomed to "subordination of thought") into their heads. They measure their lives in complex, global categories, dissolving them in their own youthful maximalism and almost childish turmoil. There is not enough depth for them: they are dangling along the surface, skidding from edge to edge. They make mistakes without having doubts, yet they doubt the obvious, repeatedly proven by someone's lifetime of experience. They foolishly begin shouting, but do not harken to the reply, even if at times there is wisdom itself in it.

Thirdly, it is difficult, because many things in their lives and their searches for its meaning for the time being have not been generally determined, have not been written out clearly, and are only just beginning.

It is also a question of this beginning. It is a question of with what they are entering this beginning, with what kind of burden? With what legacy? What spirit?

I asked the children to answer several questions. Here are some of the notes left on my notepad after our conversation.

[Question] "Can your generation be broken?"

[Student] "A large part of this generation, alas, does not even need to be broken. The generation still has not risen. Many still see no real opportunity to change anything."

"Of course, one could be eloquent: 'You are no longer breaking us.' After all, one does not say that '16-year olds' have been 'broken.' He who struggles, continues to struggle to the end. Those who do not struggle, with pleasure agree that they have been broken."

[Question] "What do you dislike about today's restructuring?"

[Student] "I do not like the fact that, as before, much is being done on orders from above... I do not like lies in the newspapers: the sources of information are not indicated."

"The trouble, I think, lies in the fact that we are operating with the concepts of 'stagnation' and 'cult,' yet only after this was said somewhere already. I do not like demagoguery—it has become more diverse."

[Question] "When would you have liked to live?"

[Student] "In my own, in our time. I am content to live in this time, or maybe even a bit later. I would also like to see the future. I do not know how many years later. Everything depends on how that which has begun today goes. Maybe it will be 20 years, or maybe 200..."

Ample time has been supplied—200 years in the future.

Their first BARRIKADA held out for 6 hours.

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**Local TV Promotes Native Mordvinian Languages**  
*18300283 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 89 p 1*

[Report from Saransk by SOVETSKAYA MORDO-VIYA deputy editor Yu. Pavlov: "Secrets of the Dictionary"]

18300283 [Text] SARANSK—28 January. The Mordvinian population occupies a leading place among the peoples in the Finno-Ugric group, but lately in the autonomous republic there has been a significant decrease in the number of schools where classes are conducted in the native languages of Moksha and Erzya.

In order to somehow increase the interest among the indigenous population in their native language, a local TV studio began a series of programs entitled "Native Language." The broadcasts are divided into various segments with the following titles: "The History of the Mordvinian Languages," "Secrets of the Dictionary," "Why We Speak as We Do"... The broadcasts are prepared and conducted by Mordvinian linguists and instructors in the Saransk institutes of higher learning.

**Official Urges Adherence To Declaration of Human Rights**

18120046 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 50, 18-25 Dec 88 p 5

[Article by Ernest Ametistov, LLD, member of the Public Commission for International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights under the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation: "The Individual and the Law"]

[Text] Today, in the days of perestroika and renewal in our country the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international covenants on rights, the other international documents in protection of rights and freedoms, the same as our entire activities in international organizations, must become for us what they serve the progressive forces in many other countries: a source of the most advanced social-legal ideas, accumulated by mankind's thousand-year-long experience, and be a weighty politico-juridical argument in the struggle for democratization, against bureaucracy and stagnation in our own country.

Here are some, as I see them, important trends, ideological and juridical resources in the field of international humanitarian cooperation.

The first is to develop our society's political culture in the spirit of genuine respect for the independent value of the human personality, its rights and freedoms. Here we face our most difficult task—the need to change the very philosophy of man.

For decades the idea has been imposed upon Soviet citizens that they owe all their rights and boons only to the state, or even to some vague "father of nations". Generations of Soviet citizens were raised with this concept. It is responsible for our apathy and passivity, one of the most serious socio-psychological brakes on perestroika.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the international covenants on human rights are based on a directly opposite philosophy which declares the absolute value of the human personality, its priority over the state, and the innate, natural character of human rights and freedoms. "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights," the Declaration says in its first article. The state in this system of views is given quite a different role—to regulate the relations between people, so that their rights and freedoms do not violate the same rights of others and to take concern for the protection of the rights of each individual person. The Declaration and the International Covenants on Human Rights must be used to the maximum to foster the dignity of Soviet people, beginning with school.

The second trend is in bringing the entire Soviet legislation into conformity with the Declaration, the covenants on rights, and other international obligations. And to do

this not only formally (which, however, is also important) but also in essence, taking into account the leading principles of the legal regulation of human rights and freedoms in these documents.

According to one of these principles, the main rights and freedoms, being innate, belong, undoubtedly, to each individual. If they are, moreover, fixed in the national Constitution, then the state agrees beforehand that the people should use them.

It is very important to adhere strictly to this principle now, when laws on citizens' fundamental rights are being adopted and prepared. And it is necessary to realize that the conformity of Soviet legislation to the principle of absolute and doubtless citizens' rights, stems directly from our international obligations. The consistent use of this principle in concrete laws would mean, as I see it, that Soviet citizens are not obliged to ask permission beforehand for such rights and freedoms as freedom of the press, the right to hold meetings and demonstrations, or set up public organizations or voluntary societies. The right to leave or enter one's country must, of course, be given to every person. The adherence to this principle would mean also that the authorities can limit the use of all rights and freedoms listed above only in cases defined by law, when, for example, the participants in the meeting call for violence, aggression, propagandize national hatred, or when a public organization or newspaper pursue the aforementioned harmful aims. If the authorities do not let a person leave the country, they must have absolutely concrete reasons, for example, in the events that the person knows very important state secrets, the time limit for which expires at some definite reasonable time, established beforehand.

The development of court defense and of other forms of legal defense for people is the third trend, where international documents on human rights should be used in the interests of perestroika and democratization. A legal, including in court, defense of one's proclaimed rights and freedoms is one of the central ideas in the Declaration and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. They regard the right to such defense as an assured right of each person and as an assured duty of the state. More than that, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights demands an expansion of the possibilities for court defense.

The law on the procedure of complaining in court over illegal activities of officials, passed last year, has given people a right to court defense, but at once provided so many stipulations about it, that it practically nullified itself. The shameful (how else can one refer to them?) rosters No 1 and No 2 to the Statute of considering work arguments, which list some 70 (sic!) categories of workers, who completely lack a court defense against dismissal from work and other disciplinary reprimands, are

still operating as before. They include all the administrative workers—from foremen to heads of enterprises and administrations of ministries, all scientists, teachers at establishments of higher learning, journalists, actors and people in other creative fields. In short, precisely those categories of workers lack the right to defense in court against dismissal from work, who are supposed to express boldness, initiative, enterprise, to take risks and begin quests. And the law places their working and human fate at the favour of their superiors. Would they be creative and daring in such conditions?

Our country is in dire need of an effective and diverse system of legal defense which to the maximum draws upon world experience. The system must reach an international level. I think that with this aim in view we must become a participant in the optional Protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. This Protocol provides the opportunity for citizens to the signatory states to file complaints when their rights, listed in the Covenant, are violated. They can file a complaint with the Committee on Human Rights, when all other means of domestic defense have been exhausted. It would be very useful if, when such complaints are considered, not the Soviet state as such would be the defendant, but a concrete high-placed official, guilty of a concrete wrongdoing in relation to a person.

It is most important to solve another problem connected with the USSR's international cooperation on human rights—to set up an effective legal mechanism for the fulfillment of international agreements within the framework of domestic law. To do this it is necessary, first of all, for the norms of international law, which our country obliged itself to observe, to become an integral part of Soviet legislation and have no less legal force than our domestic laws. This would benefit justice, democracy and perestroika.

**Georgian Youth Association Asks More Independence From Parent Organ**  
18000386a Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO  
in Georgian No 41, 7 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by Natia Dzhakeli: "First Working Conference"]

[Text] The Georgian Rustaveli Society's Youth Association held its first working conference on 30 September in the university's ceremonies hall. It was attended by Poet-Academician I. Abashidze, chairman of the Rustaveli Society, members of the Youth Association, representatives of culture and science, and students.

Participants in the conference heard a speech by association president I. Kakabadze. The speaker assessed the past 4 months and noted all the factors which have impeded the work of the association. Chief among these factors are defects in the Charter, improper selection of staff, and a bureaucratic apparatus; the latter accounts for the fact that the problem of a headquarters facility has yet to be resolved.

Nevertheless, it has been possible to prepare a church in Tskhaltubo Rayon for restoration and to gather material on the Caucasus Mountain Railroad.

In discussing the association's future plans, department heads G. Maisuradze, Z. Dzhincharadze, Sh. Giorgadze, and M. Dardzhashvili noted that the association will soon have to open its own bank account. This by no means implies opposition to the Rustaveli Society. It will merely give the Youth Association the means to work independently and more assertively.

Participants also deemed it desirable to start an almanac to promote Georgian young people's national consciousness. The Youth Association will make its contribution to solutions to urgent demographic and ecological problems and will do everything it can to restore Georgian villages' lost attractiveness and glory. In short, the main goal of the association is to focus on national concerns and take care of them.

It is not an easy task to bear this heavy burden, but young people themselves are well aware of their own and the country's problems. It is time, therefore, for the elders' paternalistic attitude toward the association to be replaced with collaboration.

The first conference of the Rustaveli Society's Youth Association adopted a new Charter. It is based on the accumulated experience of four months.

In conclusion, a debate was held, and it was made clear that our republic has many things to be deeply concerned about. It is wrong, therefore, to be negligent and complacent. The main thing, the essential point is to do those things which are best for the country and the nation.

The first working conference of the All-Georgian Rustaveli Society's Youth Association lasted four hours. It raised many interesting problems.

**Georgian Writer Says Youth Should Be Heeded, Not Thwarted**  
18000386b Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO  
in Georgian No 41, 7 Oct 88 p 5

[Article by Niko Nikolozishvili: "Let Us Think and Act Together"]

[Text] Young people today are in ferment, just as young people of all times have been. They have energy, even an excess of it. They are at an age when it is essential that this energy be given the right direction and scope. This is, of course, a rather complicated matter, for various objective and subjective reasons. When a young person cannot channel his energy properly he is forced either to quell it or else put it into the kind of activity that is lethal to us. For some it is drunkenness, for others it is

narcotics, for still others it is prostitution; there are those who resort to telling their beads or to contemplation of Kuduson-Kundalini and spend their boring days shouting "Hare Krishna."

Not everyone tries to devote his thoughts and part of his life (much less his whole life!) to his nation's cause or to put his excess energy into the service of his nation's well-being. The result? Of this small portion, an even smaller minority manages to stand on its position steadfastly and to the end; the rest simply swell the ranks of the many thousands aforementioned. Whose fault is that? Basically, I think there is just one reason, and because it is difficult to put it in one word I will go back a little ways.

Let us start with this. Many of you probably remember that a year ago, on 10 September, the newspaper AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI published a letter from some university students which was titled "Be Wary of the Friend Who Is an Enemy." From this letter the public learned that students were against the Caucasus Mountain Railroad, and with good reason. But what did AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI do? It allowed the students to speak up and immediately tried to gag them, berating them for "infantile" reasoning and "blathering nonsense" and, generally, stating that most students were against these few and could hardly wait until the first locomotive chugged up the Aragvi Valley. At that time, people knew very well who had truth on their side, but that's not what I want to talk about now. I just want to pose one question to the editors of AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI: If the letter was really all that groundless, unjustified, and devoid of reasoning—in short, silly—then why did the newspaper print it? If you don't mind, I'll answer the question myself: It was just in order to make the students look "weak," "ignorant," and "infantile," as if that would enhance the prestige of the "Project of the Century." But the opposite happened. The editors would have done better to look before they leaped.

That's one thing. Here's another: On 24 February, a rally was held at the entrance to the university's garden. The main idea and motive was to demand that the artillery range located near the Davit Garezhba Protected Area be moved further away. What happened next? A thousand reproaches directed at young people, a thousand reprimands, a thousand scoldings. And all of this just because of one supposedly unjustified slogan shouted from the speaker's stand. Surely "one unjustified slogan" was not the main point of the rally. Why did we close our eyes to that main point and ignore what the students were saying? The main point was to move the artillery range away from the area of the Davit Garezhba complex. The main point, finally, is that young people really care about their past, are thinking about their future, and are not inclined to be flippant, thank God. People didn't see that! But "one unjustified slogan" rubbed people the wrong way, and again the students were gagged.

Today, however, we just have to be grateful: We have seen that everything possible is being done to save the Davit Garezhba complex.

In May, the students again raised their voices to protest the illegal assignment of household plot land to surplus people in Telavi and Gardabani rayons. They even cited decisions No 52 and No 66 of the Telavi and Gardabani rayispolkoms, but such a big and major organ as Georgian State Television intervened in the matter and denied the incidents, depicting realities as rumors....

Georgia's overall internal demographic situation is extremely grave, and its future looks dark. Vardzia, Sapara, Okhera, Rustavi, Aspindza, Khertvisi, and Tsunda are all threatened by the Minadze Reservoir. The ecological state of Tbilisi and the Kura is disastrous. The forests of Mingrelia and Svanetia are being chopped won without mercy. The Zhinvali GES and Inguri GES have carried out their "noble" mission, and now the Khudoni GES, the Tobari GES, Luha GES, Latali GES, and Lagami GES all threaten to inundate the Tskhumari, Latali, Luha, Chuberi, and Khaishi (what will be left of Svanetia?)....

These are just a few of the things that come to mind! What about things I haven't mentioned? Now see if your conscience allows you to tell young people abruptly to stop all that desperate yelling. Now see if you have the heart to tell young people, who really care about Georgia, that they don't understand and should butt out. Now see if you have the heart not to justify these young people! Should it be necessary for me to know physics in order to be against nuclear armaments? Would I have had to be a seismologist to feel the ground shake from exploding shells in Bertubani, Udabno, Lava, and Natlismtsemeli, or to watch the unique frescoes crumble down? Would I have had to be a geologist to perceive the absurdity of cutting through the Caucasus? Do I have to be a philologist to see how, in many cases, the rights of the Georgian language (the state language!) are dwindling in our republic?

Not long ago I was filling out a Georgian questionnaire and inadvertently, without thinking, I filled it out in Russian. My fault? No. Whose fault is it, if not those who have drummed it into us since we were kids?

Can't we see how little Georgia is and how many unresolved and variegated problems it has (this is just a partial list)? The number of problems we have would fill the "Problems Statistics Book" of any large country—if, indeed, there is such a thing.

Now I should like to return to the main point. Isn't it a fact, based on the above, that our students had reason to be upset? Well-grounded reason? Yet we utilize a thousand devices and machinations to thwart any manifestations in their discontent. Anyone who is familiar with life at Tbilisi University knows even better than I that quite a few students were "promised" that they would be

expelled in connection with "the railroad affair." Anyone who knows these students is also well aware that many of them were labeled "dissidents" and remained "under scrutiny" for a long time. You must also be aware that a number of students were arrested by the militia. By such actions we are approaching the point where we are blocking the one true path by which young people can channel the energy that is so characteristic of that vigorous age. We are destroying their desire even to think about social issues (lest they wreck their future). As a result, young people are becoming nihilistic (yet we condemn nihilists); they are becoming drunks (which we are fighting desperately) and turning to narcotics (as we sound the global alarm).

Every sounding of the alarm and every tolling of the bells will prove to be an empty and fruitless exercise unless we seek the causes of social roots. We will not bring the narcotics addict or the drunk to his senses through admonition and exhortation alone, neither will the whore give up her trade or the nihilist stop being nihilistic. Once they are formed, such people can hardly

ever be helped. The mistake is already done. What has broken cannot be made whole again; the main thing now is to take care of what has not broken yet.

Let us give young people the chance to channel their vigorous blood into the service of their fatherland (rather than applying leeches to their necks), so that their energy will go into good causes. As for "yelling" and "noise" (if that's what allies are called), that's an individual matter—some find it easier to speak their minds in public; others find it easier to express their opinion in a newspaper article.... Why must we demand that everyone be equally "calm," "wise," and "academic"? After all, "God gave us the world to possess with all its unlimited variety," and man himself is equally "unlimited in variety"—you can't do anything without that! What do you think: Is a young people who is active, has common sense, fights for the environment, cares about our monuments of the past, and is concerned for our nation's future—even an "amateur" who goes to allies—more dangerous to our society than narcotics addicts and nihilists who sit quietly in their cozy dens?

## **Estonian Labor Collectives Council Issues Documents at Founding Congress**

### **Draft Program**

*18000375 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 p 3*

[Draft program of the EsSSR's Joint Council of Labor Collectives (EsSSR JCLC)]

[Text] The EsSSR's Joint Council of Labor Collectives (EsSSR JCLC) is a voluntary socio-economic association of the labor collectives of enterprises belonging to various sectors of the economy and based in the EsSSR, regardless of their departmental affiliation.

All economic and organizational activities of the JCLC and relations with republican and local management entities are based on USSR and EsSSR laws regulating the basic productive link of the economy: the USSR law on the state enterprise, or complex, as well as constitutional and other legislative documents defining the rights and responsibilities of union republics and local soviets.

The JCLC's activity will consist of proposing to superior legislative and planning entities concrete measures to further the radical economic reform of the USSR economy, to broaden the rights and powers of union republics and local soviets and to develop regional economies.

In the republic's labor collectives, the JCLC will promote the principles of proletarian internationalism; the community of interests of the working class; respect for other nations' cultures, traditions and customs; intolerance for any discrimination based on nationality or language and intolerance in all labor collectives for manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism and conflicts between working people.

The governing body of the JCLC is the congress of labor collectives which elects the council of representatives and the presidium. The presidium appoints the executive committee, or administration.

During elections, the JCLC will conduct campaigns to choose candidates for local soviets of the people's deputies and to USSR and EsSSR congresses of the people's deputies.

The JCLC's will be funded by its member enterprises, and will receive income from its own economic activity, based on approved budget.

### **1. General Regulations**

1.1 The aim of the JCLC program is to increase participation by labor collectives of enterprises in the economic development of the republic, the city and the rayon, based on increased cooperation between the basic productive link of the economy and local soviets, primarily within the framework of regional economic accountability.

1.2 The main goals of the JCLC program are:

to create favorable conditions for a comprehensive increase of the material and spiritual welfare of EsSSR residents, in particular by making additional efforts to supply the regional market with consumer goods and services;

to provide more social benefits to the people such as housing, social and cultural services and health care, including also the right to an education and professional training without any discrimination based on social or national origins;

to strengthen the security of EsSSR residents in their own and their children's future by continually developing the republic's economy and broadening the equal and mutually profitable integration of its economy into the single economic complex of the USSR;

to create a material foundation for a healthy, equal and mutually beneficial development of all national cultures of the EsSSR and to satisfy the spiritual needs of representatives of all ethnic and linguistic groups residing in the republic;

to steadily improve the environmental situation in the republic by building new environmental protection plants, modernizing industry and abolishing most environmentally harmful technologies and production processes;

to stabilize the labor force of the republic by taking additional steps to increase labor productivity, modernize plant and equipment and satisfy additional demand for labor in the republic by reassigning and raising the productivity of existing labor resources, and by implementing a set of measures to retrain a portion of the labor force;

and to increase export-oriented production in the republic, by setting up commercial joint ventures with foreign investors to produce various goods and to provide services.

1.3 The following will be the material base used to carry out the JCLC program:

the part of resources of JCLC members and regional mixed production entities, such as state, state-cooperative and cooperative enterprises, which is ordinarily used to pay for general economic and social development of the region, including such projects as modernization of plant and equipment in agriculture, construction and transportation;

the social and benefits infrastructure of JCLC members which will be used locally to satisfy the material and spiritual needs of the population in that region;

the part of economic income, or profits, of JCLC members which they, based on voluntary contracts, contribute the budget or to specific, or non-budget, funds of local soviets and which is used as a source of financing general social and economic development of the region;

and the intellectual and creative skills of the staffs of JCLC members which will be tapped to develop plans, or forecasts, of regional social and economic development and to prepare and evaluate various general programs for the region, such as "Human Resources", "Nature", TNP [Technological and Scientific Progress], "Progress", etc.

## **2. Economic Cooperation of JCLC Member Enterprises**

2.1 The aim of economic cooperation among JCLC members is to strengthen the regional framework of the socialist economy, to tap local resources in order to intensify production and increase its efficiency and to create additional opportunities for strengthening the social focus of economic development in each region and in the republic as a whole.

2.2 JCLC members will develop all forms of economic collaboration defined by existing regulations, primarily in the law on the state enterprise or complex and on cooperation. The following are the main forms of such collaboration:

to develop regional productive collaboration, such as joint ventures, shops, construction projects, etc., in order to strengthen and modernize primary and procurement industries, construction, recycling, and main environmental protection plants, as well as consumer goods and services industries located in the region;

to carry out a number of joint projects to eliminate operating losses and low profitability at individual enterprises with the help of programs to be developed and implemented and also technological modernization and organizational restructuring, using, among other things, mixed state and cooperative as well as stockholder-financed ventures. To achieve that, the JCLC may set up a special fund of financial and material resources;

to share the scientific resources of the EsSSR and other republic in preparing long-term plans and forecasts of social and economic development of the region, determining best dislocation for productive resources and improving the regional economic management system, including the development of regional economic accountability system, the implementation of environmental protection measures, etc.;

to carry out common policies to foster cooperative and individual enterprises, such as selling industrial waste, excess raw materials and equipment and equipment and

motor vehicles that have been written off; transferring, a lease contract basis, a portion of productive capacities and of production and storage space; assisting in solving engineering, technical and design problems, and so on).

to carry out common policy in the area of labor resources, job listing, job placement and employee reassignment and to implement measures to increase participation in the labor force by such groups as retirees and disabled, as well as work on a part-time basis.

to carry out common policy in job training, making a collective effort to improve the material base of public, vocational and technical schools based on a long-term analysis of future demand by enterprises for employees with given skills and qualifications;

to build jointly facilities for workers' leisure activities and cultural and vacation complexes, both in and outside the region;

and to establish joint enterprises in trade, finance and credit, such as commercial equipment and technical service centers to provide paid consulting services to enterprises, cooperatives and consumers and regional commercial banks to invest temporarily idle funds of enterprises, cooperatives and consumers into the regional economy.

2.3 Any material or financial contributions by a member enterprise to the JCLC's joint economic activities in the region must be approved by the council of the labor collective of that enterprise.

2.4 It is assumed that the above-mentioned and other forms of economic collaboration carried out by JCLC member will not hamper their main productive activity—i.e., to fulfill the central state orders plan or carry out economic contract obligations—and therefore they do not have to be approved by their supervisory ministries and agencies; in other words, they will fall within the limits of the self-financing independence of enterprises and complexes set by law.

2.5 All forms of economic collaboration among JCLC members in the region will be carried out taking into account the needs of the region's general and socio-economic development, plans for that development, forecasts and general specialized programs.

## **3. Interaction by the JCLC and Its Member Enterprises with Local Soviets and Other Regional Management Bodies**

3.1 Interaction by the JCLC and its members with local soviets and other regional management bodies is effected on the political and economic basis.

3.2 The political basis for interaction by the JCLC and its members with local soviets is the impending transition of those soviets to a two-chamber system, whereby

one chamber will be elected based on the traditional territorial principle and will reflect mainly the interests of the population actually residing in a given region. The other chamber will be elected based on the industrial principle, and will reflect the interests of labor collectives engaged in economic activity in that region.

3.3 The economic basis for interaction by the JCLC and its members with local soviets is the gradual transition of the area—be it a rayon or a city—to the regional economic accountability system. In its economic program, the JCLC assumes that full economic accountability consists of self-financing by economic enterprises and of regional, or territorial, economic accountability, which are the two mutually defining, complementary and interacting prongs of the general CPSU course to decentralize economic management and democratize public life in general.

3.4 The following are the main components of the regional economic accountability system:

radical reform of the local budgeting process;

reform of the organizational framework of local self-government;

transition from mainly administrative to mainly economically based relations between local soviets and industrial enterprises;

transfer to regional ownership of social infrastructure, of a scientifically determined share of productive capacities in the form of small and medium-sized enterprises supplying mainly the regional market and using mainly regional productive resources, of local means of communication, retail enterprises and consumer services and of a considerable share of material and technical support systems and assets of regional banks;

and considerable broadening of the rights of local soviets in such areas as pricing, regulation of cooperative and private enterprises, regulation of labor migration both within the region and from the outside, use of natural resources and lands, including also the right of local soviets to set environmental protection standards and determine penalties for violators.

3.5 The essence of radical reform in local budgeting, as far as the financial interests or relations of regional enterprises are concerned, consists in increasing the scale and diversity of their contribution to financing regional socio-economic development with a portion of their economic profits. A significant element of that reform is compulsory participation by all enterprises in financing regional socio-economic development based on stable, long-term (no less than 5 years) schedules of contributions and payments.

3.6 The JCLC, together with local soviets, will develop and implement a set of measures to replenish local budgets in cases when one of the enterprises sets a lower profits plan than the level projected by the plan of local budget contributions.

3.7 The transition from administrative to primarily economically based, or normative, forms of interaction between local soviets and industrial enterprises means that those interactions will be based on equality, mutual responsibility, mutual interest and compensation. Administrative, arbitrary and uncompensated use of enterprises' labor, material or financial resources for regional needs must be stopped, except during natural disasters. All contributions by enterprises to fund regional needs should be financed or covered out of local budgets, non-budget funds or special funds set up by the decision of the JCLC to broaden its participation in assisting economic and social development in the region. All funds borrowed to cover temporary shortfalls in local budgets must be repaid out of revenues in future years.

3.8 Economic practice knows two forms of contribution by enterprises to cover the needs of regional socio-economic development. They are either regional state orders or direct contracts between local soviets and enterprises or groups—i.e., consortia—of enterprises.

3.9 Either based on relevant regulations or temporarily, as an experiment, on its agreement with the JCLC, a local soviet may be classified as issuer of a regional state order, upon approval by a local soviet session, taking into account the needs of general socio-economic development of the region and of its population, as well as the requirements of the normal productive activity of the regional economy, the level of central state orders relative to its production capacity, existing internal capacities and other factors.

3.10 An itemized description of the specifications of the regional state order, contractors and sources of funding should included into the general plan of economic and social development of the region.

#### Charter

18000375 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 16 Dec 88 p 3

[Charter of the EsSSR's Joint Council of Labor Collectives (EsSSR JCLC)]

#### [Text] 1. General Regulations and Aims of the JCLC

1.1 The EsSSR Joint Council of Labor Collectives is a public organization which brings together, on a voluntarily basis, labor collectives of enterprises of various industries, based in the EsSSR and regardless of their official affiliation.

1.2 The EsSSR JCLC is a plenipotentiary self-governing organization of labor collectives set up by their councils to coordinate the execution of their functions and exercise their rights defined in the USSR laws on labor collectives (dated July 17, 1983), on the state enterprise or complex (June 30, 1987) and on cooperation in the USSR (May 5, 1988).

1.3 The legal basis for establishing the JCLC are Article 51 of the USSR Constitution and Article 49 of the EsSSR Constitution.

1.4 The JCLC is a legal entity with its own payments account, official seal, corporate logo and stationary; it puts out its own publication.

1.5 The following are the main goals of the JCLC:

to organize the resources of labor collectives to carry out their duties to perestroyka in industrial and economic activities and to implement social programs based on collaboration and mutual assistance in order to raise the living standard of the EsSSR population;

to protect the rights and legitimate interests of labor collectives, enterprises as a whole and each individual employee;

to make a practical contribution to the implementation of programs of regional economic accountability;

and to encourage coordinated use of the rights and powers of labor collectives in discussing and solving state and social problems, as well as increased political activity by workers.

1.6 In the industrial and economic areas, the JCLC will organize the efforts of labor collectives in the following areas of joint activity:

to rebuild and retool industry, and to raise its efficiency;

to introduce into industry achievements of science and technology, as well as input saving and waste-free production processes;

to reorient industry to produce output based on market demand;

to supply the republic's markets with high-quality and consumer goods;

to raise the quality of output and make it competitive on both domestic and foreign markets;

to raise labor productivity and reduce costs, and to increase the efficiency of industrial production;

and to improve organization of production, management and marketing of goods and introduce new forms of labor organization and remuneration.

1.7 In the area of social development, the JCLC will direct the activity of labor collectives to solve the following problems:

to provide comfortable housing to every employee's family, especially by collaborating on construction projects;

to improve the supply of food available to employees by providing reciprocal assistance to kolkhozes and sovkhozes and jointly setting up affiliated farms on a lease contract basis;

to reduce the strain on the environment and improve environmental protection;

to assist everyone who wishes to study the Estonian language and to learn more about the art and culture of the EsSSR;

to improve work conditions and safety measures for workers and members of their families;

to encourage physical culture and sports, technical creativity, amateur art and other leisure activities;

to assist in the training, professional advancement and retraining of labor resources and help place workers who lost their jobs due to restructuring of enterprises;

and to provide welfare assistance to war and labor veterans, as well as to disabled and aged retirees.

1.8 The EsSSR JCLC will coordinate the activity of labor collectives in the following areas of state and public life:

when USSR and EsSSR draft laws are published for public discussion or when decisions and resolutions of local soviets of the people's deputies are being discussed—in order to develop and present our proposals and to defend them before the proper authorities;

when candidates are selected and when deputies to local soviets and delegates to USSR and EsSSR congresses of the people's deputies are elected;

and when labor collectives' proposals are considered and developed—in order to present them to the proper authorities.

## **2. Membership of the EsSSR JCLC; Members' Rights and Responsibilities**

2.1 Membership of the EsSSR JCLC is open to EsSSR labor collectives who accept its program and charter and actively participate in collective actions.

2.2 The decision to join the JCLC can be made by the council of the labor collective or at a general meeting or conference of the labor collective; it must be properly documented and submitted to the JCLC presidium.

2.3 The decision to admit a labor collective to the JCLC is made by the regional council.

2.4 All JCLC members are equal, regardless of the size of their labor collectives.

2.5 The responsibilities of all JCLC members and every individual member are defined by the JCLC charter and program or set by the conference, the council of representatives or the presidium.

2.6 Labor collectives can band together in regional councils which are part of the EsSSR JCLC.

2.7 Regional councils may have their own structure and management and focus their activity on solving problems of their own region, coordinating their work with local soviets.

2.8 Any enterprise, by the decision of the council or of the meeting or conference of its labor collective, may choose not to take part in a JCLC activity and is also free to leave the JCLC at any time. Financial discipline approved by the JCLC conference is compulsory and its violation may result in expulsion from the JCLC.

2.9 When breaches of the charter or financial discipline occur, the council of representatives has the right to expel the responsible enterprise from the JCLC.

2.10 All decisions of the council of representatives and conference of the JCLC are approved by a simple majority with at least two thirds of all members present.

### 3. Organizational Structure of the JCLC

3.1 The structure of the JCLC is based on industry and geographical location, its main structural unit being a labor collective as a collective member of the JCLC.

3.2 The highest organ of the JCLC is the republic-wide conference of labor collectives called at intervals of at least 2 years;

3.3 Between conferences, the function of the highest organ of the JCLC is performed by the council of representatives which gathers at least twice a year. The council of representatives is appointed by regional councils, with the ratio of representation of 1 council member per 1,000 workers.

3.4 The presidium is the executive organ of the JCLC council of representatives; it is elected at the conference. The presidium carries out general management functions and meets at least once every 3 months.

3.5 To carry out the ordinary functions listed in articles 1.6-1.8 of the Charter, the JCLC sets up the apparatus, consisting of hired specialists. Staffing requirements, job responsibilities and salaries must be approved by the JCLC presidium.

3.6 The JCLC will use its own means and funds, as well as those of its member enterprises, to provide job benefits to its staff. The contribution by enterprises should consist of providing trips to resorts and sanatoria, allowing them to use their health care facilities, offering housing and other benefits provided to members of labor collectives, at the consent of the JCLC presidium.

3.7 An inspection commission will be elected at the JCLC conference to effect control over financial activities.

### 4. Funding and Spending Regulations

4.1 Funding for the JCLC comes from contributions by member enterprises based on their size, and from other sources as well.

4.2 Funds are contributed by enterprises from their own funds, based on the USSR law on the state enterprise or complex, by the decision of their councils.

4.3 The JCLC will use its funds as follows:

to support the JCLC apparatus;

to carry out propaganda and information work;

and to finance its publications.

4.4 The spending budget must be approved by the council of representatives.

### 5. Dissolution of the JCLC

5.1 The JCLC can be dissolved or reorganized by the vote of the JCLC conference, by secret ballot and with the participation of all of its members, i.e., enterprises' councils of labor collectives. Dissolution is possible with the consent of all the members.

5.2 If the JCLC is dissolved, remaining property and funds will be returned to JCLC members in proportion to their contribution, by the decision of the JCLC presidium which must be approved by the JCLC conference.

### 6. Adoption of the EsSSR JCLC's Charter

6.1 The charter of the EsSSR JCLC, all amendments and changes in it, will be adopted by the EsSSR JCLC conference if it is approved by at least two thirds of all delegates.

6.2 The JCLC charter will be officially registered according to existing regulations.

**Declaration of Founding**

18000375 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 16 Dec 88 p 3

[Declaration of Founding of the EsSSR's Joint Council of Labor Collectives (EsSSR JCLC)]

[Text] We the workers, specialists and professionals representing labor collectives of 117 enterprises and organizations of the republic, conscious of our role as the moving force of perestroika, in order to overcome departmental divisions and to join our forces in the task of implementing economic accountability in the republic, its cities and rayons, have decided to exercise the right guaranteed to us as citizens of the EsSSR by Article 49 of EsSSR Constitution to declare and inform the appropriate state authorities, party, union and komсомol organs, independent public organizations and the mass media that on this day, November 30, 1988, by the decision of the republic-wide conference of labor collectives, a new public organization has been formed, the EsSSR's Joint Council of Labor Collectives (EsSSR JCLC).

The ideological platform of the JCLC is the marxist-leninist theory of scientific communism, as it is manifested in the decisions of the 27th CPSU congress, subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the 19th all-union party conference and the 11th plenum of the EsSSR Communist Party's Central Committee.

We recognize the CPSU as a political, leading and directing force in our society.

We recognize the precedence of socialist society over state as the precedence of cause over effect and, consequently, the precedence of equality of all members of the socialist society over equality of citizens.

We are for the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic as a sovereign socialist popular state expressing the will and interests of workers, peasants and the intelligentsia, i.e. of the working people of the republic of all nationalities.

In the area of nationalities and interethnic relations, we are for internationalism in its leninist sense, for the equal fraternity and cooperation of all nationalities in the general interest of perestroika.

We declare our readiness to actively cooperate with all state bodies, public organizations and social movements.

Approved by the republic-wide conference of the JCLC. November 30, 1988.

**Resolution on Interethnic Relations**

18000375 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 16 Dec 88 p 3

[Resolution of the Founding Conference of the EsSSR's Joint Council of Labor Collectives]

[Text] The Joint Council of Labor Collectives appeals to all public movements and organizations and to the entire population of the republic to reconsider the existing internal political situation taking into account existing realities, especially in the area of interethnic relations. The desire to normalize the situation should be shared by any sane person, regardless of nationality. Only by joint efforts, rejecting completely unjustified mutual distrust, could we better our condition and build a foundation for the bright future for our children.

Perestroika compels us to shift from words to deeds and to seek constructive solutions.

The conference of the Joint Council of Labor Collectives:

1. Calls upon all social forces to shift under the leadership of the Estonian Communist Party to concrete deeds to normalize interethnic relations and join pro-perestroika forces.

2. We feel that the basis for accelerating socio-economic development in the republic lies in joint efforts by labor collectives and their close collaboration with soviets of the people's deputies to introduce regional economic accountability at every enterprise and region, and in the republic as a whole. We offer our active cooperation in this area to scientists and specialists.

3. In the name of bringing together Estonia's workers, we appeal to public movements to refrain from holding rallies, demonstrations or picketing which would exacerbate the political situation and interethnic relations.

4. Reflecting the opinion of labor collectives belonging to the Joint Council, we propose to rework significantly the draft law on the language to take into account the interests of all of the republic's residents, and to open it for popular discussion.

5. The Joint Council of Labor Collectives establishes an annual prize fund of up to R5,000 to award prizes to writers, journalists and public figures in the republic for best works, television programs or public and political activity promoting the normalization of interethnic relations in the republic, which make the most significant contribution to accelerating socio-economic development in Estonia.

6. We support the appeal "To the People of Estonia" by the Estonian Peace Committee and the Estonian affiliate

of the Soviet Peace Fund to assist victims of the natural disaster in Nicaragua. We call upon all labor collectives to give all possible assistance to the victims.

Approved by the republic-wide conference of the JCLC. November 30, 1988.

**Latvian People's Front Duma Resolution on Draft Reform Laws**

18000307a Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH  
in Russian 10 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by the Duma of the Latvian People's Front: "Resolution"]

[Text] Resolution of the Duma of the People's Front of Latvia: On drafts amending and supplementing the USSR Constitution and on the election of USSR People's Deputies.

Taking into account the views expressed by the People's Front of Latvia (NFL) sections, groups and participants, the NFL Duma believes that the USSR Constitution should be significantly revised and new democratic electoral laws should be adopted. These steps will promote perestroika, lead to the creation of a law-governed state, introduce democratic changes in public life, and uphold the interests of all nations and nationalities. The drafts now being debated nationwide fail to meet these objectives. Elaborated behind closed doors and in haste, they do not reflect the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and even distort its resolutions in many instances. The drafts do not consolidate the policy adopted by the 19th Conference to develop national self-rule and vest the Soviets with full powers. The structure of the USSR supreme organ of power and its sphere of competence are overcentralized. Compared with the present Constitution, it becomes centralized even more. The role that smaller union republics are to play in the work of the USSR Union is curtailed, including their sovereign right to develop the economic, social and cultural life in their republics independently. No consistent division of power is envisaged; local authorities will retain their control over courts.

The electoral system deviates from the universally recognized norms of the Soviet electoral law that guarantees a universal, equal and direct ballot. The allocation of every third deputy's slot to a representative of the central bodies of the all-Union public organizations cannot be deemed democratic either. Despite the USSR being a Union state, important amendments to the USSR Constitution have been worked out and put for a nationwide debate without the participation of all sovereign union republics, whose opinion has not been sounded out.

Considering the circumstances mentioned above, the NFL Duma decrees:

1. Recognize that the drafts amending the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and on the election of the USSR

People's Deputies, which have been submitted for a nationwide debate, are unacceptable as they now read. If passed in their present form, they could seriously hamper perestroika and the establishment of a law-governed state, and undermine the Soviet Union's international prestige. Not enough time remains to drastically revise the drafts before the USSR Supreme Soviet meets in session.

The present Constitution should be largely rewritten and a new version adopted to reform profoundly the Soviet political system and to restructure the Soviet federation on Leninist principles. Drawing all Union republics into a broadly-based debate on the drafts, this should be done only after all Union republics have re-written their constitutions. To this purpose, an authoritative constitutional commission should be set up to enable all Union republics to initiate laws governing the formulation of federative constitutional norms.

2. Adopt temporary electoral laws to ensure democratic elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet early in 1989. The draft on the election of People's Deputies should become the kingpin for formulating such laws, with the following amendments:

- do not nominate People's Deputies directly by public organizations;
- consistently observe the rule under which the heads of state power bodies, under the immediate jurisdiction of the USSR Supreme Soviet, cannot double as Deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Make the same rule cover deputy ministers, chairmen of state committees and head of USSR agencies;
- nominate at least two candidates for each deputy's office;
- register all the candidates nominated according to the established procedures. The electoral district meetings should be convened only to become familiar with the candidates' electoral platforms and to debate them;
- provide all officially registered candidates with equal access to mass media;
- include representatives of all Union republics in the central electoral commission. The Union electoral commissions should be represented by public organizations;
- take the nomination of candidates for deputy offices out of the control of the district electoral commissions;
- make voters eligible to cast ballots only at the places of their permanent residence. Those who are temporarily away can send their ballots by mail or through other means;
- considering the fact that military units include representatives of different Union republics and their stationing in various republics is only temporary, permit

them to elect deputies to the Soviet of the Union only at special electoral districts.

3. Urge all NFL affiliates and groups:

—to launch a comprehensive discussion of the drafts in work collectives in order to analyse their shortcomings and pass evaluations. Send these evaluations to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR;

—start a signature campaign to endorse the present NFL Duma resolution;

—organize meetings with deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and Latvian SSR, make them familiar with the electors' opinion and give them mandates reflecting the electors' will.

4. Call upon all those residing in Latvia to frustrate any attempts to limit the republics' rights and freedoms and send letters and cables to that effect to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR.

5. Urge the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR, the Republic's supreme organ of power, to voice its opinion regarding the attempts to restrict the status of the Latvian SSR as a sovereign republic.

6. Entrust the NFL board to team up with the Estonian People's Front and the Movement for Restructuring in Lithuania to formulate a joint stand on the proposed amendments to the USSR Constitution and make it known to other Union republics.

Call upon other organs to adopt similar measures, including the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR, the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, the Central Committee of the Latvian Komsomol and the Latvian Trade Union Council.

7. Invite all deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, representing the Latvian SSR, to meet the NFL Duma members and experts before the former leave to attend the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This meeting is intended to enable the republic representatives to hammer out a joint platform on the debated issues.

**Alma-Ata People's Front Program Evaluated**  
*18300238 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA*  
*in Russian 26 Nov 88 pp 1-2*

[Interview of Manash Kabashevich Kozybayev, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR, by T. Kvyatkovskaya: "Con Men": to Learn Democracy"]

[Text] On November 17 in the article "According to the 'Declaration' and in Actuality" our newspaper told

about the organizing efforts of the so-called "Alma-Ata People's Front." The publication of this item aroused significant reader interest. In some letters and telephone calls there was agitation and alarm: the processes of democratization in the country were being abused by rogues and demagogues, they are speculating with the difficulties of perestroika, demoralizing some part of society, especially the youth. In these responses the alarm was followed by a call to combat all "informals" with the most severe measures.

There was also, however, a good-sized share of readers who did not fail to express skeptical doubts about the correctness of the assessments of the position of the author with regard to the program of the non-existent "people's front" in Alma-Ata. Why, this portion of the readers wonders, should we take the journalist at his word? Who knows, perhaps it will turn out that there is something there that the administrators and bureaucrats do not like and have ordered that it be disparaged and that the new sprouts be trampled...

The editorial staff immediately experienced a feeling of strange sympathy with the second group. It was based on two important factors. In the first place we, like all modern people, want to comprehend the reality of our times, independently analyzing facts and phenomena. In the second place probably each of us cherishes deep down inside us the longing for a miracle: we want to see the fruits of perestroika, on a large scale, already today, all at once, immediately. Just imagine, you wake up in the morning, go out on the street, and the store counters are bursting with goods, prices are fabulously low, everyone who needs housing has already been moved into lovely apartments, and factory smoke stacks are not spouting soot over the whole country...

Alas! Obviously more than just a year or two will be needed before we receive a return from all the new economic levers of perestroika that have been turned on and are being turned on. Each of us needs persistence and patience, and today we need a firm immunity from premature disillusionment.

In desiring an immediate miracle and not seeing it we begin to understand that up to this point many of us are still afflicted with social apathy. We understand and recognize that this is a disease. And in the process of healing it one cannot exclude the possibility that some local and large-scale social phenomena might be capable of accelerating perestroika. We want such phenomena to come into being. This is the reason for the interest in all kinds of independent social movements: who are they, what do they want, and what are their capabilities?

If some kind of "people's front" announces itself, according to the assertions of its leaders, in support of perestroika with its program, let the reader study and discuss this program.

We analyzed this document, undertook to study it and become thoroughly puzzled. This was not because of its exotic nature (the whole "program" is a collection of quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Gorbachev). The puzzlement arose from the fact that it was simply impossible to make sense out of the words and phrases linking these quotations or find any logical connection between them. From the program, affairs and activities it was not clear who stood behind this document, and it was also impossible to visualize the organization even according to structural principles.

You experience the same feeling when before your eyes con men on the street rip off unsuspecting passers by with the shell game: pay your money and guess! After all the pea has to be under one of the shells, it has to be! But the pea is not under the shell. And it cannot be, because of sleight-of-hand.

Believing our eyes less than the hope and the expectation of a healthy, necessary, and somehow large-scale social phenomenon in support of the acceleration of perestroika, however, our correspondent nevertheless went with the "program" and her questions to the competent people. Just maybe this document was so philosophically and historically new that our perception was simply incapable of grasping it.

We discussed in detail the phenomenon of independent movements and the program put forward by the initiators of the establishment of the "Alma-Ata People's Front" with Doctor of Historical Sciences Manash Kabashevich Kozybayev, a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR.

[Kvyatkovskaya] Manash Kabashevich, from the standpoint of a historical scholar how can such phenomena as the "people's front" and the movement of independent formations as a whole be evaluated?

[Kozybayev] It is my opinion that this is a normal and completely natural phenomenon in the current stage of our history. Decades of "unanimity and conformity of opinions" penetrated so deeply into our consciousness and moreover into our psychology and weaned us away from political activeness that the present diversity of opinions on one or another aspect of perestroika sometimes evokes a defensive reaction of negation or prohibition. The motive force of the activity of the independent groups is the struggle with formalism, bureaucracy and other backward structures that were generated by Stalinism and flourished like a luxuriant sterile flower in the period of stagnation. In this regard one should take into account the fact that it was not some kind of "informals" but the party that first announced and began the struggle with deformations of socialism. Above all in its own ranks. And not in the form of the usual "campaign to overcome," as was the case in the recent past, but made the solution of this extremely complex problem the central element in its program documents.

[Kvyatkovskaya] Thus the very movement of independent formations is not simply a symptom of perestroika but also its offspring. Meanwhile editorial staffs, including ours, receive letters with concerns and alarms for perestroika in connection with the emergence of various groups, the distribution of copies of "declarations," the organization of meetings, etc.

[Kozybayev] The question turns on the problem of the social and class structure of Soviet society. Today we recognize that the Soviet Union is not only the "working class, collective peasantry and laboring intelligentsia," but a complex, intertwined conglomerate of social groups even within the framework of one collective. If one takes, for example, an industrial enterprise, from the standpoint of the personnel department these are engineers, technicians and laborers, but from the viewpoint of a sociologist there are dozens of groups, which are united both professionally and by level of outlook, culture, leisure time interests, etc. Each of them has its own interests, including political interests.

That is the way it is with the "informals." Some take part in the mercy movement because of their emotional sympathy and bombard the bureaucrats in the Ministry of Public Health with criticism. Others, who are concerned about the way leisure time is spent, organize groups of punks and lovers of classical music. The spectrum of orientations is polyphonic: from amateur ecologists to (as recently became known) neofascists.

[Kvyatkovskaya] In which of the multitudinous orientations can the "people's front" in Alma-Ata, which in fact has not yet been established, be classified?

[Kozybayev] Before stating my opinion I would like to clarify certain terminological concepts.

[Kvyatkovskaya] What do you have in mind?

[Kozybayev] First of all I would not venture to call this attempt by a tiny fraction of the people of Alma-Ata a "movement," to say nothing of a social process with the strong name "front," which unites the social strata of society. In this case it is difficult to speak seriously about this as a mass political organization in our city. For me, however, the political platform that was set out is curious, in particular the effort to present itself as a political force and to create the impression of a vanguard of perestroika.

This is one aspect of the question. On the other hand I have a strictly professional interest in the matter. If one relates to the declarations of the "Alma-Ata People's Front" as a document (the word document is derived from Latin - "an instructive example based on evidence"), it offers a great deal of interest to the researcher. I have in mind problems such as the nature of dilettantish interference in professional policy with claims to leadership.

Among a multitude of nuances one characteristic feature should be singled out as a key feature. In the preamble of the "provisional organizational document," in the provisions of the charter, and also in the slogan part calls can be heard that are dear to every Soviet person to take an active part in perestroika, to overcome passivity and to recognize one's self in society.

It is not surprising that the authors of the "national front's" program above grasped at what had received recognition among the people - the resolutions of the 19th Party Conference, and by means of elementary manipulation transformed them into their own slogans.

And this is already flagrant plagiarism and unfair play in the struggle for their own "primogeniture."

[Kvyatkovskaya] I am not disturbed by the fact that our party slogans, the slogans of perestroika, are found in the document of the "people's front." Let them be used! If only there were the designations and objects of concrete useful matters behind these slogans. Alas there is not a single one. Something else bothers me, the notion that they cover up something, some kind of unfathomable pea under the shell...

[Kozybayev] In even a quick scanning of the draft program of the "Alma-Ata People's Front" (APF) one is struck by the confusion with regard to political and ideological aspects of the problem, and absurdities from the standpoint of formal logic are obvious.

For example, the term "honest producers" pops up in such sections of the document as "People," "Dogmatists and Falsifiers," and others. In the dictionary of the Russian language two definitions are given for this word: 1. one who manufactures something and 2. male animal producing offspring. From the context of the APF program, however, it remains unexplained up to the end which one of these definitions applies to these "honest producers." Formulations of the type "friends of the people," "councils of producers," and "capitalist who is managed by another capitalist" are also vague.

In proclaiming itself a "union of a broad democratic movement and the progressive forces of the CPSU" the APF at the same time announces that it itself is a party of the "people's front democratic movement" and that "organizations and groups proclaiming themselves to be parties cannot be members of the people's front."

While professing the principle of "mutual respect and tolerance" in words, the APF at the same time makes an epigraph of the call to "act as a weapon when this becomes necessary."

[Kvyatkovskaya] One must assume that the words of Karl Marx are used as an epigraph for an authoritative theoretical justification. The thing is that APF presents to us in its documents some kind of completely new "theory" of the class structure of society.

[Kozybayev] In the view of the APF leaders we are all naive people who are hopelessly behind the times, and our concepts about the classical antagonism in the form of capital and hired labor is nothing more than a reflection of the "dogmatism of the East" and the "falsifications of the West." The Marxist-Leninist teaching about classes and the class structure is dogma, they write. So that this "daring" thought might not go too far as an open text, however, the authors, imitating the favorite prestidigitators' tricks, introduce a timely quotation. In this case it is one by V.L. Lenin: "People always were and will always be stupid victims of deception and self-deception in politics until they learn to look for the interests of one class or another behind any moral, religious, political or social phrases, statements or promises." The APF figures looked over these interests and in accordance with them discovered new classes that were previously unknown to us and which, it turns out, make up the whole wide world. Just what are these classes? It turns out that they are the honest producers and the exploiters. According to the new "revolutionary" world view a "capitalist who is managed by another capitalist becomes a producer, and a managing or parasitizing capitalist becomes a consumer, i. e. an "exploiter." Unfortunately such dense theoretizing, which does not conform to sensible logic and a system of knowledge, does not lend itself to commentary.

The APF draft program does not stand up to criticism. An idea is torn out of its context and twisted to fit a concrete contemporary situation, there are inaccurate quotations, references to the original are garbled. It could also stand being gone over with a red pencil by a Russian language teacher.

[Kvyatkovskaya] Manash Kabashevich, you are jesting, but we would still like a scientific analysis of what is completely incomprehensible from the whole complex text. Well, for example, an item like: "The APF defines the motive forces of revolution: the honest producers in league with the unemployed of the whole world unite under the revolutionary flag for a struggle against the monarchic rulers and their apologists - the falsifiers and dogmatists of Marxism-Leninism..."

[Kozybayev] It may seem strange, but thanks to this repugnant babble passing for a program I, as a professional researcher, almost physically felt the grotesque state of mind into which geneticists were plunged when forced in the sadly well-known times to delve into the "finer points" of the unscientific profanations of the Lysenkoite "transformers of nature." In this case we have encountered exactly the same kind of militant ignorance.

Of course it would be possible simply to dismiss opponents coming from who knows where or to advise them that before sowing confusion they should learn at least

the ABCs of political literacy and not rely only on their own intuition, which in their self-confident opinion is nothing less than the concentrated reflection of the aspirations of the masses.

I think, however, that it would be incorrect to ignore completely such examples of "informal creativity"! Above all because this is not at all as innocent as, say, the exercises of an amateur vocal ensemble.

[Kvyatkovskaya] I personally find alarming the fact that it would be easy for shady characters and even criminals, to attach themselves to such uneducated attempts at political activity. We already have the example of A. Yestekov. Wearing the mask of a political figure, these people want to hide their real social portrait under it. In acute situations, however, these very people are capable of provocations and illegal acts. And if the motive force of the informal movement really were some kind of positive effort to further perestroika, it could be compromised.

[Kozybayev] I would not want to dramatize the situation unnecessarily, but it seems that in this case we are dealing with attempts to force on the public consciousness perverted concepts, verbally stylized as ideals of perestroika. It is hard to say whether the proponents of this initiative thought things over deeply and seriously, but it turns out that through irresponsible appeals and incorrect treatment of slogans and calls for action they, intentionally or unintentionally, cause intellectual turmoil, act to destabilize relations, and damage the consolidation of the forces of perestroika.

It is clear that such processes pour balsam on the souls of the opponents of perestroika and democratization. They are just waiting for anarchy to be added to the economic difficulties that are always characteristic of a transition period. This is when their "starry hour" comes, this is when they come out into the arena of social and political life demanding that an end be put to chaos (read: nascent democracy) and disorder. And we can all foresee what kind of "order" they have in mind for us, since there are more than enough historical analogies on that account. Look out, perestroika, and crude force comes to the fore. Thus not all "good intentions" have a positive effect. It can happen, as Dante said, that: "The road to Hell is paved with them." In this connection it is necessary to carry out a lot of explanatory work to separate the wheat from the tares.

In conclusion I would like to say that today the level of political culture is higher than ever. In any event it certainly is not what it was 50 years ago. The Soviet person, armed with Marxist-Leninist knowledge and the revolutionary ideas of perestroika can no longer be fooled easily by demagogic methods and seductive words, no matter how they are disguised. And this is one of the firm guarantees of the success of perestroika.

Unfortunately this important fact is not properly understood by the initiators of the creation of the "Alma-Ata

People's Front." These people who are arguing for fundamental changes have compromised by their own demagogic statements not only the movement of independent groups, which are an objective product of democratization, but also the very essence of perestroika.

[Kvyatkovskaya] It is no accident that we used the term "con men" in the headline of this article. From the conversation with Manash Kabashevich it is clear that the manipulation of political slogans is like a shell game. Distracting unfortunate people with the feeling that they will win something soon, cleverness of mind, like slight of hand, operates in the interests of one side. It is not difficult to guess which interests are involved in this case.

The conversation was conducted by T. Kvyatkovskaya.

### **Armenian Press Reports on Sumgait Tragedy Trial in Moscow**

#### **Witnesses Face 'Obstacles' to Testifying**

*18300158 Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian  
27 Oct 88 p 4*

[Article by L. Azroyan, Dzh. Balagezyan, special correspondents of the Armenian News Agency, Moscow: "The Witnesses Testify, But Now and Then They Forget. . ."]

[Text] It is beyond human capacity to hear about the Sumgait crimes in the hall of the USSR Supreme Court and to keep one's composure.

The reading of the bill of indictment on the crimes committed only in one Sumgait quarter—41A, which for some reason in the proceedings, as well as in the press publications, are qualified only as disturbances.

Those present in the hall were completely shaken. It was no coincidence that during the entire trial a brigade of physicians was present. Hundreds of pages of the bill of indictment contained a description of the monstrous crimes committed on 29 February 1988 in only one hour in only one quarter of Sumgait, and persons of Armenian nationality became their victims.

The accounts of the witnesses, who for some reason became very "forgetful," confirm that an infuriated crowd burst into the Sumgait quarter 41A, which someone with a loudspeaker urged "to kill the Armenians." The same voice, as if to calm the others, on the same loudspeaker, broadcast: "We are not criminals and not robbers. We have only come to kill Armenians." Here they are, the "heroes" exposed in the pogroms and called to account—the 24-year old spinning factory worker A.

Akhmedov, his age cohort, the electric welder of the Construction and Assembly Administration No 3 I. Ismailov, and the 18-year old student at the automobile school Ya. Dzhaferov.

These "not criminals and not robbers" on that same day in February burst into the apartments of Armenians, dragged their proprietors into the street, threw their things outside and burned them. On this bonfire, they also burned their victim, already killed by the blows of an axe or scrap metal.

One of the witnesses, S. Guliyev, recalls: "One of them managed to escape, but they overtook him, poured gasoline over him and set him on fire. The victim continued to run. The rest was not visible from my balcony. . . ."

Another witness, V. Adlukhanov, related: "Returning home, I saw at the railroad crossing, in the reeds, a nude girl, covered with blood. My comrades and I went past, I think she was already dead." And that's all. As if we were talking about something ordinary and routine.

"And on what basis did they brutally kill people?" This question was repeatedly posed to the witnesses?

And the reply constantly was one and the same—on the basis of nationality.

"And if you would have been an Armenian," asked the defense attorney, R. Rshuni, one of the witnesses, "what would they have done with you?"

"Of course, they would have killed us," came the completely certain answer.

But for some reason the translator "corrected" the answer and presented it in the following way: "They probably would have killed us. . . ." In essence, the difference is not great, but, as was indicated in the protest of one of the victims, to the chairman of the court, R. Brize, this translator permits many such "corrections."

Under escort they lead into the court room the 18-year old I. Belyev, a graduate of the Sumgait Vocational-Technical School No 49, who was arrested for participation in crimes in another quarter of Sumgait. He confessed that he knows two of the defendants, and on the day when the crimes were committed, saw them at the place of the incident, and that he himself also took part in the robbery of an apartment belonging to one of the Armenians. However, as soon as the discussion turns to the murder in the courtyard of this building, his memory fails him. He thus "did not remember" the details of the crime, although the judges, the procurator, and the defense attorneys several times reminded him of his previous statements, in which I. Belyev in great detail described the picture of the murder of one of the Armenians by Ya. Dzhaferov.

The witness excused himself saying that he had hurried home and left, not having waited to the end, in order to take his Armenian mother away and hide her in the village.

To the question of the procurator, why he acted that way, the latter answered: "So that they would not kill her, too. . . ."

There is a great deal that is unclear in the Sumgait tragedy. Who incited thousands of people to the murder of Armenians and the robbery of their apartments? Why did the local militia and other law enforcement organs fail to act? Why were the telephones in some districts of the city disconnected? These and many such questions were repeatedly raised by the defense attorneys R. Rshuni and P. Shaposhnikova, but they remained without an answer.

The sisters Irina and Karine Melkumyan, who became widows in one day—29 February, were summoned to the court as witnesses. But they arrived several days late, since they were unable to overcome obstacles that had developed in Baku, and only after the intervention of the chairman of the court did they succeed in getting to Moscow.

As the defense attorneys told us, the court session nevertheless is not held within the framework of the requirements of the code, although both the defendants and some witnesses, by repudiating their preliminary statements, place the court before new difficulties.

The court hears the witnesses out, takes into consideration their "forgetfulness," carefully investigates every new fact and new detail, and gives them a principled assessment.

The court session continues.

### Prosecutor Criticizes Case Handling

18300158 Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
30 Oct 88 p 4

[Interview with Ruben Saakyan, member of the ArSSR Bar, by V. Sarkisyan: "Has the Day of Reckoning Come?"; date and place not specified; first four paragraphs are *KOMMUNIST* introduction]

[Text] On 12 October, in the Sumgait City People's Court, the assizes of the Judicial Board for Criminal Cases of the Voronezh Oblast Court began in the case of A. Mekhdiyev, Z. Rzayev, and A. Turabiyev, accused of the organization and participation in mass disorders in Sumgait, accompanied by murders, rapes, robbery attacks, pogroms, robberies, and instances of demolition and arson. Chairman at the trial—V. P. Korolkova. The interests of the injured party were represented by R. Saakyan, member of the ArSSR Bar.

The beginning of the trial was postponed because of the absence of one of the victims. A day later the court investigation was resumed. But now already the defendant Rzayev, having refused the services of a local attorney, demanded the invitation of an attorney from the RSFSR. On 17 October a Voronezh attorney appeared in the court room, and now Rzayev refused the services of this defense attorney as well. At the same time, the attorney for the injured party demanded time for more thorough acquaintance with the materials of the criminal case. The petition was granted. The court examination resumed on 24 October.

After a day, the injured side left the room of the court session, having refused to take part in the inquest, to give testimony, and demanded the release of the attorney R. Saakyan from further participation in the case.

The editors turned to Ruben Saakyan with the request to shed light on the course of this court examination.

[Sarkisyan] Obviously, for such conduct the injured party had weighty reasons. What prompted it to refuse further participation in the case?

[Saakyan] Already the day before, 24 October, at the end of the preparatory part of the court session, i. e., before the reading of the bill of indictment, I was compelled to turn to the judicial board with a petition for the return of the case for additional investigation in connection with the extremely incomplete, non-comprehensive and unobjective preliminary investigation. It was conducted by the investigation group of the USSR Procuracy under the leadership of the investigator for especially important affairs at the USSR Procurator General, the state counselor for justice, V. S. Galkin, beginning 1 March of this year, with the participation of about 200 investigators.

[Sarkisyan] What precisely do you understand by "extremely incomplete and unobjective investigation?"

[Saakyan] In my petition, 17 points were advanced which supported the incompleteness of the investigation. I will list the most vulnerable aspects, which could not satisfy the requirements for the defense of the injured party.

In my view, Mekhdiyev was not also charged with incitement to the perpetration of rapes and murders. Rzayev was charged with the murder of V. Avanesyan and attempted murder of his brother A. Avanesyan, committed for hooligan motives. However, on the basis of the case it was established that numerous physical injuries were inflicted on the brothers, and their murders were carried out at a close distance from each other, by which they caused them special suffering, i. e., the crime was committed with special cruelty as well.

Not all suspects in the case were presented to the injured and witnesses for identification (five suspects were presented to one, and 24 to others). But, you see, it is well known that more than 90 Azerbaijani are under investigation on the basis of the facts of the Sumgait events and that many of them perpetrated their bloody crimes in various parts of the city at a different time.

Serious claims were made even with regard to the local law enforcement organs and authorities, which did not in good time try to stop, prevent, and liquidate the disorders, which led to tragic consequences.

On the same day the attorneys for the defense demanded time to familiarize themselves with the arguments of my petition and the statement of their opinion of it.

The next morning they turned to the judicial board with the request to deny the petition. Then followed the conclusion of the procurator: "A number of the arguments of the counsellor deserve attention, but I think that these arguments will have to be solved in the course of the court investigation, which is precisely the purpose for which it is conducted. A significant part of the points of the petition presented to return the case for additional investigation has to do with the incompleteness of the charges presented, the incorrect legal assessment, and the non-establishment and involvement of all the persons that took part in the crime. But in the present court session we are examining only part of the whole case, or part of the Sumgait that we are talking about. The representative of the victims is attempting to look at the case through the prism of all the events; in general, perhaps, this is correct, this is his right.

But take notice: The criminal case was instituted on the basis of the facts of mass disorders in February of this year in Sumgait and is not yet completed, an investigation is being conducted, and here the question was raised: In how many cases will the victims in our case still participate as victims. To come up with an answer to this question will be very difficult. This will depend on the results of the inquest, upon the end of the investigation of all the events.

I think that this petition is premature, it will have to be discussed further in the course of the court investigation. For this reason it must be denied. . . ."

And here is the opinion of the chairman of the court: ". . . The petition of comrade Saakyan cannot be granted, for all of the questions set forth in the written petition to return the case for additional investigation can be objectively solved only after careful research, in the court session, into all the materials of the criminal case, comprehensive interrogations of the victims, defendants, and witnesses. Under these circumstances, the court considers the petition of Counsellor Saakyan to be premature. . . ."

[Sarkisyan] It is well known that the injured part has also submitted a petition.

[Saakyan] Yes, the victims Rima Avanesyan and Vladimir Babayev, the parents of the murdered Valeriy and Albert, have petitioned to be recognized as civil plaintiffs and have demanded compensation of material damages in the amount of 65,500 rubles, which were inflicted on them in the course of the pogroms. In the civil declaration of R. Avanesyan it is noted that she is petitioning for compensation for material damages only for one purpose—to build a memorial to the Sumgait victims, and to transfer the remaining part of the funds to the Children's Fund. Analogous demands have also been made by Nina and Khachatur Babayev (the total of the damages came to 29,800 rubles). They were unanimous in their demand to recognize as the civil defendant the government of the Azerbaijan SSR, citing as reasons the fact that it was precisely the failure on its part to take the requisite measures in good time which led to the tragic consequences.

[Sarkisyan] It is understandable that the court recognized the victims as civil plaintiffs, and you as their representative. But what decision did it adopt with respect to the "civil defendant"?

[Saakyan] I will cite both opinions: That of procurator and that of the court.

"... As far as the recognition of the government of Azerbaijan as the civil defendant is concerned, I consider that this petition is to be denied, since measures were taken, adequate or inadequate, but measures were taken. ..."

"... The petition concerning the recognition of the government of Azerbaijan as the civil defendant, in the opinion of the court, can be permitted only at the end of the court investigation, when all the circumstances of the crime committed will have been established by the court. Depending on what proofs will be obtained in the court session, the question of the institution of proceedings against the government of the Azerbaijan SSR as a civil defendant will be decided. ..."

[Sarkisyan] As far as I know, after this there followed the written petition of the victims and their representative with the request to conduct the inquest in the city of Voronezh.

[Saakyan] The reasons for such a declaration are well known and indisputable. The victims and some witnesses are afraid to give correct testimony in Sumgait. In the city, where before their eyes they killed completely innocent people, raped women, ransacked apartments, undressed men and women, led them through the streets, taunted and mocked their victims, pelted military sub-units, overturning and burning their means of transportation. ...

The counsellors, and then the procurator as well, proposed the denial of this petition. The judicial board also denied the request, considering the conduct of the inquest in Sumgait as expedient and taking into account the fact that about 50 persons, the basic part of whom are local inhabitants, should be questioned in the case.

[Sarkisyan] The injured party left the court room—was this the only reasonable step in the conditions that had been created?

[Saakyan] Alas, yes. On 14 October, prior to the beginning of the court session, unknown people of Azerbaijan nationality threatened the victims with reprisal. I was compelled to report this to the judicial board. The presiding investigator of the investigation group of the USSR Procuracy, Sh. Valeyev, took the victims away to a safe place, where the members of the investigation group are. The victim M. K. reported that crosses were painted by unknown persons on the doors of her apartment in the city of Baku.

The building of the court in Sumgait, where the trial is being held and where the further investigation of the events is being conducted, is under intensified armed protection, and in the court room, in addition to the reinforced escort of the defendants, a large group of militia officials is present on a constant basis. These facts, unquestionably, are indicative of the natural apprehensions of the judicial board and the investigation group of the USSR Procuracy. It is natural that these apprehensions do not leave the injured party outside the court room.

[Sarkisyan] Thus, the victims declared that they will not testify in Sumgait and demanded to release their representative from participation in the case. How reasonable is your departure from the court room and your further non-participation in the trial?

[Saakyan] From a legal point of view, I had to end my participation in the case, since the request of the victims in and of itself is the dissolution of the agreement on my participation in the case. However, I am inclined to think that the presence of a counsellor would make it possible to fully represent in the trial the interests of the victims, to take part in the assessment of the evidence, and to assist with the pronouncement of a lawful sentence. My clients, in spite of these arguments, did not allow my further participation in the case, citing as reasons the lack of guarantees for my safety and the unpredictability of the consequences at the moment of the pronouncement of the verdict.

[Sarkisyan] Does this mean that, with respect to you, too, some kind of illegal actions were permitted?

[Saakyan] From the first moment of my participation in the case, I made use of a tape recorder, which is not prohibited by the legislation on criminal procedure. The attorneys of the defendants did not like this and they

petitioned the court to prohibit me from using tape recording. Wide use was made of far-fetched pretexts about the supposedly provocational goals pursued by me. . . . The court denied their illegal demand. Apparently, such conduct of the Azerbaijan attorneys gave rise to unprintable invectives directed at me at the moment of my leaving the premises on the part of the relatives of the defendants who present in the court room.

[Sarkisyan] And who represented the interests of the defendants?

[Saakyan] The initials of the attorneys were not named, and I know only their surnames—Kerimov, Turbovs-kaya, and Aslanov. The public defender appointed by the collective of the Special Mechanization Administration No 2 (SUM-2) of the Promstroymekhanizatsiya [Industrial Construction Mechanization] Special Trust, where the defendant Mekhdiyev worked, also took part in the case. At the same time, this same collective petitioned for the transfer of the materials of the case with respect to Mekhdiyev for examination by the SUM-2 comrade court?!).

[Sarkisyan] Excuse me, I did not understand. What public defender are we talking about? Is it not cynical to appoint a defense attorney from the collective? And is not indicative of the fact that in Azerbaijan, up to now, a proper assessment with respect to the tragic events in Sumgait has not been made?

[Saakyan] I agree with you. Taking into account the gravity of the crime with which Mekhdiyev was charged, the appearance of a public prosecutor in the court room would have been more natural. Moreover, Mekhdiyev does not admit his guilt and, from a legal point of view, it looks inexpert for his attorney to present this petition of the collective to the court with regard to the gravity of the criminal action.

[Sarkisyan] What, in concrete terms, incriminates each of the defendants?

[Saakyan] Mekhdiyev, Alamdar Gasanali ogly is an Azerbaijanian, 36 years old, brigade leader of the asphalt workers of SUM-2, the father of three children, charged with verbal propaganda and agitation aimed at the arousal of nationality hatred and discord, the organization of mass disorders in 4-5 quarters of the city. Rzayev, Zakir Mamed ogly is an Azerbaijanian, 26 years old, a native of the village of Fioletovo of Gugarkskiy Rayon of the Armenian SSR, he has two children, without a certain type of occupation and place of residence, charged with participation in mass disorders, robbery assault aimed at the seizure of personal property of citizens, as well as premeditated murder, motivated by hooliganism, of A. Avanesyan. Turabiyev, Azer Gasan ogly is an Azerbaijanian, 22 years old, a native of the village of Aydayan of the Gugarkskiy Rayon of the Armenian SSR, a member of the Komsomol, single,

concrete mixer motor-mechanic of the Plant for Reinforced Concrete Products No 12 of the Zhelezobeton Trust, charged with participation in mass disorders and the premeditated murder, motivated by hooliganism, of A. Avanesyan.

[Sarkisyan] All of the bloody crimes in Sumgait were directed against representatives of one nation—the Armenians. The formulation “motivated by hooliganism” figures constantly in the case. Your opinion with respect to this?

[Saakyan] The investigation organs proceeded from the criminal legislation currently effective in the country. It seems to me, the frequently-repeated formulation “motivated by hooliganism” called forth a select legal approach to the Sumgait events. If the Sumgait tragedy would be regarded as a single, multi-episode crime, probably new and more precise formulations would be found, which in the criminal legislation being revised today are absent. You see, what took place in Sumgait is an unprecedented case in the history of Soviet society. And the jurists are obligated to reflect on this phenomenon as a whole, as the sum of murders, acts of violence, arson, plunder, and robbery, as one crime, and not as separate crimes which, by accident, took place in one and the same city and at the same time.

[Sarkisyan] Is the version of witness testimony adduced by you being confirmed?

[Saakyan] A precise or unequivocal answer to this question will only be possible after the conclusion of all the trials in the case of the Sumgait events. At present one can only state that there are numerous testimonies of witnesses in the case that require thorough investigation in the court.

Defendants, witnesses, and responsible officials, mainly of Azerbaijan nationality, during the period of the investigation testified that one of the organizers of the pogroms (Mekhdiyev), inciting to the perpetration of outrages with respect to the Armenians, said the following: You are not Muslims, in Armenia they kill Azerbaijanians, rape Azerbaijani women, cut their breasts, crop their hair, undress them and take them out into the streets, burn crosses on their foreheads, and for this it is necessary to kill Armenians, to destroy them. . . .

[Sarkisyan] Probably one must have iron nerves to listen to this nightmare day after day? . . .

[Saakyan] Trying to grasp the meaning of the materials of the case, a man can lose his reason. In the course of an hour, they broke down the door of the apartment of the Avanesyans, broke the windows with stones, tried to set fire to the apartment, and hit the step-father in the temple with a rock. He fell down, having become unconscious. The wife dragged her husband to the second floor, into an apartment in which a Russian family lived. The brothers tried to save themselves by escaping, but each

one of them was surrounded separately by the crowd, which was armed with reinforcement bars, stones, rocks, knives, axes, and brutally beat them to death.

When I became familiarized with the materials of the case, I was struck by the petition of the Azerbaijani attorney with respect to the episode of the murder of A. Avanesyan by Turabiyev. From the words of the defendant, he writes that his client, who accidentally turned out to be at the place of the crime and, having seen that a great many people were holding on to the hands of some man and having understood that he was an Armenian, in order to scare the latter stabbed him with a penknife and that this man (A. Avanesyan) did not react to the stab and continued to stand on his feet. The attorney concludes his petition as follows: "Turabiyev did not have any intention of killing Avanesyan. Basing himself on the above-mentioned reasons, there is no corpus delicti in the actions of T., stipulated by Articles 72 and 94, paragraph 2 of the AzSSR Criminal Code. I ask that the criminal case be dropped."

According to the testimony of M. K., a victim in the case, she and her sister, M. L., during the time of the pogrom were raped by dozens of Azerbaijani men in one room. They then led the naked M. K. into the streets of the city and continued to beat her and jeer at her. The case with respect to the raped woman is in the investigation stage. Many of those who committed the rape, according to M. K., have been arrested. M. K. was involved in this case as a victim, since Turabiyev inflicted several knife blows on her body.

[Sarkisyan] How do you qualify the actions of the local organs of internal affairs?

[Saakyan] In the letter of the chairman of the Sumgait Gorispolkom, addressed to the investigation group, it is noted that "the measures taken against the crowd by the internal affairs organs were extremely inadequate." I think that the conduct of the Sumgait militia cannot be classified other than criminal inaction.

Here is an excerpt from the testimony of one witness (an Azerbaijanian): "Next to me there were four militia officials, all of them sergeants, and two firemen, who did not take any measures at all. Soon the brothers who were surrounded by the crowd ran from the doorway. Valeriy ran to the pumping station, and Albert to the city military commissariat (the distance between the two objects amounts to about 50 meters). About ten men surrounded Valeriy and began to beat him. He fell, and they continued to beat him. This went on for about 5 minutes, until he ceased to move and give signs of life. Not one of the militia employees helped him. Even the fire engine, which had come from the courtyard, almost came to Valeriy. One of the militiamen said that to help him was useless, since he will die all the same. I was extremely surprised that before the eyes of four officials in uniform, who had firearms, such a thing is taking place and they do not help the man whom they were

killing. I walked up and saw from five meters that he was still moving and breathing with difficulty. I again went to the militiamen and told them that he is still alive. One of them responded that he will die all the same, and they ordered me to leave the courtyard.

I saw how near the military commissariat about ten people were beating Albert. He was screaming. I did not go close, but I understood that they killed him. The militiamen also observed this." The witness also reported that he can identify the militiamen and that one of them has a red "Zhiguli"—VAZ 2107.

[Sarkisyan] Have the identities of these "guardians of order" been established?

[Saakyan] For this case, the identities of these militiamen have not been established. I add that this witness declared that he can identify two more persons who actively took part in the pogroms and the murders and described their appearance. However, they did not present anyone to him for identification. There is a multitude of such testimonies with respect to this and other episodes.

The victim Khachatur Babayev, risking his life, descended from the third floor along a drain-pipe and made his way to the 2nd Militia Office of Sumgait, which was located across from his house, and reported about what was happening. A duty detail of the militia (10-12 men) was sent to the house. However, the latter did not go up into the doorway, but disappeared in an unknown direction. And at this time, the thugs were trying to throw his wife out of a window of the third floor, having stripped her naked, one of them tried to cut off her ear lobe in order to appropriate her ear-ring. It has been established that at this time there was a group of militia officials in the courtyard of the Babayev's house, headed by a responsible official, a colonel of the AzSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, who "at the cost of enormous efforts" succeeded in persuading Mekhdiyev to influence the crowd and to put a stop to the pogrom in the apartment of the Babayevs.

[Sarkisyan] You are in Yerevan, the victims, too. The petition concerning the conduct of the inquest outside the boundaries of Azerbaijan has been refused, the trial is continuing.

[Saakyan] It is very difficult to resign oneself to this. I am a lawyer, I cannot look into the eyes of Avanesyan Rimme—the mother, who in the course of one hour lost two sons, Vladimir Babayev, a by far no longer young man, who was left behind without family and shelter by the will of "Sumgait," and Nina and Khachatur Babayev, who survived but have not forgotten the February days.

The history of legal proceedings in this country has not known such an example. As we, lawyers, say, "there is no practice" in exceptional cases. But a "case" did take

place. It is impossible to blot out "Sumgait" from the pages of the history of inter-nationality relations in our country. It is impossible to tear out the new juridical category of "Sumgait" from the thousands of pages of Soviet legal proceedings. This means that Soviet legal science is obliged to find in itself the moral strength to secure a comprehensive and full investigation, an understanding of the category of "Sumgait", to find an assessment adequate to it. Even if only so that "Sumgait" remains the only, unprecedented example in the history of legal proceedings in our country.

**Azerinform on 26 November Baku Special Plenum**  
*18300215a Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian*  
*27 Nov 88 pp 1, 3*

[Azerinform report: "To Stabilize the Situation in Baku; Extraordinary Plenum of the Baku Party Gorkom"]

[Text] An extraordinary plenum of the Baku party gorkom was held on November 26 to discuss the situation which had arisen in the republic's capital and the tasks of the Baku city party organizations on improving organizational and mass-political work and stabilizing the conditions in the city.

A large group of deputies of the Baku city soviet, representatives of party, soviet, trade union and Kom-somol organizations, and economic leaders who were not members of the elected organs of the city party organizations participated in the work of the plenum.

Azerbaijan CP Central Committee First Secretary A. Kh. Vezirov spoke at the plenum.

We are the witnesses, he said, to a growth in the activity of our republic's workers. Their voice, unfortunately, was not heard in the years of stagnation. Today, under conditions of glasnost, our people, supporting perestroyka, speak openly of all the painful problems. The growth of national self-awareness is taking place before our very eyes, and this, undoubtedly, we must welcome. I consider this to be a very important process. We will continue to do everything possible to activate in every way the participation of broad masses of workers in the management of our society's affairs. Only in this way can we really achieve perestroyka.

The republic's leadership is holding numerous meetings with various categories of the population. We are listening carefully, and most importantly—we are taking their opinions into consideration in all the documents being developed on the socio-economic and spiritual development of our republic and, of course, its capital.

We have outlined good plans on such burning problems as the history, language, and traditions of the Azerbaijani people, the housing question, and a number of other

problems associated with improving the living conditions of our people and affirming the principles of social justice in the republic. You are well aware of these and other decisions which we have made.

Today all of us, the thousands and thousands of people of Baku as well as other cities and rayons, are concerned with problems which were provoked and imposed upon us by the efforts of the extremist, anti-perestroyka powers within our republic as well as beyond its boundaries.

I am referring to the sorry state in which the Azerbaijanis who have been forced to leave their homes in Armenia and Nagornyy Karabakh have found themselves. The republic's Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution which will be published in the press regarding measures for creating normal living conditions for these people. Those who have decided to settle in rural rayons will be given land plots, loans, and other aid so that they can live and work in a normal manner.

We are in constant contact with Moscow and are taking other measures to ensure the safety of the Azerbaijanis living in Armenia.

The second question which concerns the republic's workers and worries the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee and the Baku party gorkom is associated with a number of irresponsible statements made at Opera Square in Yerevan, as well as with the illegal actions of the NKAO leadership. You are well aware of the acts of instigation which have occurred in Topkhan and other places. We are taking all possible measures to eliminate their consequences. The appropriate decisions have been made, and much has already been done to develop a number of villages in the NKAO, especially those which for years have found themselves in unfavorable conditions.

At the same time, I would like to stress that certain forces in the NKAO are not only not cooperating with this noble activity, but are hindering it. One of their representatives is the first secretary of the party obkom, Comrade Pogosyan. This is why the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee believes that the position of Comrade Pogosyan as the leader of the oblast party organization is unacceptable. We have informed the CPSU Central Committee of this fact and have asked it to review this question.

I would like to say that our country's leadership is very much concerned with the situation in the region. In this connection, I have been invited to the capital by M.S. Gorbachev in order to discuss ways for the fastest possible normalization of the situation. At our request, M.S. Gorbachev will also meet with the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet from our republic. We must prepare well for this meeting so as to convey to the country's leadership our thoughts, all that concerns and worries our people, and of course, rational and constructive proposals aimed at resolving this painful question.

We have always stood and will continue to stand on internationalist positions. We will speak out in favor of peace, friendship, and mutual understanding between our peoples.

Neither the Azerbaijani nor the Armenian peoples are at fault for what has happened. The responsibility lies with those forces who are interested in forcing the peoples into conflict, with those who try to reanimate the problems which have forever been cast aside by history. Playing on the feelings of the people and speculating in democracy and glasnost, they strive to introduce dissidence and to sow international discord.

I believe that we are of one opinion—we will not allow such a development of events! We have done and will continue to do everything possible so as not to follow the path of confrontation. We will strive toward that which will be able to restore those friendly relations which were always characteristic for the Azerbaijani people.

Look at how many representatives of different peoples and different nations live in our republic! Look at the national make-up of the Baku party gorkom and the deputies of the Baku soviet. All of this is our great accomplishment, and we will not let anyone encroach upon it. I am sure that these healthy forces will allow us to emerge in a worthy manner from this new trial into which the anti-perestroika forces have thrust us.

The main question around which the discussion developed and which found its logical conclusion at the meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 18 July was the fact that no territorial changes are planned for our republic. The NKAO has been and will remain within the confines of the Azerbaijan SSR.

However, there are those who like to spread unfounded rumors and fabrications, who openly speak out against this singularly correct and wise decision which serves the interests of both the Azerbaijani and the Armenian peoples, as well as the highest interests of our state. We have not turned away and we will not turn away from this direction.

We constantly inform the CPSU Central Committee about everything that concerns the republic's communists and workers. We make the appropriate decisions regarding all the constructive and beneficial proposals introduced by our comrades. We will also report on them in detail at the meeting with the leadership of our party and state.

You know, A. Kh. Vezirov continued, how much effort the republic's leadership is expending to see that the principles of social justice triumph. We are doing much and want to do even more so that our people live in a worthy manner, so that they will command respect, and so that their well-being will increase. I am grateful to all who sent letters and proposals and came to the Central Committee offering their help in implementing the

course adopted by the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee. We have received especially many such appeals and advice in these difficult and complex days.

Of course, the people are concerned by the dangerous development of the situation. In reality, comrade communists, the situation is critical and is fraught with serious consequences.

Meetings have been held during the last few days in Baku and other places throughout the republic. On the whole they bear a peaceful character. However, under the influence of certain forces, the criminal element has sharply stepped up its activity. There were hooligan pranks in 17 of the republic's cities and rayons. Many people were wounded, and there were some casualties.

I must report that we have information about what forces and organizations are directing this criminal activity. The people have always called them by their true names: bribe takers, the mafia. These forces are openly hampering our efforts and hindering the implementation of numerous useful proposals which the people present.

Every day the Central Committee and the Central Committee Secretariat receives an especially large volume of mail, primarily on the questions associated with the situation in Nagornyy Karabakh. We familiarize ourselves very carefully with all these letters, telegrams and notes. Many suggestions bear a real and constructive character, and the Central Committee Buro immediately reviews them and makes the appropriate decisions.

Everything that serves the people, everything that is beneficial to our republic and to the cause of perestroika deserves the most careful study and effective reaction. This is true also for the party gorkom as well as the Baku gorispolkom.

We have actively utilized the ideas and suggestions which we received from the letters and proposals of workers in the materials of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee plenums, including the recent one which discussed the housing problem. As we know, the primary directions for the forthcoming work on accelerating housing construction which were published in the press were widely discussed by all the people.

And let us take the question of the spiritual values, traditions, history, and Azerbaijan language. We have had many discussions with specialists who must deal with questions of use and development of language and improvement of its study. All of them expressed approval of the tasks set in this connection at the plenum of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee. Yet why does the matter not go any farther? I heard the speeches of several of these comrades on television. They were calling for us to actively take up the problems of language. One of the speeches was simply surprising. The speaker announced that we must see to it that the AzSSR

Constitution specifies Azerbaijani as the state language. Why, we have already adopted such an article to the constitution, and even earlier than in the other republics.

I have repeatedly said that we have many people who try only to accuse and criticize instead of actively including themselves in the cause.

The republic workers' support of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee's line is heartening, noted Comrade Vezirov. This support has resounded at many meetings.

However, of course, the main topic of discussion concerned the events associated with Nagornyy Karabakh. They continue to evoke agitation and emotions, which in a number of places have spilled over the edge.

I must inform you that we are controlling the situation. We have everything necessary at our disposal to prevent the development of events in a dangerous direction.

I would like to stress once again that many correct words were said at meetings and worthy proposals were introduced. However, there were also inciting words. Appeals and slogans were presented which sometimes were not in line with the internationalism of the Azerbaijani people.

We cannot and never will agree with those whose speeches lead to confrontation and who by their actions and statements incite inter-ethnic dissension. Our glorious Azerbaijani people have always been known as a people who knew how and wanted to live in peace with all peoples. We have always been proud of the multinational make-up of our republic's population, and of the fact that the Azerbaijanis were the outpost of internationalism in the East. In these difficult days we see many examples of support, cooperation and mutual aid by people of different nationalities living in our republic.

We cannot allow the plans of the organizers of the "Karabakh" and "Krunk" movements and other illegal organizations to be implemented.

We are strong in our endurance, in our internationalism. We are strong in our true friendship with the great Russian people and with all the Soviet peoples, and in our trueness to the highest interests of our state. We will always be true to this.

Nevertheless, unfortunately, there are people who want to destabilize the situation and hinder us on the road of perestroika.

At all the conferences and meetings and in their letters the people categorically call upon the republic's leadership not to turn away from the path of renovation, the struggle for social justice, the implementation of the outlined plans for housing construction, the strengthening of public health, and the improvement of the well-being of the people.

This is why I turn to all the workers of our republic, and especially to the Baku residents, with an appeal for law and order, reason, and restraint. I call upon the communists and all the healthy forces of the republic—and this is millions of people—to bar the way for hooligans and criminal elements.

Restraint, wisdom, and law and order—these are the necessary conditions for successfully and finally resolving all questions, including those associated with the NKAO. We must do everything possible to see that the sovereign rights of our republic are not violated by anyone. We must do everything possible to see that peace and tranquility finally come to the land of Karabakh, and that the well-known resolution on the NKAO be fulfilled.

We must do everything possible to ensure the implementation of the adopted decisions on the socio-economic development of the flatland regions of the Karabakh, the mountain regions of the republic, the Nakhichevan ASSR, and Sumgait, and achieve realization of all our other plans. In order for all that we have planned to become a reality we need time. I understand very well how tired people are of all the outrages and misfortunes which have been stored up for years. I myself would like with all my heart to see everything settled even today. But for this we need not only time, but also the active participation of each person in this great undertaking.

The people must work and learn, and there must be a normal situation in the cities and rayons. Only intensive labor will allow us to realize all our plans and to demonstrate to the entire world the best qualities of the Azerbaijani people. We must not give the enemies of perestroika reason to rejoice.

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The speakers at the plenum were V. G. Mamedov, first secretary of the Party Raykom imeni 26 Baku Commissars; F. A. Guseynov, chief of the Baku gorispolkom UVD; K. G. Kerimov, director of the Palace imeni V. I. Lenin; E. A. Azizov, first secretary of the Baku gorkom Komsomol; A. Yu. Karakhanov, general director of the NPO "Azneftemash"; R. A. Agayev, general director of the "Bakelektrobytpribor" Association; M. A. Bagirov, rector of Azerbaijan Polytechnical Institute; Ya. D. Mamedov, rector of Azgosuniversitet; "Veten" Society Presidium Chairman Elchin; Ya. D. Mamedov, rector of Azerbaijan State Medical Institute; T. A. Gumbatova, chairman of the republic trade union committee of state institution workers; I. A. Ibragimov, rector of AzINEF-TEKhim [Azerbaijan Institute of Petroleum and Chemistry imeni M. Azizbekov], and F. E. Musayev, first secretary of the Baku party gorkom.

The plenum noted that communists, workers and Baku residents fervently supported the course adopted by the party toward perestroika, the affirmation of democratization and glasnost in the life of Soviet society. These

processes evoke general approval. The Baku party organization will continue to direct its energy and all the efforts of the working masses toward the struggle for acceleration of the republic's socio-economic development. Baku residents unanimously support the efforts undertaken by the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee toward the continued development of the republic's economy, the improvement of living conditions of the workers, and the restoration of social justice.

At the same time, the speakers noted, the events in Nagornyy Karabakh and around it greatly distract the workers from implementing the tasks of perestroika. The plenum noted that the means of solving this complex problem were defined in the address of G. M. Gorbachev to the peoples and workers of Azerbaijan and Armenia, as well as in well-known documents of the party and the government, and in the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 18 July. However, the realization of what has been planned is encountering the fierce opposition of anti-perestroika forces. One of the main questions which justifiably worries the workers of Baku and the entire republic is the illegal construction in the area of Topkhan. The Azerbaijanis living on the territory of the Armenian SSR are being subjected to persecution. These and other facts have evoked the just indignation of the residents of Baku, who are holding demonstrations and meetings on V. I. Lenin Square. Their participants are speaking out against the national egoism of an individual group of people in the oblast and the leaders of the "Karabakh" committee who are inciting even more interethnic discord.

Baku residents are justly alarmed and concerned by the position provoked by certain instigators to destabilize the situation. Having succumbed to provocations and threats, the labor collectives of certain industries and transport enterprises have stopped work, which inflicts economic loss upon the city. The anti-perestroika forces, interested in escalation of tensions, are trying to sow inter-ethnic hatred and to spread various rumors and fabrications among the population. Having seized the moment, various hooliganistic elements have also stepped up their activities. All this, naturally, evokes serious concern and indignation on the part of the citizens. It was noted at the plenum that in connection with this, the decision on declaring a special situation and imposing a curfew was deemed timely.

The plenum participants stressed that the persons who are trying to use the situation which has emerged in the republic with ill intent, thereby inflicting detriment upon the good name of the Azerbaijani people, must be countermanded with firmness, endurance, and international coherence—the qualities traditionally inherent in the heroic working class of Baku and all Baku residents. We must create work brigades which would guard the enterprises and maintain public order in the city. We must intensify organizational and mass political work among the population and fill it with specific content

and internationalist ideals. The plenum stressed that the Baku party organization considers itself mobilized for stabilization of the situation in the city.

The plenum participants sent a letter to the Armenian CP Central Committee and the Yerevan party gorkom with an appeal to take immediate measures for ensuring the safety of persons of Azerbaijani nationality living in Armenia.

CPSU Central Committee official D. S. Afanasyev also took part in the work of the plenum.

### **Azerbaijani Historian Refutes ArSSR Daily's Counterblast to NKAO Article**

*18300213a Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
25 Nov 88 p 3*

[Interview with Doctor of Historical Sciences D. Guliyev by editors of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY: "Truth Is More Valuable When It Is Truth"; first three paragraphs are BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY introduction]

[Text] An article by Doctor of Historical Sciences D. Guliyev entitled "From a Position of Internationalism. On the History of Establishment of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR" appeared in the 14 July issue of this newspaper. On the basis of thorough study of historical sources and a large number of party and government documents, the author analyzes the conditions and causes leading to the formation of the NKAO and reveals inaccuracies and distortions on the part of some scholars in discussing the course of events connected with the formation of this autonomous oblast.

Doctor of Historical Sciences Kh. Barsegyan wrote a "letter to the editors," which was in actual fact an entire article, entitled "The Truth Is More Valuable. On D. Guliyev's Article 'From a Position of Internationalism....'," which was published in the 29 September issue of the newspaper KOMMUNIST (Yerevan).

The editors of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY have asked D. Guliyev to comment on some of the questions of interest to our readers which have arisen in connection with the publication of this article.

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[Editors] What is your assessment of the arguments, conclusions, and polemical devices in the response article by Kh. Barsegyan?

[Guliyev] I should like to remind the author of that outstanding thought articulated by S. G. Shaumyan: "In order for such publications to be acknowledged useful and desirable, it is essential that they give the reader genuine knowledge about historical eras and events.

"On the other hand it is necessary that the writer have a more or less serious historical world view and a historical viewpoint, with the aid of which he is able critically to address the material and exert influence on the reader's education and development" ("Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Writings], Vol 1). This quotation refers to a requirement imposed on historical research and concepts. Unfortunately Kh. Barsegyan is far from such a position. In spite of his claims of scholarly competence, one is astounded at the unsoundness of his methodological approach to the problem. In place of persuasiveness, a dialectical analysis of specific historical facts and patterns, and scholarly objectivity in interpretation of facts and selection of sources, he offers an eclectic stringing together of documents, materials, and numerous citations arbitrarily selected to bolster a position taken in advance. As regards the polemical tactics of Kh. Barsegyan, I must admit that I feel embarrassed for the professor's open animosity and for his attacks against Azerbaijani colleagues, attacks which are unworthy of the honor of a Soviet scholar and intellectual.

In this connection I should like to turn to the authority of V. I. Lenin, an eminent master of political and scientific debate: "Why enter into a debate if one has essentially no wish to understand his opponent's opinion or to present his own opinion in a straightforward manner? Does a debate which avoids the heart of the matter not threaten to degenerate into a most unpleasant squabble? Is it really worthwhile to begin a debate if there is no desire or if it is acknowledged untimely to analyze an issue on its substance and to express one's opinion with completely definiteness and without any reservations?" ("Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 5, pp 285-286).

A detailed reply would be too lengthy, and I shall therefore address individual points.

[Editors] And obviously the first point to address is the Declaration by the Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee, made public by N. N. Narimanov on 1 December 1920 at an official meeting of the Baku Soviet in connection with the victory of Soviet rule in Armenia?

[Guliyev] Yes, I shall begin with this event. First of all I must state that adoption of a decision on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem was preceded at the beginning of the 1920's by a thorough discussion, weighing of different points of view, consideration of socioeconomic preconditions and consequences, and study of interests, opinions, and attitudes. Thus discussion of the problem and its resolution were of a genuinely democratic nature and were not the result of any subjective viewpoints or any outside "pressure." It proceeded from an analysis of existing realities.

Nagorno-Karabakh, a constituent part of the territory of Azerbaijan, was kept within the republic in conformity with Leninist principles of this country's national-governmental organization and a declaration of the will of the

population of that oblast. Factors considered in settling the question included the historically-established integrity of the Karabakh region, which includes both an upland and a lowland part. Of decisive influence was the fact of strong economic and social ties between Nagorno-Karabakh and the other regions of Azerbaijan, especially with Baku, a large industrial and proletarian center. This was in conformity with the root, vital interests of the working people of the Nagorno-Karabakh. Other factors taken into consideration were the ethnic composition of the population and the need to ensure its comprehensive development in light of the requirements of the party's Leninist nationalities policy, which was specifically embodied in the granting of extensive regional autonomy.

N. Narimanov's position on Nagorno-Karabakh was unequivocal; it was fully in conformity with the decisions of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and the Caucasian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks): to give the working people of Nagorno-Karabakh the full right of self-determination, which in fact was carried out in 1923 by holding a referendum. The question of the Declaration was examined at a joint session of the Politburo and Orgburo of the AzCP(b) [Azerbaijan Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)] Central Committee on 30 November 1920, with the participation of M. D. Guseynov, V. G. Yegorov, G. N. Kaminskiy, A. G. Karayev, M. B. Kasumov, N. Narimanov, G. K. Ordzhonikidze, Sarkis (S. A. Ter-Danielyan), Ye. D. Stasova, and A. B. Serebrovskiy. The bureau issued a decree stating that the Upland [Nagornaya] part of Karabakh was to be given the right of self-determination. (Party archives of the Azerbaijan branch of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Fund 1, list 74, File 121, sheets 58-59).

On the following day, 1 December 1920, N. Narimanov publicly read the Declaration at an official meeting of the Baku Soviet, at which, incidentally, A. Bekzadyan presented a message of greeting from the Revolutionary Committee of Soviet Armenia. Here is the full text of the Declaration:

*The government of Soviet Azerbaijan greets with feelings of profound joy those heroic efforts which are presently being displayed by the Armenian working people in the struggle against the hated yoke of oppression imposed by the Dashnak Government, which in the course of slightly more than two years has brought Armenia to total ruin and desperation.*

The period of Dashnak rule has been a period of bloody bacchanalia and interethnic slaughter, during which the blood of the Armenian and Muslim peoples has flowed. The governments of the Musavat and the Dashnaks, having sold out to the Entente, turned the people into a blind instrument in the hands of the Entente and, in their lust after imperialism, set one people against another,

creating the Karabakh, Zangezur, Nakhichevan, and other territorial questions, which could not be settled by the efforts of the Dashnak-Musavat reactionaries.

Hundreds of demolished villages and hamlets, tens and hundreds of thousands of starving, homeless people—these are living witnesses to the recent past, which shows how a small group of adventurers and lackeys of the world bourgeoisie condemned tens and hundreds of thousands of people to hunger, cold, and death for the sake of their own personal interests.

Soviet Azerbaijan, in sympathy with the struggle of the fraternal Armenian working people against rule by the Dashnaks, who are shedding and who have shed the innocent blood of our finest Communist comrades in Armenia and Zangezur, declares that henceforth no territorial issues may become the cause of mutual bloodshed on the part of the Armenians and Muslims, two peoples which have been neighbors for many centuries; that the territories of Zangezur and Nakhichevan uyezds constitute an indivisible part of Soviet Armenia, and that the working peasantry of Nagorno-Karabakh shall be given the full right of self-determination, that all military operations within Zangezur shall be brought to a halt, and that the forces of Soviet Azerbaijan shall be withdrawn.

Moreover, Soviet Azerbaijan offers Soviet Armenia full access to its inexhaustible riches: oil, kerosene, and other products which Soviet Azerbaijan possesses.

These riches, which were being extracted by the predators of world imperialism, for the sake of which bloody orgies took place on the soil of Transcaucasia, shall henceforth become the property of the working people of Russia, Soviet Azerbaijan, and Soviet Armenia which, marching together in solid ranks, shall proceed with throwing off the yoke of world capital once and for all.

Long live the fraternal alliance of the working people of Soviet Armenia and Azerbaijan!

Long live the world revolution, which is bringing peace, brotherhood and liberation to the oppressed people of the world!

The text of the Declaration was published in the republic newspapers KOMMUNIST and BAKINSKIY RABOCHIIY on 2-3 December 1920.

The 28 December 1920 Declaration of the Revolutionary Committee of the Armenian SSR, published under the signatures of S. I. Kasyan, Avis (A. S. Nuridzhanyan), and A. Bekzadyan, constituted a response to the Declaration of the Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee, which was permeated with a spirit of proletarian, socialist internationalism. The Armenian Declaration states that the population of Nakhichevan is to be given the right of free self-determination. The need for this was dictated by a number of both internal and external political conditions. The formation of the Nakhichevan

ASSR, just as the NKAO, became one of a number of weighty arguments giving practical confirmation of the vitality of the principles of the national-governmental organization of the USSR.

It would seem that matters pertaining to the Declaration are quite clear. But Kh. Barsegyan's letter reveals a deliberate maneuvering of the truth, for which he has a considerable propensity. The esteemed professor, who is well acquainted with the history and contents of the Declaration of the Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee (he is one of the authors of the collected volume "Velikaya Oktyabrskaya sotsialisticheskaya revolyutsiya i pobeda Sovetskoy vlasti v Armenii" [The Great October Socialist Revolution and the Victory of Soviet Rule in Armenia], Yerevan, 1957, in which the text of this document appears on pages 437-438, with reference to the 2 December 1920 issue of the Russian-language Baku newspaper KOMMUNIST and a copy in the Central State Archives of the Armenian SSR), cites in his letter of response a completely different text of the declaration, that text which, he writes, was published in the 7 December 1920 issue of the newspaper KOMMUNIST (later renamed SOVETSKAYA ARMENIYA).

Incidentally, the declaration text cited by Kh. Barsegyan is not to be found in the party and state archives of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Just what is it about the historical text of the Declaration of the Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee which is used by his colleagues (in particular, in a monograph by Doctor of Historical Sciences S. V. Kharmandaryan entitled "Lenin i stanovleniye Zakavkazskoy Federatsii. 1921-1923" [Lenin and Formation of the Transcaucasian Federation, 1921-1923], Yerevan, 1969, page 99) that is not to the liking of Kh. Barsegyan?

One can easily determine the answer to this by turning to the specific texts. The Declaration of the Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee reads: "...The working peasantry of the Nagorno-Karabakh shall be given the full right of self-determination..." while the version of the text as cited in Kh. Barsegyan's letter reads: "Nagorno-Karabakh, Zangezur, and Nakhichevan are recognized to be an integral part of the Armenian Socialist Republic."

I should note that this attempt to muddle history is not new. At one time N. Narimanov raised a determined objection against distortions of the contents of the Declaration he had made public. In a conversation by direct phone line on 27 June 1921 with Mukhtar Gadzhiev, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Azerbaijan SSR, and Mirza Davud Guseynov, people's commissar of foreign affairs of the Azerbaijan SSR, who were in Tiflis, he reaffirms: "If they make reference to my Declaration, the Declaration reads as follows, and I quote: 'Nagorno-Karabakh shall be given the right of free self-determination,'" and he asks them to pass on the

message that "the issue shall be resolved only within these parameters." The claims to Nagorno-Karabakh made by certain officials from Armenia essentially were in conflict with the interests of the working people. As M. D. Guseynov emphasized in this conversation, "...our comrades the Armenians are thinking only about territory, not about the welfare of the impoverished Armenian and Muslim population and consolidation of the revolution" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee, Fund 74, List 1, File 31, sheets 85, 86).

[Editors] Thank you for your detailed explanation.

[Guliyev] I would like to make a few additional comments regarding Kh. Barsegyan's arbitrary and self-serving treatment of historical facts and materials. One's attention is drawn, for example, by the artful method with which he quotes from sources. Quoting a statement by A. I. Mikoyan: "Dashnak agents of the Armenian Government..." the author fails to complete the citation: "...are attempting to annex the Karabakh to Armenia, but for the population of Karabakh this would mean losing Baku, the very wellspring of their existence, and becoming bound to Erivan, with which they never had any ties." And yet the omitted portion of the citation contains the very heart of the issue! In addition, as A. I. Mikoyan attests, the population, the peasantry of Nagorno-Karabakh, spoke out emphatically in favor of the oblast remaining within Azerbaijan. And this was still during the Musavat regime, in spite of all attempts by the Dashnaks, who had advanced the adventurist slogan "Greater Armenia."

In addition, it by no means follows from the statement by V. I. Lenin quoted by Barsegyan, a statement cited by A. Mravyan in his reminiscences of a meeting with Ilich: "But you have settled your territorial disputes with Azerbaijan," that V. I. Lenin supported turning over Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia.

There is a patent absence of logic in Kh. Barsegyan's assessment of "Stalin's role" in the fate of Nagorno-Karabakh. On the one hand he appraises settlement of the question as a result of administrative fiat and pressure by Stalin, while on the other hand he readily turns for corroboration of the "truth" to Stalin's article "Long Live Soviet Armenia," in which the content of the 1 December 1920 Declaration is distorted, namely: Nagorno-Karabakh is listed together with Zangezur and Nakhichevan as being transferred over to Soviet Armenia. And the fact is that Barsegyan liberally cites sources containing inaccuracies, distortions, and errors, but which support his contention.

Speaking of sources, the article's author states: "It will also not hurt D. Guliyev to acquaint himself with the proceedings of the Second Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, published in IZVESTIYA of the Azerbaijan Communist Party of Bolsheviks (Nos 4, 6, 1921), which are preserved in the Party Archives at his institute." In reply to

this rather immodest advice, I can only assure my colleague that I am sufficiently well acquainted with the stenographic record of the AzCP(b) congresses to be able to grasp that the esteemed professor can hardly have personal acquaintance with the materials he recommends. The question of Nagorno-Karabakh was not discussed at the Second Congress of the AzCP(b), held in October 1920. It was discussed at the Third Congress in February 1921, and in the proceedings of this congress, published in Nos 4 and 6, 1921, of IZVESTIYA of the Azerbaijan CP(b) Central Committee, the Nagorno-Karabakh question is examined in the spirit of the 1 December 1920 Declaration of the Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee, and the fact that the text of this Declaration was made public by N. Narimanov is stated. Therefore my esteemed opponent's concern about historical authenticity has in this instance resulted in confirmation of his lack of professional integrity.

And it is also quite frivolous to utilize sociopolitical commentary by a poet, even Sergey Gorodetskiy, as source material in a scholarly debate! His essay "Karabakh" was published in 1919 in KAVKAZSKOYE SLOVO, a newspaper of the wealthy Armenian bourgeoisie. It is quite probable that a politically naive poet could come under the influence of the wealthy Armenian bourgeoisie.

[Editors] Kh. Barsegyan "mentions" in passing, as it were, that when it was established the Institute of History of the Party "bore the name of S. Shaumyan, and one wonders through whose fault or ill will the name of this ardent Bolshevik and leader of the Baku Commune disappeared.... Another interesting fact," he writes, "is that a highly important and significant statement disappeared from the masthead of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in the 1930's: 'Founded by S. Shaumyan and A. Dzharidze-Alesha.' Do you have any comment?"

[Guliyev] In 1928 the Azerbaijan Party History Bureau, established in 1921, was transformed into the Institute for Study of the Class Struggle and the Azerbaijan Communist Party. Establishment of this institute coincided with the 10th anniversary of the deaths of the 26 Baku Commissars. At that time it was given the name of S. G. Shaumyan. Subsequently, pursuant to a decree issued by the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), both the institute and the entire system of party history institutes operating throughout the country was reorganized into a branch of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. But this scientific establishment continued to bear the name of Shaumyan for some time. Since 1956, adopting a form common to all the institutes, our institute has borne the name Institute of Party History under the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee—a branch of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Neither the Institute of Marxism-Leninism nor any of its 16 branches bear the name of any party leader. Therefore there is no basis for lending support to philistine rumors about somebody's fault or malicious design.

As for the newspaper BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, it was founded in May 1906. At that time S. Shaumyan was working in Tiflis. He was a member of the newspaper's editorial staff in 1908 and served as editor from May through October 1917. Consequently the masthead inscription mentioned by Kh. Barsegyan was inaccurate.

I in turn feel compelled to point out to Barsegyan that S. G. Shaumyan, who made an enormous contribution to the struggle for establishment of Soviet rule in Azerbaijan, is very warmly remembered by our people. This is attested by the fact that more than 90 entities in this republic bear his name: a town, two rayons, a residence-museum, a residential community, streets, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, schools, medical facilities, a Baku subway station, a ship, and memorials in Baku and other cities, towns and rayons in this republic. Our institute took active part in preparing the two-volume "Izbrannyye proizvedeniya S. G. Shaumyana" [Selected Writings of S. G. Shaumyan], published in Moscow in connection with this revolutionary's birth centennial. A two-volume Azerbaijani-language edition was also published. The institute has prepared and published in Azerbaijani and Russian a biographical profile of S. Shaumyan and a collected volume of reminiscences about him by his contemporaries. Shaumyan's revolutionary activities are also appropriately treated in "Ocherki istorii Kommunisticheskoy partii Azerbaydzhana" [Historical Sketches on the Azerbaijan Communist Party] (1985). Recently the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee adopted a decision to establish in Baku a Museum of the History of the Baku Commune.

Kh. Barsegyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Interministerial Scientific Council on the Study of Nationalities Processes, has nothing with which to reply to our readers in regard to perpetuating in Armenia the memory of N. Narimanov and many of his comrades in arms.

Thus we see that things do not stand too well with the truth here. Is it faithful adherence to the truth to foster the inflaming of passions, arrogant pride and rivalry in historical primogeniture and disregard of major party and governmental decisions? "As a historian I have held and shall continue to hold this position (that is, a position advocating revision of the historically established borders between union republics, borders which are formally articulated in the USSR Constitution—D. G.) as historically the only correct one. And nobody can compel us by pressure to retreat from the truth"—does a Soviet scholar, a Communist, who is called upon to study and propagandize internationalism as an integral feature of the Soviet way of life have the political and moral right to make such an irresponsible statement? This position is contrary to the party's policy of comprehensive restructuring of our life and affairs, one of the priority areas of which is strengthening of internationalist principles and friendship among peoples.

All the efforts of Azerbaijani and Armenian Communists as well as those of all working people in the brother republics should currently be directed toward overcoming the situation which has developed in regard to Nagorno-Karabakh and toward implementing the tasks advanced in the CPSU Central Committee decree on preparation for the Central Committee Plenum entitled "On Improving Interethnic Relations in the USSR."

This is our duty as Communists, patriots, and internationalists.

#### BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY Answers Readers' Questions on NKAO

18300213b Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
27 Nov 88 p 3

[Editor's Response: "Replies to Questions by Our Readers"; first paragraph is BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY introduction]

[Text] In the course of the mass meetings taking place in Baku and in the rayons of this republic, the editors of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY have received a great many questions from our readers. People phone the newspaper and wish to receive a reply to questions which are currently of particular concern to them. The following are our replies to some of these questions.

\* \* \*

[Reader 1] The newspapers SOVETSKIY KARABAKH and KOMMUNIST (Yerevan) carry articles claiming that authorities in the Azerbaijan SSR are impeding implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and are impeding the shipment of construction materials. What are the facts of the case?

[Editors] Articles claiming that republic organizations are impeding the shipment of building materials which have been designated for and are greatly needed by Stepanakert and the rayons in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, namely Karadag stone structural blocks, constitute deliberate misinformation. These reports are refuted by exact shipment figures obtained by the editors at the republic Council of Ministers. In September 200,000 units of this structural stone were to be shipped from Karadag to Stepanakert. 70,000 were shipped during the first 10 days of the month. Subsequently shipments were halted due to the strike in the oblast. The railroad was not accepting this stone, because more than 150 carloads had piled up at the Stepanakert railway, cars which were not being unloaded. But during those same 10 days in September the normal monthly supply of glass was shipped out to Stepanakert from Baku—4,000 square meters, as well as 6,000 square meters of linoleum, four carloads of cement, and two carloads of gypsum wallboard panels. October shipping figures were better. Sixty scheduled cars of structural stone were shipped out from Karadag directly to

UPTK-9 (Stepanakert), and Construction Administration 92 shipped out 15 cars (Shusha). Shipping of structural stone and other building materials also proceeded without the slightest hitch or interruption during the first half of this month.

Agdam, with its quarries, is also ready and willing to ship out delivery-tagged stone to the oblast, but a large part of this stone is not being shipped. It is puzzling that the Stepanakert Building Materials Combine, which also operates its own quarries, is utilizing their production capacity by less than half.

[Reader 2] What is presently being done in this republic to assist the refugees from Stepanakert? And what is being done for the Azerbaijani population in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast?

[Editors] The situation is as follows. As of the beginning of November 3,117 ethnic Azerbaijanis were forced to leave Stepanakert and the rayons of the oblast. A large part of the refugees are temporarily being put up in Agdam and other rayons in Azerbaijan—in conditions unsuited for living a normal life: in school buildings, at vocational schools, in cultural centers and at club facilities. They are being given material assistance, and in a number of cases are receiving a cash allowance. People are receiving money for their entire period of forced unemployment. Refugees are being provided with groceries gratis, operation of mobile retail shops has been organized, and a special supply facility has been established at Agdam. By the end of the year another bakery plant will be going into operation in the oblast.

Medical services have been set up for the residents of remote Azerbaijani villages in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast which have been left virtually without medical care. School facilities have been made available for most of the children. Practical steps are being taken to provide the population with employment. Fundamental, combined measures are being undertaken. Republic organizations are endeavoring to provide people with employment at or near their locality of residence. In particular, this has resulted in establishing a motor transport operation in the village of Khodzhalay in Askeranskiy Rayon, currently operating 80 trucks, with an eventual total of 250. Management has begun to function at enterprises under construction, and people are being hired.

The Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture intends to establish a motor transport operation in the village of Khodzhalay in Martuninskiy Rayon. They are considering opening up in this locality a branch of the Baku Plant imeni 26 Baku Commissars. The republic Ministry of Light Industry is doing major repairs on facilities in Khodzhalay to house a garment-industry operation which will employ approximately 100 persons. A loom operation which will hire 150-200 production workers is also

being set up in this locality. Commercial weaving operations are also being expanded in Shusha, which will create an additional 50 local jobs. 230 new jobs are being made available at currently-operating enterprises in Shusha. The Radiostroyeniye Production Association is establishing in Shushinskiy Rayon a radio components shop which will employ 150 workers. All the requisite equipment has been shipped off to the site. Other shops, sections, and branches will also be opening up. In addition the people of Khodzhalay, Kosalar, and Karkidzhakhan are being hired to do work in their homes.

In addition to new industries, housing and schools are being built in a number of villages. Assistance is being given to Shusha construction organizations in order to complete construction on a hospital, a domestic services establishment, and individual family housing in November-December.

The scale of provision of gas service is increasing; service lines are being laid and gas service is being provided to 350 dwelling units in three villages in Askeranskiy Rayon. Hundreds of dwellings in a number of villages in Shushinskiy and Martuninskiy rayons will also soon be provided with natural gas service. Supply of liquefied gas to localities in the oblast will also be greatly improved. The Azerbaijan SSR Main Administration of Power and Electrification in turn is improving the system of power supply in the oblast as a whole and for newly-built industrial facilities and housing. The total number of phone numbers is being increased fourfold in the village of Khodzhalay, while a telephone and telegraph communications office will be opened in the village of Karkidzhakhan. Modular units have been allocated to the Shusha Consumer Services Combine with the aim of establishing new service facilities in rural areas. The Ministry of Consumer Services is setting up a housing repair and construction section.

**Azerbaijani Academic Assails Foreign Press for Pro-Armenian Bias Over NKAO**  
*18300212a Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian*  
26 Nov 88 p 3

[Article, published under the heading "An Important Question of the Day," by Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Zargarov: "Evil Intention, Foreign Voices" and subtitled "Armenian Nationalists and Their Supporters Sow the Poison of Discord Among Peoples"; the article was originally published in KOMMUNIST on 25 November 1988.]

[Text] The events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it, like waves in a raging ocean, at one moment rise in a tall crest to the limit of heated passions then subside, changing to the quiet calm of abating emotions. The political atmosphere here is unstable. The skies often are covered by grey, leaden storm clouds and there is the sensation that at any moment there will be rolling thunder and the streams will flow with cloudy courses of sudden bad weather. These fears have not been in vain. After a

certain lull, the storm has again broken out, passions have again been inflamed and again drugged by nationalistic fervor, certain hotheads are again fabricating all sorts of intrigues leading to a continuation of the confrontation.

The Armenian mass information media on a methodical basis, day in and day out, are pouring oil on the fire, turning it into raging flames of extremism.

The Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 18 July 1988 which confirmed the unchangeability of the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and completely unambiguously came out for keeping the NKAO in this republic, without any stipulations, has been frankly and completely repudiated by high official levels of Armenia and its leaders.

The idea of the supposed unjust solution to the so-called Artsakh problem is being intensely drilled into the awareness of the Armenian people from great to small. Precisely this is the prime cause of the still continuing and externally inspired tension between the two neighboring republics.

All sorts of arguments on the need to carry out the known decisions of the Union levels on Nagorno-Karabakh are actually being transformed into a diversionary maneuver and a smokescreen set up to cover the basic goal of removing this oblast from Azerbaijan. The Armenian people are calling for changes in the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in favor of Armenia. And hence, the events of a negative sort occurring in Stepanakert and throughout Armenia are nothing more than a desire to put pressure on the superior party and state bodies of the country and achieve what they desire by any means.

No one has either the legal or moral right, with the presence of a constitutionally resolved question, to endeavor to reapportion the territory of another republic, all the more to make this a national tragedy or compare it with genocide. All of this is completely unacceptable precisely now when we are endeavoring to establish a socialist state of law the main feature of which is to ensure the supremacy of the law in fact. This question was raised with great precision in the report of M.S. Gorbachev at the 19th All-Union Party Conference: "No state body, official, collective, party and social organization, no person is free from the obligation to obey the law." After this is there any need to say how the territorial claims of Armenia and the wide-scale actions being carried out here in this direction contradict the Constitution of our land?

Goals contrary to the law are always achieved precisely by such methods. In order to be persuaded of this, one has merely to turn to the content of the numerous articles published on the pages of the Stepanakert newspapers, the Armenian press and materials from the other mass information media.

From them we often hear appeals to objectivity, the justice of information and even complaints that the central newspapers and journals, the radio and television and the mass information media of Azerbaijan are guilty of the absence of this. Without becoming involved in an assessment of the publications and broadcasts of the central mass information media, let me speak about our republic ones. I have no grounds to accuse the mass information and propaganda media of Azerbaijan of an evilly-intended distortion of the events occurring in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it. Our claims are of a different sort: they come down to the protracted absence of any information whatsoever on such a crucial theme, particularly in recent months (with the exception of the TASS materials), to the insufficient timeliness of revealing facts, and in a number of instances simply to a conscious silence from very dubious considerations considered as delicateness. Delicateness in all instances should be reciprocal and based upon justice. Silence is not always golden, and agreement even more. This contributes to the dissemination of all sorts of distortions and creates conditions for political speculation by out-of-control politicians and leaves their provocative insinuations without proper rebuff.

With particular attention and interest I have been following the current Soviet (including Armenian) and foreign press reflecting events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it. This has aroused a strange feeling in me. On the one hand, the facts and events are being commented on objectively and their profound causes are being brought out in a proper manner and, on the other, there has been a flagrant falsification of what is happening, a purposely tendentious feeding of materials, the attaching of labels, incitement, the fostering of false rumors and fabrications, the conscious overlooking of awkward facts, political provocations designed to further exacerbate an already complex situation.

I would like to draw the attention of the readers to some of these.

The publicized wide-scale measures being carried out by strong-armed methods on the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh and aimed at eradicating the historical and cultural monuments of our people as well as other arbitrary actions evoke concern and caution in their unceremoniousness and outright ignoring of the opinion of the Azerbaijan side.

At present, Armenia is behaving in the NKAO of Azerbaijan as if it were its own territory, in an emphatically arbitrary manner, as if not at all concerned by the well-known decision of the supreme legislative body of the nation, the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 18 July 1988 which reaffirmed the constitutionality of the belonging of the oblast to Azerbaijan.

In this context, one is perplexed by the statement of one of the Armenian leaders who, after a trip to Nagorno-Karabakh, informed an Armenpress correspondent that

in this oblast he experienced a strange sensation as if he was in Armenia, seeing the same eyes, the same faces and the same questions.

In sharing his impressions on meetings with the population of the oblast, he pointed out that he had been beseeched with the proposal to open an affiliate of the Yerevan State University in Stepanakert and the question was already being settled of building the Goris—Stepanakert road with a bypass of the city of Lachin where Azerbaijanis live.

At present, the deputies from Armenia state completely frankly and without any stipulation and even from the rostrum of a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet that at present all questions—be this a guarantee for the security of the Armenian people or the accelerating of the socioeconomic development in the oblast—are derivatives of the idea of annexing the NKAO to Armenia.

At times, the incessant desire to transfer Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia is apparent in a desire to evoke undesirable emotions on the other side. This is precisely how one must assess the brief announcement published on 21 October in the Yerevan newspaper KOMMUNIST (in Russian) on preparations to produce a cognac named Artsakh and based on raw materials from Armenia and the NKAO as well as the pending output of cigarettes under the same name using a tobacco raised in the oblast and on the label of which will be a picture of the sculpture "We and Our Mountains." The idea is set out, as they say, in open text without any hints.

I feel that we will express the concern of many citizens from our republic if we raise the issue of the particularly unseemly role in the occurring events played by the leaders of the party organization of the NKAO, the oblast soviet for whom there obviously is neither any party Program and By-Laws nor Constitutions of the USSR and Azerbaijan. Their activities are completely subordinate to the idea of removing Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan by any means, including by strong-armed pressure. They bear full responsibility for intensifying and destabilizing the situation, the extended mass strikes, the sabotage, the groundless meetings and demonstrations as well as for disseminating slanderous fabrications about the Azerbaijani people.

The most surprising thing is that they and their supporters have not been given a proper rebuke. How long will they be unpunished?! And what about the deputies from the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet from the NKAO who in a flagrant manner refuse to carry out their constitutional duties and ignore participation in the meetings and sessions? From whence such permissiveness and all-forgiveness?!

The patience of the people is not infinite. I feel that it is high time to call things by their proper names and from principled party positions assess the actions of those

who, in having a party card in their pocket, should carry out the party line but consciously refuse to do this.

There is one other problem arising out of the confrontation which concerns both the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples. It is strange in our days to hear the word "refugee" which has an unpleasant ring to it. It in no way conforms to such concepts as Soviet power, legality and internationalism. However, facts remain facts. We are confronted with burned-out houses and violent migrations, illegal dismissals from work and the preventing of Azerbaijani students from attending classes in the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute as well as other acts of violence, and consequently, thousands of major and minor tragedies, artificially created complex problems, unrealized plans and broken fates. All of this is also the consequence of the fabrications proposed for the sake of a supposed "just settlement" to the Nagorno-Karabakh problems. Is it worth for the sake of a hazy goal to uproot enormous masses of people, including the elderly and children, from their homes, to deprive them of a family seat, relatives and parents and make them refugees in their own country!? Who will answer to our peoples for the organized troubles, the mutual insults and belittlements, for the hostile views, and for the desire to escape from an "incompatible" neighbor? This problem requires the most rapid mutually agreed-upon solution, but, of course, not by that way and not by those methods which are now being proposed by the irresponsible persons. It is time to regain our senses and return home.

Regardless of the official ban, the Karabakh Committee has been setting the tone in the Nagorno-Karabakh question, it maintains close ties with various antirestructuring forces in the nation and works in contact with foreign nationalistic organizations, being in essence an administrative body of the opposition.

In an interview with the newspaper TIMES, the leader of the Karabakh Committee, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, stated that the protest movement should be maintained even in the event that the Armenian demand of transferring the NKAO to Armenia is satisfied. "If we achieve our goal," he said, "then the movement will exist in the future as an expression of the people's will." As one can see, the plan is for the long run.

The activities of Karabakh, so to speak, are multileveled, but in all its actions one can note its own hand, its own "trademark," which does not always reflect sound reason and logic.

According to an announcement by the Armenian Desk of Voice of America on 13 September 1988, the Karabakh Committee with full seriousness, as one of the variations in the event of the "final" rejection of claims to Nagorno-Karabakh, has worked out its own, very original plan for solving the problem. According to its recommendations, the Karabakh Armenians should withdraw from the USSR and after this request a reincorporation in the Soviet Union but now as part of

Armenia. If a stalemate develops and this plan cannot be implemented, there is in reserve another more rarified but equally adventuristic variation. Since, according to the USSR Constitution, the NKAO does not have the right of self-determination while Armenia does have it, it is proposed that Armenia itself announce its incorporation as part of...Nagorno-Karabakh, having formed a new Artsakh Armenian Republic with a capital in Stepanakert. According to the intention of the authors, then all the present-day Armenia, including Yerevan, should be subordinate to Artsakh. What nonsense! Only a person who has lost his reason and sense of reality could be capable of arguing thus.

At present, vis-a-vis the Karabakh Committee, a policy is being carried out of flirtation, coaxing and even concessions instead of acting in accord with the Soviet laws.

Indecisiveness in actions is always fraught with subsequent complications. It is not for the Karabakh Committee to impose its will on the people. The Armenian people have uniformly voiced their attitude toward this extremist organization and for this reason its illegal and inflammatory actions should be decisively stopped.

The Armenian mass information media are frankly overlooking two very important questions as if they did not exist at all. This is the role of the Armenian Church in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the intervention of the Armenian diaspora in it. Facts show that both in the initial and subsequent stages of the development of events, these factors were very significant.

While the Church has been carrying out a line of the oblast's secession gradually, without superfluous emotions, steadily and on a broad scale, the Armenian diaspora has done this in a nervous, shouting and bossy tone, from the position of flagrant intervention and strong-arm pressure on the Soviet leading bodies.

Although the clerical leadership has stated that the Armenian Church does not intervene into secular affairs, however in fact it is the unproclaimed ideological inspirer and active defendant of the "aspirations of the long-suffering Armenian people." It has made a major effort to "release the jinni from the bottle."

The Armenian Church long before the start of the mass actions in Nagorno-Karabakh had done everything within its power to achieve the secession of the NKAO from Azerbaijan following the wave of reborn national feelings. It had been working for this for many years very methodically, often by covert behind-the-scenes roundabout maneuvers and sometimes outrightly, without leaving its opponents any illusions on the true aims of the steps undertaken.

The Armenian Church has skillfully directed and coordinated the actions of its overseas priests, particularly in the United States. They have not concealed this and

rather often turn to their flock to demonstrate solidarity with compatriots and express a decisive protest against the "unjust resolution" of the Nagorno-Karabakh question, referring to the appeal of the higher clergy.

According to the admission of the Armenian Desk of Voice of America, "under the slogan of glasnost, the Armenian Church has headed the movement of the Armenian people and has begun to demand the incorporation of the NKAO into Armenia. The Armenian clergy has stated that if Mikhail Gorbachev does not resolve this question affirmatively for the Armenians, then they will undertake more decisive measures."

According to a statement of Archbishop Mesrop, the meeting of New York Armenians on 13 March 1988 was organized at the behest of the higher Armenian Church leadership. "We should show the world community," he stated, "that the Armenian people are united and will achieve the realization of their demand."

According to information of the Armenian Desk of Voice of America, on 1 September 1988 the highly-placed leadership of the Armenian Church sent a message to the Armenians living in Argentina and in this, in particular, they stated: "In reply to your question we would like to state that at present the entire Armenian people are in mourning. Hope has been taken from them. But God is still great and the truth ultimately should prevail."

The newspaper NEW YORK TIMES also has commented that the Armenian Church has been the organizer of virtually all the meetings held in the United States in support of the demands to transfer the NKAO to Armenia. The church is materially well off due to the financial aid from foreign Armenians and has extensive international ties with various religious organizations.

The Deputy Editor-in-Chief and leader of the overseas section of the Austrian journal WOCHENPRESSE, Luspan O. Meysels, who at the very peak of the events incognito made his way to Yerevan, in issue No. 22 of the journal for 1988 published an extensive article on the contents of an interview with one of the highest placed leaders of the Armenian Church and the meeting with this person was organized by a written recommendation from the Armenian Bishop in Vienna, Prof Mesrop Krikoryan. This secular conversation very clearly and persuasively demonstrated the strategy and tactics of the Armenian clergy in the occurring conflict. The Austrian journalist was informed: "Officially the Armenian Church cannot comment on its position on the current conflict, but you can be confident that our hearts bleed for our brothers." To the question of if the church cannot declare its attitude while the Armenian government and the party mark time, who then can defend the rights of the Armenians in Karabakh, the following answer literally was received: "We are not alone. No political restraints have been imposed on our brothers in the

diaspora. They can argue for our just cause before their governments and this pressure, undoubtedly, will immediately be felt."

We should also note the desire to give the arrising conflict a religious tint.

From the groundless statements by nationalistically-inclined religious leaders from among the overseas Armenians, one can conclude that Armenia, surrounded by the Muslim world, is threatened with a gradual reduction in the "enormous territories" belonging to it.

Such is the position of the "neutral" Armenian Church on the Nagorno-Karabakh question.

Over many months the subject of Nagorno-Karabakh has remained one of the central ones for many overseas Armenian newspapers and magazines, the Paris-headquartered Armenian radio Ayb, the Armenian Desks of Radio Liberty and Voice of America and others.

Wide-scale actions are also being undertaken by nationalistic, political and other overseas organizations such as the parties Revolutionary Dashnaks, Peasant Liberty, the Social Democratic Party, the Union of Armenian Revolutionaries as well as organizations such as the Eastern Armenians of the United States, Young Armenian Dashnaks, Defense of Armenia, the Armenian Cultural Society, Kilikiya, Zhirair and others.

Under their pressure there are unceasing large demonstrations, parades and meetings in various countries of the world in front of the official Soviet agencies and international organizations. Thus, activists of the Armenian youth in Paris established the Committee for National Self-Determination while a group of intellectuals organized the so-called "Committee of a Hundred." These organizations have called for the maintaining of "public interest in the events occurring in the Transcaucasus." The Committee of a Hundred conducted a meeting at the Paris Mother of God Cathedral and organized a demonstration in front of the TASS building and a protest demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy in France.

The newspapers published in the United States in Armenian have printed an appeal from three Armenian political parties to all the Armenian people. The appeal drawn up by the Dashnak, Social Democratic and Ramkavar Azatakan Parties raises the demand that the Soviet government transfer the NKAO to Armenia.

According to a statement made by the infamous political adventurer Paruyr Ayrikyan who was expelled from the USSR, in Los Angeles they will establish a special center for the "struggle of Armenians for the independence of their motherland." He also pointed out that the task has been set of infiltrating into the Armenian governmental bodies the appropriate persons in order to be able to influence the decisions being made.

As was shown by the recent events involving the falsification of election results for deputies to the Armenian Supreme Soviet in two electoral districts (No. 111 in Yerevan and No. 159 in Abovyan), when the activists of the banned Karabakh Committee were illegally elected, someone is already endeavoring to carry out this task.

In Los Angeles, there is also the Aid to Karabakh organization which, for example, on 25 September 1988, organized a concert the proceeds of which "should be turned over to the people of Karabakh."

In the opinion of overseas Armenian instigators, the street meeting "democracy" and the strikes to which the organizers of the "Movement" to annex Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia have resorted to—all of this is merely a harmless response to the infringement of national rights and interests. For defending these any means are good, even if the interests of other nations are harmed in so doing, and the state and society suffer a good deal of material and moral-political harm. Hence, they say, it is essential to continue the strong pressure on the state bodies. In Moscow, ultimately, they will realize that it is better to make concessions "than to become famous as a despotic state in the eyes of the entire world."

Others go even farther in overtly demanding the withdrawal of Armenia from the Soviet Union. According to an announcement of the Armenian Desk of Voice of America on 8 June 1988, in Boston, there was a literary meeting held devoted to the book by Ruben Pogosyan entitled "The Turkish-Armenian Conflict." In speaking at this meeting, a certain lawyer Tariverdyan pointed out that the Armenians have every right to establish a unified, independent Armenian state.

In the Armenian colonies abroad, demands have been voiced to open up in the major Western countries consulates of the Armenian SSR and establish in the republic national troop units the soldiers of which would serve on its territory. Voices have been heard on the need to restore the flag of "independent Armenia" which was proclaimed in 1918 and to calculate the date of the republic's formation from that same year.

Highly-placed Armenian public and political figures in the United States have very successfully utilized any channels and the slightest opportunity to involve officials from the administration, Senators, Congressmen, and other officials in active involvement and making their contribution to a "just solution" to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and through them are endeavoring to apply pressure on the Soviet party, state and governmental bodies.

As is known, elections have been held in the United States for the nation's president. The Armenian lobby has used this opportunity in the interests of annexing the NKAO to Armenia. In its opinion, party affiliation of the presidential candidates is not of any importance for them. The basic criterion for preferring any of them is

who shows the greatest loyalty in defending the interests of the American Armenians and their problems.

According to announcements of the Voice of America, the Armenian diaspora has taken a most active part in the electoral campaigns of the U.S. presidential candidates, both George Bush and Michael Dukakis. Suffice it to say that the main advisor of M. Dukakis on nationality questions was Murad Topalian, an Armenian by nationality.

Paruyr Zorchian, the leader of the Armenian community in the United States and who came out in support of G. Bush, stated that in the Program adopted at the convention of the Republican Party in New Orleans there is a point supporting those peoples of the Soviet Union which are "seeking the right of self-determination." The nine delegates of the U.S. Armenian community who participated in the convention approved the incorporation of this point in the program of the Republican Party.

One of the leaders of the Armenian community in the United States, Arutyunian, has demanded a review of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem at a session of the UN Security Council.

At the end of May 1988, the Governor of California George Deukmejian came out in defense of the "aspirations of millions of Armenians" on the pages of the newspaper CALIFORNIA COURIER. Similar statements were made by the American Congressman Pashayan and certain other public and political figures.

In analyzing the occurring events, one concludes, as a rule, that the nationalists show the greatest activeness at each turning point of our history. Let us recall that in 1918 and 1920, the reactionary forces fanned the hostility between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples in order to dampen the revolutionary ardor in the proletariat of both regions. As one can see, the current idea of "reannexation" has the same roots and the same political basis. Here the hope is that the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it will spread to other regions of the nation like a chain reaction.

The global appeal to all Armenians to come to the defense of Nagorno-Karabakh has not been viewed uniformly by all. There have been numerous "national heroes" who preferred to fight to Artsakh "far from their homeland." According to an announcement in the American newspaper PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER of 19 July 1988, over the 7 months of the current year, around 13,000 Armenians have left the USSR for abroad, chiefly for the United States, to assume permanent residence, while during all of 1987 the figure was not more than 2,000. The largest number of Soviet Armenians (6,100 persons) emigrated to the United States in 1980.

According to the data of the American Refugee Association, at present around 80,000 Armenians are waiting their turn to leave the USSR for permanent residence in the

United States. This trend has evoked understandable concern among the scientists of the Armenian Academy of Sciences who at their general meeting held at the beginning of October 1988 urged the prevention of emigration.

One is surprised and perplexed by the satisfaction shown by the Armenian press in providing its pages to foreign compatriots who approve and praise the illegal actions of the home-grown nationalists and extremists. Thus, the organ of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party and the Armenian Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, the newspaper KOMMUNIST on 29 September 1988, published an article under the title "All Armenians of the World Are Watching You..." in which the following words were quoted by the Chairman of the Universal Armenian Charitable Union Alek Manukian: "We watched you with amazement when you, in maintaining order and discipline (obviously, the events at the Zvartnots Airport and other illegal actions were not considered), marched through the streets of Yerevan, when by wise, reasonable words you expressed your heartfelt pain."

In speaking at a session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, M.S. Gorbachev pointed out that for eliminating the severe consequences of events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it, one must move toward one another, in being guided by higher interests.

A compromise, as is known, is achieved in a lively and direct dialogue of the conflicting sides and in their desire to understand one another and to find truth and general comprehension.

The Azerbaijan party organization at present is making an enormous effort to rectify the situation and is maintaining regular ties with the Armenian leaders to settle the urgent questions by joint effort. Here the basic factor to be considered is that we must live together on this land, share our bread and salt and look at each other in the face. We must prevent the ties binding our peoples together from being broken. Let us hope that ultimately reason will gain the upper hand and peace and concord, good-neighborliness and mutual trust will reign in our ancient lands.

#### **Appeals for Calm, Brotherhood in AzSSR Party Daily**

**AzSSR Supsov Presidium Chairman**  
18300220 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
24 Nov 88 p 1

[Statement by S. B. Tatliyev: "Public Address by Comrade S. B. Tatliyev, chairman of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] Respected citizens!

Conditions compel me to make this appeal to you. In recent days the situation in a number of cities in our

republic has become acutely critical. In Nakhichevan yesterday evening a group of the hooligan elements committed an act of outrage, vandalizing several administrative buildings.

Serious disturbances also took place with grave consequences in Kirovabad with resulting casualties. Three military servicemen were killed.

Since the evening of 21 November, in a number of rayons of Baku as well, outbreaks of hooliganism have become increasingly frequent. Certain young people, resorting to physical force in an affront to human dignity, have engaged in an effort to disrupt the operations of the city transportation system, as well as stores, institutions, and enterprises.

Naturally, all of this has aroused grave concern and indignation among the citizens. The CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, and other institutions of the republic have received a large number of appeals from the workers and representatives of various sections of the population, as well as from parents of school-going children, calling for the safeguarding of public law and order, the outlawing of dangerous developments, and the protection of the lives and the health of the people. The State cannot stand idly by while the blood of innocent people is shed.

A decision has therefore been made to declare a state of emergency, commencing at midnight on 24 November 1988, in the cities of Baku, Nakhichevan, and Kirovabad, and to establish a curfew between 2200 and 0500 hours.

This means that the following activities are prohibited during this period:

1. Demonstrations, meetings, and spectator events, as well as all kinds of strikes at all enterprises, institutions, or organizations at any time of day or night. Violators are subject to discharge from work and prosecution in court.
2. The appearance of persons 16 years of age or older without proper identification outside their places of residence.
3. The possession of firearms and other weapons, explosive devices, and flammable compounds.
4. The movement of any means of transport within the city limits without special passes between 2200 and 0500 hours.
5. The appearance by citizens of any age outside their places of residence and unrestricted movement on the streets without special passes between 2200 and 0500 hours.

Troops and law enforcement organs have been authorized to perform the following functions:

1. Arrest and detain citizens violating the special regulations for the purpose of expressing themselves or conducting propaganda activities.

2. Search vehicles and citizens found in them who do not have special passes.

3. Check passports of citizens at their places of residence.

Comrades!

In making this important decision to resort to temporary restraints, we are motivated primarily by a determination not to tolerate the development of a dangerous situation with outbursts of scandalous behavior, and we do so for the sake of each person, and each family, as well as for the security of civil rights.

Certain groups of irresponsible persons are attempting to exploit the situation that has developed in the republic for perverse purposes, inflicting thereby immense harm on the good name of the Azerbaijani people, who have always in the past distinguished themselves by their wisdom and forbearance.

I call upon all persons who live in the republic to comply with the demands of the special regulations and to assist in every way possible the establishment of order and the restoration of the work routine to normal.

#### Veterans

18300220 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
27 Nov 88 p 1

[Statement: "Public Appeal by War and Labor Veterans to the Citizens and Young People of Baku"]

[Text] Dear friends and comrades! We—veterans of war and labor of an older generation, your fathers and grandfathers, who rose in defense of the country in years of severe trials, and who brought it back to life when it lay in ruins and ashes—make this appeal to you, and to your civic and patriotic feelings, at an anxious time for our republic.

At meetings in Baku, as well as in a number of areas in the republic, people are gathered, demanding that the situation in the NKAO be stabilized, and that party leaders be called to account, together with soviet organs in the oblast that have been obstructing compliance with the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with regard to Nagorno-Kabarakh. While supporting these demands, we like everyone else are deeply stirred and indignant with respect to the people of Azerbaijani nationality in the autonomous oblast and in neighboring Armenia. It is impossible to condone occurrences of violence and blackmail arising in connection with the necessity of people to abandon their paternal homes.

At the same time, we cannot but be disturbed by the aggravation of the situation that is now taking place in the republic. Who can live peacefully and continue to work under conditions that disrupt the functioning of industrial enterprises, transport, and educational institutions as well as normal social life? As a result of these disturbances, unlawful acts have been committed, and people have been wounded and killed.

In response to these unlawful acts, provoked by irresponsible and nationalistically motivated elements, a curfew has been introduced in Baku, Nakhichevan, and Kirovabad. In our opinion, the attitude towards this measure should be the same for us all: This has been done in order to prevent potentially grave consequences and to preserve law and order.

We who have lived long and labored hard, having experience of politics as well as life, want to warn those who participate in these meetings, and particularly those who represent youth, that demands in the form of ultimatums and democracy in the form of strike rallies cannot resolve the problems that have accumulated, nor correct mistakes that have been made. All just demands of those taking part in the meetings have been brought to the attention of the leadership of the republic and the country; they have been reviewed with profound understanding, and the necessary decisions will be made with regard to them. These decisions, however, should be made in a calm atmosphere to ensure that they have been fully weighed and are wise. And for this, time is needed.

We call upon every one of you to demonstrate civic and political maturity, a high sense of duty and responsibility, and discipline. We call upon you to engage in your studies or your work, and to preserve public order. We call upon you to try to put an end to the intrigues of those who would destabilize the political and economic situation in Azerbaijan.

We call upon you to exhibit calm good sense, so as not to destroy the basis of the neighborly feelings and friendship of all people's and nationalities residing in our multinational Azerbaijan.

**Approved at a meeting of activists from the Baku section of the Veterans of War and the USSR Armed Forces and members of the assistance committee of the rayon military commissariats in Baku.**

### **Women, Mothers**

18300220 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
27 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by S. Mirsoyeva with photographs by A. Mamedova: "Words of Women, Words of Mothers"]

[Text] The heartbeat of the central square of the republic capital may be heard again and again, its tempo rising occasionally to an extraordinary height, then subsiding a little. But not for one moment does it rest in peace. This pulsation signals an alarm that is felt throughout the city rayons and the republic.

The unconstitutional and unlawful activity of certain elements within the NKAO and Armenia, while reiterating the necessity for a "just solution" to the problem of Nagorno-Kabarakh without letup for nine long months, has aroused the indignation of the people and led to outbreaks of anger and rage. The last drop which filled the cup of patience to overflowing was the start of construction for a branch of the Kanakerskiy Aluminum Plant at the distinctive Topkhan Natural History Museum of living nature. With passion and bitterness, in the heat of anger, all of this was discussed at the meetings.

Ten days of trial—ten days of hope. Filled with extraordinary happenings, this timespan truly could be comparable to years.

Let it be said directly that despite the justice of demands expressed, there has been a considerable amount of uneasiness and alarm. The situation in the republic has become exacerbated. It has been accompanied by unlawful activities, and it has resulted in a state of emergency and a curfew.

How important it is now, at a time when troops have been brought to the streets, to exercise restraint and to be faithful to the international traditions of our people. How important for the sake of our children, mothers, and the peace and security of each family, for every citizen to refrain from succumbing to the provocations of extremist elements, who are actively attempting to push the peoples of two republics towards confrontation and bloodshed. Amid these most difficult trials, how important to maintain good sense.

All of this has been a source of profound concern to many women, who, during these days of extremism, on their own initiative, in response to the demands of their hearts, have created an organization called Ana (Mother).

With maternal solicitude, and with uniquely womanly words of concern they have been present in the square, approaching those who have been making intransigent and categorical demands of the government and leaders of republic party organizations. These profoundly intelligent women, possessing the wisdom of acquired experience, including artists, scientists, teachers and physicians, architects, and representatives of the humanities, little by little are achieving a major undertaking in helping those on the square to think through their demands—to distinguish between what things may be decided immediately, insisted upon, and translated into action, and what things require time.

These women come to the bonfires late in the evening when the mass meetings begin to quiet down, the polemical spirit subsides, and there is time to discuss events unhurriedly, and to thoughtfully analyze these heretofore unheard-of happenings. There is a definite advantage to be gained from these conversations. Maternal

advice penetrates the heart, while stirring the intellect and cooling the feverish mind.

At first the conversation was loud, but then it grew increasingly quiet by the fire as Professor Turkyan Efendiyeva, doctor of philosophical sciences, became the center of discussion. She came here on the first day with food as a gesture of hospitality for the young fellows, other people's children, in whom she found attentive listeners greatly in need of spiritual sustenance.

"Why is it," asked one student, a future chemist, "that professors and teachers don't talk with us like this? Why don't they feel they can have any close contact with us or give us their time?"

"This is the very first time I have been as close as this to a professor," a worker at the Plant imeni Leytenant Shmidt revealed.

T. Efendiyeva was thinking that if the fellows on the square sometimes conducted themselves unconventionally and made uncalled-for remarks, this was largely because we, the adults, have failed to teach them proper habits of mind and proper ways of expressing their differences. Then, of course, they were right in many respects.

"How could they be expected to stand for gross violations of the principles of democratic centralism by the NKAO party obkom, and what amounts to provocative behavior on its part?" she emphasized in a conversation with a BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY correspondent. "And how could they fail to support the demands of the people that G. Pogosyan be severely called to account? Fomenting strife between the nationalities, inflicting irreversible damage to the interests of the Soviet people, and poisoning the minds and hearts of young people—these are major crimes. Can such conduct be forgiven?"

Alongside T. Efendiyeva was one who shared her sentiments, doctor of philosophical sciences Dilyara Aliyeva. She continued the conversation:

"Of course, these young people are right when they demand that an autonomous republic be formed within the Armenian SSR for the population of Azerbaijani nationals. How can it be that people are driven from their homes and there is no one to intercede for them or insist on the observance of their rights? That, of course, is in fact what happened in the case of many refugees from Armenia. And we cannot but support these young people when they demand the upholding of human rights and the age-old right of a place to live."

"And how could it be tolerated that such an authoritative body as the USSR Supreme Soviet did not take decisive steps to have its own decisions carried out in Nagorno-Kabarakh?" asked republic people's artist Gylkhar Gasanova.

"But by no means everything about the demands made on the square makes sense and is justified," she continued. "How is it possible to demand the immediate implementation of something that necessarily takes time and material resources? Can one really let one's self quit one's job and go on strike? Who suffers as a result? One's own family, one's own friends. Today bread is not being baked. Tomorrow, we will not be able to buy the goods we need at the store or in the bazaar. The young ones will not be able to receive the knowledge they need—this is especially unbearable. I myself suffer inasmuch as the opera and ballet theater, where I work, has been closed because of the state of emergency. This measure may perhaps be necessary in the present situation. But how could things reach such a point, while ignoring the thoughts and feelings of the people?"

"Mothers are experiencing enormous anxiety and distress in the absence of their children at home. Look at how many women come here every day, and remain at night, anxious for their demonstrating sons and daughters."

As the people's artist spoke about this, and about the necessity of maintaining good sense and calm at a difficult hour for the republic, I listened closely, along with a large group of young people who had been on the square for many days and nights.

A woman's words, a mother's words, have a special effect. They touch the soul.

#### **MVD Exposes Bribery Cabal in AzSSR Ministry of Auto Transport**

*18300212b Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 24 Dec 88 p 4*

[Press Release of the USSR MVD Press Bureau:  
"Thwarting of Illegal Activities"]

[Text] The law enforcement bodies are taking decisive measures to prevent illegal activities by manipulators and to strengthen socialist legality in the national economy.

Thus, recently police workers disclosed a criminal group of bribe-takers who for a long time had been established in the system of the Azerbaijan Ministry of Motor Transport. Its members collected money for organizing unsanctioned meetings, they kept motor transport from going out on routes and applied pressure to drivers who wanted to work. Moreover, they forced the dismissal of workers from other nationalities. Criminal action was instituted on the grounds of the given fact and the bribe-takers were apprehended. They were accused of receiving presents totaling around 100,000 rubles. The investigation is being conducted by a group of workers from the USSR Procuracy and the USSR MVD.

Investigation is continuing on the criminal activities of embezzlers who, as was shown by a preliminary investigation, in return for major bribes through the leading workers of the technical supply of the VAZ [Volga Automotive Plant] (Togliatti) and the Azerbaijan Ministry of Trade and Consumer Services and the Ministry of Industrial Construction obtained spare automotive parts in short supply from other regions of the nation and redistributed them through the republic, obtaining thousands of rubles of unearned income.

**AzSSR State Library Releases Banned Books to Public**

18300215b Baku MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA  
in Russian 6 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview by U. Guseynova with Elmira Pashayeva, head of the Azerbaijan State Library imeni M. F. Akhundov Special Collections Section: "Special Secrets" Declassified..." First paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] An unusual exhibit has opened at the Azerbaijan State Library imeni M. F. Akhundov. Books are presented in it which most of us have never held in our hands, and which for many years were kept in library special collections.

"The special collection of the Azerbaijan State Library imeni M. F. Akhundov was organized in the 40's," says Elmira Pashayeva, who has headed up this section for over 20 years.

"Since March of this year at the direction of the Main Administration for Protection of State Secrets in the Press, work has begun on transferring books from the special collection to general use collections. At the present time, over 2,000 book titles have been made accessible to the general reader. This is still less than half of our collection, but the work is ongoing".

[Guseynova] For the general reader only those works will become accessible which have already been "opened" in the central libraries of Moscow and Leningrad. Or will these questions be resolved at the republic level?

[Pashayeva] The fate of the books published in Azerbaijan is determined by the Azerbaijan SSR Glavlit [Main Administration for Protection of State Secrets in the Press]. The books of Alibek Guseynzade, Akhund- Yusif Talybzade, Geydar Guseynov and many others have been transferred to the general use collections.

[Guseynova] And what about foreign literature?

[Pashayeva] Around 300 books and hundreds of journals and newspapers, most of which are published in the capitalist countries.

[Guseynova] Did their number include Russian language foreign publications, as for example ANGLIYA and AMERIKA?

[Pashayeva] You can come in and read them freely in the library. It is true, the largest library in the republic has not subscribed to the journal AMERIKA since 1979—they could not get approval from the "Soyuzpechat" management. Finally in 1988 we got the subscription and this year are receiving this journal...

I leaf through the books that were at one time "banned". There are many books by repressed political leaders and writers who fell into disfavor. Yet among them there are also such "harmless" titles that at times one is even surprised: Dakhnovich, "Russian Language Textbook", 1953; M. Dubinina, "Collection of Dictations", 1951; M. Kaziyeu, "Meshadi Azizbekov"; N. Kolesnikova, "Ivan Fioletov. A Brief Biographical Sketch", 1948. Why were these books held under lock and key? As it turned out, it was only because they contained quotes from speeches or books by "branded" authors, forewords written by the wrong persons, portraits of the "wrong" people. Or, for example, among the foreign periodicals I saw the Turkish journal SES ("Voice") which told exclusively about singers and stage actors. What state secret could this journal have contained?

Many things today seem nonsensical...

**Azerbaijan's Georgian Communities Want Closer Ties**

18130015 Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian  
11 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by special Gruzinform correspondent L. Gagaa: "Iliabba in Kakhi"]

[Text] Kakhi, Azerbaijan SSR. More than 30,000 Georgians live in six villages of Azerbaijan's Kakhi Rayon. Together with their fraternal neighbors they are working successfully, developing their own culture, and cherishing their native Georgian language and passing it on from generation to generation. Although they are cut off territorially from Georgia, they desire with all their heart and soul to be close to Georgia, to feel a part of it, to take nourishment from its spiritual treasures and, as far as possible, make their own contribution. A manifestation of their great spiritual kinship with their countrymen is Iliabba [observance of the anniversary of the birth of Ilia Chavchavadze], which was celebrated for the first time last year on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Great Ilia. At that time, sculptor B. Avalishvili's bust of the great writer was installed on the grounds of the Ilia Chavchavadze People's Theater Studio in the village of Alibeglo. It was decided to hold the celebration on the second Saturday of October every year from now on.

"We have a good life here, we live harmoniously; we have no problems," said Nodar Poladashvili, the Georgian language teacher in Kakhi's Secondary School. "The only thing we want is to be closer to you."

There was also a sense of melancholy in teacher Poladashvili's words. Unfortunately, not many guests came over from Tbilisi.

The rain came down in buckets all morning, but all the inhabitants of the rayon's Georgian villages marched to Alibeglo, the site of the celebration. They were not alone either, because their fraternal good neighbors, the Azerbaijanis, came with them to celebrate as if it were their own festival.

"Our rayon is justly considered a model of brotherly, good-neighborly, truly internationalist cooperation," said Kakhi Raykom First Secretary Maksim Musayev during the opening ceremonies. "We are very proud of that. The Georgians have a wonderful saying, 'Brother, Your Brother Is Your Strength.' Indeed, this is the only way, with brotherly mutual understanding and friendship, that we can solve our common problems together."

On behalf of all the rayon's population he congratulated the assembly and welcomed the guests warmly, saying that such mutually enriching, mutually enhancing celebrations are essential to ensure that the events of Karabakh never again happen anywhere in our country.

Speeches were made at the celebration by local school-teacher Margo Sukhashvili, SOVET GURDZHUSTANY editor Teymuraz Dzhaferli, Rustaveli Society Presidium First Deputy Chairman Revaz Amashukeli, Georgian OGB = Komsomol Central Committee Secretary Sesili Gogiberidze, the local Aliosha Dzhaparidze Kolkhoz chairman Vano Malumashvili, and students from the rayon's secondary schools.

As a symbol of internationalist unity, the ranks of the guests were joined by several silver-haired war and labor veterans of Kakhi Rayon—Mamed Mahmudov, Aslan Aliberkov, Zakhid Mahmudov, Razhden Topalashvili, and Ali Babayev. They talked respectfully about Ilia Chavchavadze and said that the scope of this year's celebration should be widened so that it becomes a festival for all of Kakhi Rayon's inhabitants.

Then it was time for the arts. The local amateur performers' collective, Tbilisi's Mtiebi Ensemble, and the dancers of the B. Dzeladze Pioneers and Schoolchildren's Palace in Tbilisi took turns on the stage. Georgian, Azerbaijani, and Russian melodies resounded. During the concert the audience was treated to scenes from performances by the Georgian People's Theater, which has operated for 6 years now under the direction of Anzor Dolendzhashvili, a great enthusiast and patriot from Tbilisi who graduated from the Tbilisi Theater Institute.

Iliaoba lasted until late at night....

### **Bakradze Interviewed, Urges Re-Georgianization of Southern Districts**

*18130014 Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 41, 7 Oct 88 p 11*

[Interview with writer Akakiy Bakradze by Ketevan Sadgobelashvili: "'But It Will Be Too Late'... Three Questions for Akakiy Bakradze"]

[Text] Almost a century has passed since these words were written: "Enemies with sword in hand failed to make us yield, failed to take away our land and country. We overcame our sworn enemies, and we survived. We kept our land and our name, we were not lost to memory, we prevailed, we let no one build a stoning ground, no invader with sword in hand could ever hurt us. But those who come with labor and toil, with knowledge and cunning, will sweep us away, cut the earth from under our feet, obliterate our name, cause us to die out, the Georgian to disappear from memory. And our beautiful land, like an abandoned chapel, will be taken over by others. No one can stand up against labor and toil, against knowledge and cunning, unless we put up our own labor and toil, knowledge and cunning, to match and oppose them."

These words of Ilia's sound as a warning and tell us a great deal today. We will begin our conversation with writer-critic and deputy Rustaveli Society chairman Akakiy Bakradze with another quote from the Great Ilia:

"... That glorious, unified, collective idea which all of us should perceive in the word Georgianity, that noun which applied to all of us, has disintegrated. It has vanished from our mind, and now the Georgian has become but a particular noun among the inhabitants of a tiny corner rather than a general noun common to the whole people, which has suffered together."

[Sadgobelashvili] My dear Akakiy, what, in your opinion, has brought about the loss of unified national consciousness?

[Bakradze] That has a long history. When the unified Georgian national state disintegrated, it was gradually followed by a breakdown of unified national life and by withdrawal into seclusion. At one time, the Christian religion played a major role in unifying Georgians under one faith and one consciousness. Later, however, again because of the fate of our life in history, our religious unity also broke down. A portion of the Georgians became Moslems. If we look at the territory over which Islam spread (Meskheta, Adjara, Tao-Klardzheti, the Ingilo Country, and elsewhere), we can say that almost half the Georgian population have become followers of the Faith of Mohammed. On top of that, Catholicism also gained a foothold in Georgia. All of this testifies to the fact that the Georgian people are not religiously unified. Because faith was equated with nationality at one particular period, naturally, the Orthodox Georgian no longer considered the Georgian Catholic to be a

Georgian (he called him "French"); the same was even more true of the Georgian Moslem (whom he called "Tartar"). Unfortunately, to our sorrow, this kind of perverted attitude persists today, despite the fact that we live in an atheistic state.

We have also broken up territorially. I am not referring solely to those lands which are now outside Georgia's frontiers. I want to talk about other phenomena as well. Anyone who has observed can see that Kartli ranks first among Georgian provinces in terms of settlement by foreign inhabitants. Their settlements run from East to West, on the one hand, and are located between Georgia and Armenia, and from North to South, on the other hand, located between East and West Georgia. This has not happened by chance. It has a clearly defined motive.

When the two small Eastern Christian kingdoms—Georgia and Armenia—became surrounded by Islam after the fall of Byzantium, the leaders of Persia and Turkey decided to split Georgia and Armenia. The most important thing was to separate them territorially, to create a cordon by settling people between them who were distinct by religion and nationality. They undertook the rapid settlement of foreign tribes in the border strip between Georgia and Armenia. In this way, Persia and Turkey immeasurably weakened both Georgia and Armenia.

That was one side of the task. The other side was to split East and West Georgia. They had to do this not only politically but also in terms of nationality and territory.

Georgia's enemies succeeded in their goal, partially at least. They created cordons settled by non-Georgian inhabitants.

After the establishment of Russian rule, to be sure, territorial unification took place in Georgia. But the conquerors did everything they could to split the Georgian people spiritually. First, the name of our country, "Georgia," was abolished, and guberniyas and oblasts took its place. Then the Georgian Church was stripped of its independence, and the Georgian liturgy was forbidden. The Georgian language was banished from the schools. In various reference works and books, only the inhabitants of Kartli and Kakhetia were called Georgians; the rest of the Georgians were designated as non-Georgians. The Georgian Moslems were persecuted and encouraged in every way to leave Georgia and settle in the Islamic countries. The territories they left were purposely populated with foreign people considered by the Empire to be more reliable—in other words, the old Persian and Turkish plan to dilute the Georgian population was continued.

In the 19th century, of course, Georgian leaders fought this hostile invasion, but the balance of forces was too unequal. Clearly, the situation did not change in Georgia's favor. This is how our unified, integral national consciousness came to break down.

[Sadgobelashvili] My dear Akakiy, from your melancholy comments it is clear that we have inherited many problems today. But wringing our hands won't get us anywhere. Our generation is confused—what are we to do? What path should we take?

[Bakradze] The main task today is to change the grave situation which history has bequeathed us. If we cannot change it, the Georgian people face a great danger. We must not lose sight of this when it comes to demography, and we must focus carefully on the problem of settling Georgians on Georgian territory.

People's internal migration is a matter of great importance in every country. This process greatly determines the fate of a nation and country. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, Vazha-Pshavela did a very important thing when he had some of the inhabitants of the Aragvi Valley go down and settle in the Shiraki Plain. Another major contribution to our nation's cause was when a certain group of inhabitants from West Georgia was settled in what is today Lagodekhi oB = Rayon. Both of these things were accomplished without harming the regions the people came from, and the new regions were filled with Georgian inhabitants. We ought to take advantage of this old experience today and find a rational solution to the problem. We must not do what was done a few decades ago, when people were herded from one region to another by force. The intent was to develop new lands; in fact, however, we ruined the old lands for our posterity.

A little while ago, during the ceremonies dedicating the revival of Khornabudzhi, someone said that we ought to compile a map of Georgian ghost towns and depopulated areas. The History Institute has already undertaken to compile such a map, in fact. And it doesn't take much knowledge to predict that the greatest number of ghost towns, of abandoned communities, villages, and vineyards—overall devastation—will be found in the southern part of Georgia, namely the Gachiani-Gardabani-Sabartiano-Trialeti area and Meskheta-Dzhavakhetia. Through the centuries, our enemies always came from the south and, naturally, they were always met first by the historical inhabitants of southern Georgia. Those were the people who bore the brunt. If Georgia has survived, the lion's share of the credit goes to the historical inhabitants of southern Georgia. It is now our sacred duty to heal the old wounds of southern Georgia. We must restore what time and our enemies have destroyed; we must repopulate those lands with Georgian people, to whom they rightfully and legally belong. Georgians from all parts of Georgia must hasten to those lands so that Georgian speech, songs, dances, and games will once more resound there as of old, so that Georgian customs, practices, traditions, and way of life will be established there. At the same time, the new, revived villages must be given the characteristics of Georgia of the 21st century.

This must not reflect the desires and aspirations of just a narrow group of people, or of the authorities alone. It must reflect the desires and aspirations of the whole of

Georgia, the entire Georgian people. These aspirations must reflect the Georgian people's reawakened, unified, integrated consciousness.

[Sadgobelashvili] My dear Akakiy, as you can probably guess, considering our grave demographic and ecological problems, we are most keenly interested in the Rustaveli Society's Demographic and Ecological Department. Would you please, therefore, tell us in more detail what this department intends to do? What do you see as the best way to solve demographic problems, at least partially?

[Bakradze] A certain group of young people have drafted a Demographic Fund Charter for purposes of dealing specifically and efficiently with demographic problems. I am acquainted with that Charter, and I think that it offers an excellent and clear formulation of how to resolve particular demographic problems. The Charter is to be published soon (by the time our interview sees print, the Charter should already be published) and everyone will have the opportunity to inspect it and express their opinion about its merits and defects.

As for the revival of the devastated areas in southern Georgia, also the matter of our country's equal cultural development, in 1974 I published two articles in *LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO*. The first one was titled "Dzhavakhetia, Dzhavakhetia...", and the second was "An Urgent Matter." These articles did not seem to excite the reading public very much. Everyone took them complacently, except for a couple of personal letters I received at home plus scoldings from a few officials who told me I had no business writing about such things and that I should stick to poetry.

I'm going to repeat today what I said then:

In order to revive southern Georgia's devastated areas it is essential to do thorough research on the region's economic potential and build new enterprises and businesses there (by way of example, we would have done a wise and well-considered thing if we had built the Iveria Television Plant in southern Georgia rather than in Tbilisi—let's say, Marneuli, Bogdanovka, or Tsalka. A community to house the plant's workers and employees should also have been built there. But it's too late now. Although, if anyone likes this idea, there are still plenty of other things that could be built there in accordance with this idea).

Tbilisi needs to be relieved of its congestion before its chaotic growth becomes fatal to us. To do this, it will be necessary to move several VUZes, plants, and factories from Tbilisi to rayon centers in southern Georgia. Of course I don't mean just moving the buildings—I mean move the students, faculty, and staff there too. Naturally, what I have just said will upset most people frightfully. They'll say, "He can get out if he wants to; we feel fine right here in Tbilisi." I beg you, I plead with you to

believe me: We have got to think. Nothing is as dangerous to us now as the uncontrolled desire of all Georgia to live in Tbilisi. If Lithuania's best theater can be headquartered in the little city of Panevezhis rather than Vilnius, why can't we do something like that in Georgia? If the most famous basketball team can have its headquarters in Kaunas instead of Vilnius, why can't we do that in Georgia? If a world-famous university can be located in Tartu rather than Tallinn, why can't we have something like that in Georgia? Yes, yes, I know, our university is something special in our cultural history and we can't touch it, but how about the Polytechnic Institute, the Agricultural Institute, and all those other institutes? What's wrong with the rest of Georgia? Why can't other towns and cities be lighted by the lamps of higher education?

This kind of deployment in Georgia will foster both the creation of equal cultural levels and the demographic balance of the Georgian population.

Let us do this before Tbilisi becomes a Georgian reservation surrounded by a sea of foreign tribes. If that happens, it will be too late to shed great tears in our wine at the banquet table.

### **Georgian Writer Warns Against 'Enemies Within and Without'**

*18130011 Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian  
7 Oct 88 p 2*

[Article by Otar Kinkladze: "National Consciousness"]

[Text] Let me be frank and say that I am not very eager to write about this theme.

Not because the theme of national consciousness itself is unworthy of attention. It deserves special, particular attention.

No.

Mainly because the actions of some of my countrymen, and those who copy them, make one hesitant to assert the elementary truth that national consciousness should above all truly reflect, express, and affirm genuine defense of national interests and certain realization of national goals.

Without that, there can hardly be any serious discussion of consciousness.

I have witnessed many proclamations and slogans which seem attractive and desirable at first glance but which remain unrealizable in practice, and we are not lacking in the bitter experience of disappointment, but we just can't seem to learn our lesson.

That's the way it is now. People think the time has come when you can say anything you feel like and nobody can

do anything to you; but this has nothing to do with national consciousness.

So it seems to me.

It's not that I don't have anything to say or that national concerns don't bother me, and it's not that I have no hopes for the future.

No.

Let no one be confused.

There are a lot of things that bother me, even pain me. But I also see and feel that speeches, proclamations divorced from reality, however sincere, will not do a bit of good for my land and people.

Otherwise, why did Ilia and his fellow thinkers hesitate to root for their homeland's independence when Georgia was divided into guberniyas?

Because they didn't.

Nor did they organize rallies to do so.

Nor did they say, "Georgians, take up your swords" and start the singing.

The reason Ilia didn't say that is because he was wise and realistic.

What he told us, what he bequeathed us, is this:

Ilia speaking:

"This is a time when each one of us must be held responsible before our country on the basis of our own words and deeds and not on the basis of what others, through inadvertence or lack of foresight, impose upon us."

Just so.

Every one of us must be held accountable.

Accountable to our country for our words and deeds.

Every one of us must be wary lest anyone, through inadvertence or lack of foresight, force words or, especially, deeds upon us.

Deeds!

It seems someone has said that we Georgians need to shed blood.

How about that!

Whose blood?

Why?

What for?

It is an ignorant, irresponsible, treacherous slogan.

I know how Georgians' blood was shed during the days of March 1956.

The person who egged those schoolchildren and college students on during those fateful days and called upon them to hold rallies and stage demonstrations was playing with their national feelings. Then, when tragedy struck, he disappeared somewhere. Meanwhile, the bodies of those who were blinded by the senseless proclamations were dispatched to the cemetery.

That is the way things usually happen.

That's what happened during the bloody week of 9 January.

Earlier as well.

And later.

It is ignorant and evil to call upon young people to shed blood.

Now, anyway.

Ilia:

"That time is past. The sword is blunted, bravery is countermanded. We must now put our sword on the shelf, for it has no use. Now is the time to turn to our tools, the plow, the factory workbench and machinery controls. Now is not the time for the bravery of war, for the shedding of blood; now is the time for the bravery of labor, for the shedding of sweat. I say to you once more, the country now belongs to him who toils, who knows the worth and skills of toil, who is most careful of what he has done and saves what he has gained. Most powerful today is he who is vigorous and diligent in spirit and flesh, in knowledge and industriousness."

Ilia's writings on public affairs are most helpful to us, his spiritual heirs, in enhancing our national consciousness.

And if we make wise use of this heritage, perhaps we will not go wrong and we will avoid making a fateful step.

In our time of perestroika of public life, democratization, and glasnost there are ongoing events and processes which frequently stem from the manifestation of national consciousness. The growth of this phenomenon is natural, normal, and healthy.

One such process, it seems to me, is the Georgian students' campaign for the protection and preservation of Davit

Garedzha. This campaign is truly an eloquent confirmation of our young students' national consciousness.

It is also an extremely proud manifestation of a truly natural, normal, very healthy desire.

I was convinced of this once more by the meeting held at Tbilisi State University, where the main focus was again on the theme of Davit Garedzha, but the participants also touched upon such painful issues as the prospects of Georgia's social-economic development, peculiarities of the perestroika process, settlement in Meskhetia, and others.

It was more than just an eloquent demonstration of our student youth's growing national consciousness—it was an excellent school of preparation for life in a time of democracy and glasnost. It was painful, difficult, sometimes controversial, but nevertheless useful. Fathers and sons together are learning to understand one another, to cooperate. They are learning the vital science and art of enhancing national consciousness.

Ilia:

"The son must know how far his father got so that he can begin to carry life's yoke from there. The son must determine in what ways his father was right and good, and in what he was mistaken, what evil was taken to be good and what good was taken to be evil. He must understand what furthered him and what impeded, what he toiled for and won and why he was idle. Without that, the son himself, however steadfast and industrious he may be, will be like an elephant without its trunk (as Davit Guramishvili put it) and will not amount to anything in this world."

We must try to attain what we desire in this world.

All of us, fathers and sons, must do this.

Together, hand in hand.

There is no other way for us.

There simply is no other way for us.

We must not rely on anyone else.

It is we who have to do our own deeds.

We must act calmly, with foresight and hope.

And we must be our own masters [a quote from Ilia Chavchavadze].

However....

It is a fact, however, that we have to take care of ourselves. We have children to take care of, and we need guidance in teaching them to walk the straight and righteous path.

What is to be done, how should we act?

If consciousness means understanding and recognition of our own selves, our own behavior, thinking, feelings, character, interests, and views of the world, understanding of our worth, significance, rights, and appropriate role in the world, then national consciousness requires that each one of us approach all of this in a national context and, at the same time, that our nation as a whole reflect upon our significance and role on the paths and crossroads of historical development.

So what is to be done, how should we act?

If you ask me, the time has come for us to stop relying on others and to take care of ourselves.

This vitally important task, dictated by life itself, was clearly spelled out at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held in September of this year, where the following position was explicitly enunciated:

"Dependency on others is ruinous to people; it prevents them from working on the land and with the land. Those who are dependent on others, whether here or elsewhere, must keep firmly in mind that no one else is going to take care of them. Isn't it time now for them to get busy and take care of themselves? Our task now is to take care of our own collective, our own rayon, our own city, oblast, and, finally, our own republic."

What reasonable man would demand that others feed him and clothe him, while yet claiming to be his own master? There has never been such a thing, nor will there ever be. If a man decides to get married, have children, and embark on a life of independence, he must understand that he has got to take care of his own family or he is not going to be independent. Awareness of this situation is absolutely essential, and the same is true of national consciousness.

Isn't the low level of our national consciousness manifested by the fact that neither the contract system [podryad] nor the co-op movement has yet developed among us to the point where they have produced any appreciable results or put bread on our table? It is significant that from the very first, the co-op movement has been dominated by organizers of cafes and restaurants who are not at all concerned with raising food but only care about their own pocketbooks—often enough, at the expense of our health. Instead of setting up their own agricultural production operation, they purchase products at state prices in the stores and then sell them at whatever price they want.

This kind of attitude is not going to do us any good, and we must vigorously resist anyone who acts against our national interests.

The quickest and most efficient way for us to build up our food stocks is to adopt the contrast system everywhere. There is definitely something which is preventing us from doing this, otherwise we could probably have adopted and developed effective forms of agricultural labor organization and incentive more widely. Especially in the hill country and highland villages, efforts which would breathe new life into abandoned homesteads.

This is the kind of approach which creates harmony and unity in oB = national and all-state interests. In any consideration of the impact of manifestations of national consciousness or their national and social consequences, I believe that this circumstance is an extremely important factor. Related to this, in my opinion at least, is the necessity of converting artificially created sovkhozes back into kolkhozes in order to replace the artificially increased number of workers with an increased number of peasants and make the peasants the masters of the land, so that they will no longer be dependents of the state. We should also be bold and give the lands of the state-subsidized kolkhozes to peasant families on a contract basis, and so on.

All of these are great concerns of ours, extremely important national problems which we must deal with and solve ourselves—just as the positive resolution of the Davit Garezhia problem, which the young people and all the Georgian people called for, coincided with the Georgian Communist Party's and the republic leadership's persistent and, at the same time, entirely realistic and successful efforts. All of us together must rally around other national interests and continue to exert joint efforts to resolve them.

As I observe events, I become more and more convinced that we will gain the desired results by taking a unified position rather than wasting time and energy in groundless arguments with self-advertised "members of the opposition."

We must all mobilize our national energy, each and every one of us, for it will constitute a sign of powerful manifestation of national consciousness, an affirmation and a beacon of hope.

Very disturbing situations occur in which, due to our own lack of foresight, problems arise which damage our national unity, our national interests, and our national health. This kind of danger is created by cases in which certain people try to persuade us that the future of today's Georgia is the concern of "just a handful" of Georgians while everyone else, including the republic's leadership, couldn't care less about the Georgian nation.

That simply not so.

And lies and duplicity damage both our nation's soul and flesh.

An excerpt from Georgian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary Dzh.B. Patiashvili's report at the September plenum of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee concerning the tasks of the Georgian Party organization in regard to the practical implementation of the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the July 1988 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee:

"There is an obvious lack of objectivity, reasonableness, and courtesy in certain publications of the all-union press, which reflect a biased analysis of events and facts.

"Why is it that some people are trying to label as nationalism the Georgian public's entirely natural concern over the ecological, cultural, and social impact of the Caucasian Mountain Railroad project? We are categorically against any one-sided, biased attitude toward the fate of national languages and national cultures, cases where a publication which has a readership of many millions blurts out, as if inadvertently, something about 'the tedious Georgian polyphonic singing,' or has the audacity to write something about 'sports botany' and ascribes the successes of southern soccer teams to the citrus harvesting season. We find it simply incomprehensible why some publications get so eagerly carried away with blatantly provocative political jokes. Isn't it obvious that attacks of this sort are insulting, that they hurt people's reputation and dignity and national pride, and that they create an unhealthy mentality and aggravate the situation?

"Historical and present truth require a cautious, careful approach. We are disturbed by some people's attempts to ascribe the illegal repressions of past years to a people's national character. It is absolutely essential that we reflect deeply, correctly, and objectively upon the path we have traveled, upon everything that gave birth to the deformation of socialist construction in practice and the administrative-command system during the years of Stalin's cult of personality, the dictatorship of the apparatus, followed by the lengthy period of stagnation."

Finally, another quote:

"It is especially important today to consolidate and rally the healthy forces of society, especially our intelligentsia, in order to successfully deal with the problems of further developing our native language and protecting our natural, historical, and cultural monuments. But let us not equate nihilism, skepticism, critical nit-picking, and baleful arrogance with objective criticism of our shortcomings."

Indeed let us avoid doing so.

Because that kind of equation will come back at us like a boomerang, hit us in the head and make us dizzy.

This must not be allowed to happen.

We must not allow it to happen because we still have enemies and those who do not wish us well, both within and without.

Therefore, it behooves us to be very careful and provident.

Every one of us.

I do not know, for example, whether the enemies of our nation include the Leningrad scientist E. Zeimal, a doctor of historical sciences. Nor do I know whether he has ever been to Georgia or why he is so interested in our fate and fortunes. I do know very well, however, that in his article "What the Figures Tell Us," which appeared in the 9 July 1988 edition of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, he encroached upon the Georgians' national unity.

Judge for yourselves.

As a doctor of historical sciences, E. Zeimal is very disturbed and amazed because, as he says, the Mingrelians remain "annexed" to the Georgian nation to this day.

"How can that be?" he asks in astonishment. "Don't even the 'smallest' nations deserve the right to exist, especially if they have their own native language?"

The fact is that E. Zeimal is interested in and concerned about something else.

Let us follow his line of reasoning and we will easily perceive what he's driving at.

In addition to the Mingrelians, according to him, the Georgians have also "absorbed" the Svans as well. Do you know why? Because, he says, "Sometimes it has happened for purely territorial motives and, most often, despite essential language differences and even when linguistic groups belonged to different branches."

So E. Zeimal of Leningrad is even disputing Georgia's territorial integrity. He seriously urges us to correct this mistake at the time of the 1989 All-Union Census, which will be conducted under conditions of democracy and glasnost—that is, he is urging us to register some people as Georgians, others as Mingrelians, Imeretians, Svans, Khevsurs, and so on.

What do these Zeimals want, and why are they getting on our case?

But I do know what they want, and for this reason it behooves us to be especially careful; it behooves us all to stand firmly together.

All of us—Kartli and Kakhetia, Imeretia, Mingrelia, Guria.... All of us together, otherwise we will "have no one to blame but ourselves...." etc.

Iakob Gogebashvili:

"The reader must understand that partitioning any nation, cutting it up into little bits, breaking it up, is the best way to weaken that nation, to conquer it and wipe it out. That is the kind of treachery practiced against Georgia by our nation's enemies, but they are not alone. It is also practiced by those who should not be numbered among our nation's enemies."

This kind of "treachery" against us continues today, and we must oppose it with our high national consciousness.

The coming All-Union Census, which starts on 1 January 1989, will be a serious test of our national consciousness. It is essential that this be clearly understood by those who were led into error in previous censuses, those who ignored Iakob Gogebashvili's wise admonition that partitioning a nation, cutting it up into little bits, and breaking it up is the best way to weaken the nation, conquer it, and wipe it out.

Unity, the consolidation of all our national forces, is the wellspring of the strength and permanence of a unified Georgia.

These forces are a powerful factor of successful progress on the road of perestroika, the renovation of our economic and social-political life, the consolidation of further democratization and glasnost.

And because this is so, these forces have the power to promote the urgent cause of the further enhancement and reinforcement of our national consciousness.

M.S. Gorbachev:

"Today we speak of raising the national consciousness of every nation and nationality, of manifesting national feelings (often manifested in a distorted manner). These are vital issues, and they must be dealt with. We must think about the forms of further development of relations among the republics, about strengthening their rights, including the right of representation in the Central state organs."

Indeed, many problems have accumulated.

It must also be stated, however, that sometimes we ourselves create artificial, invented problems which make the situation even more tense.

We Georgians also suffer from something like that.

It behooves us to resist vigorously, actively, and effectively in order to oppose such phenomena—because the aforementioned co-op cafes and restaurants have now

been joined by a kindergarten in Tbilisi where the main subject appears to be drawing, and in addition to German they also teach music, but the worst thing is that the instruction, at the parents' request, is conducted in a non-Georgian language.

Really, "What can I tell you to cheer you?" [a quote from Ilia Chavchavadze].

The owners of these and other co-op kindergartens are Georgians, the parents of the children are also Georgians, and except for the native language they want all the best: drawing, music, German, French, and English—and everything is taught to these preschool-age children in a language other than their mother tongue. Unfortunately, this tendency has also extended to children of older ages, and the number of Georgian children who are not being taught in their mother tongue is rising.

There are other woes that haunt us as well.

In particular, because of historical adversity and various circumstances, not least among which is our own naivete and lack of concern, the Georgian land and people have given shelter and heartfelt hospitality to many representatives of other nationalities. Some people appreciate that, some do not. It's unfortunate, but what can you do. A lot of it, after all, is our own fault.

But when we attempt to add new mistakes on top of those of the past, it is an indication of the extremely low level of national consciousness of some of us. For example, when some people demand the return, and even the settlement in Meskheta, of the greatly increased numbers of today's generation of a people who were unjustly

deported from Georgia a long time ago through no fault of ours, it behooves us now to take serious thought. If we consider the lessons of history, for us once more to foster the growth of the non-Georgian population goes far beyond any reasonable boundaries of philanthropy and hospitality. For this reason I don't understand those who are now trying to persuade us to crowd the Georgians of Meskheta even more or even have them pull up stakes so as to settle others in their place. The problem needs to be resolved, of course. But how, when, and on what scale—that will need some careful thought!

Ilia:

"Enemies with sword in hand failed to make us yield, failed to take away our land and country. We overcame our sworn enemies, and we survived. We kept our land and our name, we were not lost to memory, we prevailed, we let no one build a stoning ground, no invader with sword in hand could ever hurt us. But those who come with labor and toil, with knowledge and cunning, will sweep us away, cut the earth from under our feet, obliterate our name, cause us to die out, the Georgian to disappear from memory. And our beautiful land, like an abandoned chapel, will be taken over by others. No one can stand up against labor and toil, against knowledge and cunning, unless we put up our own labor and toil, knowledge and cunning, to match and oppose them."

It behooves us Georgians to reflect upon all this.

We must exercise Ilia-like calmness, foresight, and realism.

The present, which is born of the past, is the father of the future.

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5285 PORT ROYAL RD

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