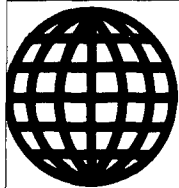


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Soviet Union

Political Affairs

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Political Affairs

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**BSSR People's Deputies Charted by Occupation,
Social Group**

18000497a Minsk *KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII* in
Russian No 12, Dec 88 p 9

—Belorussia's territory constitutes 0.9 percent of the USSR's territory. As of 1 January 1988, it was inhabited by 10.1 million people (3.6 percent of the USSR's population).

[Unsigned report: "BSSR State Statistics Committee Certifies"]

—According to the 1979 Census data, this republic is inhabited by more than 80 nations and nationalities, of which Belorussians constitute 79.4 percent, Russians—11.9 percent, Poles—4.2 percent, Ukrainians—2.4 percent, and Jews—1.4 percent.

[Excerpts] The BSSR State Statistics Committee hereby certifies the following:

Distribution of Deputies to BSSR Supreme Soviet and Local Soviets of People's Deputies by Social Group

Item	Total deputies	Comprising			As a percentage of total		
		Workers	Kolkhoz members	Office employees	Workers	Kolkhoz members	Office employees
BSSR Supreme Soviet (1985 elections)	485	157	88	240	32.4	18.1	49.5
Oblast, rayon, city, settlement, and village soviets of people's deputies (1987 elections)	85,384	33,273	23,617	28,494	39.0	27.7	33.3

Distribution of Deputies to BSSR Local Soviets of People's Deputies by Occupation (Elections of 21 June 1987)

Item	Total Deputies	As a percentage of total
Total	85,384	100
Broken down as follows by employment:		
in industry, construction, transport, and communications	17,260	20.2
in agriculture	41,168	48.2
in trade and public dining	3,694	4.3
in housing and municipal administration	658	0.8
in everyday services	1,560	1.8
in science, culture, education, and health care	8,699	10.2
in law-enforcement organs	831	1.0
in other sectors of the national economy	529	0.6
in party organs	2,645	3.1
in soviet organs	6,009	7.0
in trade-union organs	0.8	
in Komsomol organs	316	0.4
in other public organizations	64	0.1
students and pupils	99	0.1
pensioners, persons engaged in domestic service, and others	1,189	1.4

BSSR First Secretary on Correcting Mistakes of the Past, Nationalities

18000497b Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 31 Dec 88 p 2

[Report by Ye.Ye. Sokolov: "By the Road of the October Revolution and the Course of Revolutionary Renewal in the United Family of the USSR's Peoples: Delivered at the Ceremonial Session Marking the 70th Anniversary of the Formation of the BSSR and the Belorussian CP"]

[Excerpts]

IV.

Of particular timeliness nowadays is the heritage of the October Revolution in the area of democracy. Its further development on the basis of socialism and for the good of socialism has advanced to center stage of our entire public life.

On more than one occasion the party has emphasized the following point: we can achieve a qualitatively new condition of society only after creating a flexible and reliable mechanism for genuinely involving working people in the process of deciding state and public matters, after expanding and strengthening human rights, as well as imbuing it with up-to-date standards of political culture.

As we know, the command-administrative methods of rule and mass repressions retarded the process of developing socialist democracy, distorted the humanistic essence of the socialist system, fettered the creative forces of the people, and led to enormous costs—human, political, ideological-moral, and material.

The party is doing everything necessary to restore historical justice, to rehabilitate in civil and party procedures those unjustly condemned and repressed communists and non-party members, workers and peasants, scholars and writers, cultural figures, as well as party, soviet, and economic leaders.

A commission of the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro has been set up to further study the materials connected with the repressions conducted during the period of the 1930's, 1940's, and early 1950's. It is working together with public organizations and legal organs, and it is preparing proposals with regard to perpetuating the memory of the victims of repressions.

The inhuman deeds of the past must not be forgotten. The guilt of those who abused their authority, who shattered the democratic and moral foundations of the society is immeasurable. But history cannot be rewritten. And there is no such thing as two truths. We must have the boldness to look truth in the face, no matter how bitter it may be. Truthful evaluations of the past are needed not to "lacerate the soul," although, as the history of mankind has taught, it is precisely with the

work of the soul that the moral formation of the individual personality begins. A dialectical analysis of the path we have traveled, in all its complexity and contradictory nature, arms us with experience, warns us against taking uncertain steps, and helps us to solve the vital problems of perestroika.

Yes, the departure from the Leninist principles of socialism, their deformation, and the ossification of the political system, which transformed it into a brake on the society's development, inflicted colossal damage on the cause of the October Revolution.

But this could not shake our people's faith in the Soviet regime, in the cause of the party; it could not completely fetter their energy or turn them from the chosen path of socialism. Thanks to the heroic struggle and self-sacrificing labor of the people, the communists, and the non-party persons who shared their point of view, our country became one of the world's most developed and influential states.

Today we are reviving the values of the October Revolution. We are implementing its slogans of freedom and democracy, bearing in mind the following wise testament from Lenin: "...Victorious socialism is impossible without implementing full democracy...."

The decisions taken by the November (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Extraordinary Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet comprised a major step along the path of implementing a basic principle of socialism—the sovereignty of the working people, and along the path of creating a legally-minded socialist state. They are leading us into practical work on carrying out a reform of the political system, the gist of which is restoring and deepening the principled foundations of soviet socialist statehood and democracy.

Above all, this means integrating the system of soviets as people's representative organs, whereby each soviet functions on its own territory as a unit of the superior authority and, at the same time, as the sovereign master of the region in question.

This means a revival under the new conditions at the All-Union and republic levels of congresses of people's deputies as the highest unit of administration; it means implementing the dual nature of the soviets as simultaneously state and mass organizations of the population. This means involving the deputies in continuous legislative, administrative, and monitoring work. This means a principle which permeates the entire system of authority and administration—the principle of monitoring things, of collegiality in working out and implementing the decisions which have been taken; it means setting up a Committee of constitutional monitoring, which safeguards the Constitution.

Renovating the electoral system is opening up possibilities for genuine choice. The country's future depends, to a decisive degree, on what kinds of persons obtain the mandate of the people's trust. The voters must give them their most important order—to be political leaders, to organically link the interests of their districts' population and the members of public organizations with the people's needs and with the problems of developing the society.

V.

The Great October Socialist Revolution set forth a task of historic significance—inculcating a person to be an ideologically convinced, genuine patriot and internationalist with lofty moral qualities. And nowadays we can say with pride that thousands upon thousands of our fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, sons and daughters have been and are the bearers of these qualities. At all stages of our history this republic's working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia have been distinguished by unexampled industriousness, courage, self-denial, and beauty of soul.

But today we are bitterly speaking about something else as well: the deformations of socialism have also left their mark on the formation of a person, his spiritual and moral world.

In beginning its revolutionary changes, the party declared we are entering upon a road which is not for the weak and timid, but rather for the strong and bold. However, in addition to strength and boldness, we are required to work on extremely tight schedules, have a high degree of organizational skill, smooth coordination, as well as a sense of political and moral responsibility.

Positive changes do not fall from the heavens. Someone who boils down renewal to a pleasant waiting period until, after a change in leadership in this or that sector, material goods will begin to rain down as if from a horn of plenty, is actually putting the brakes on perestroika. Certain persons are forgetting an important truth: in order to have a higher level of prosperity, live in a better apartment, eat better, and dress attractively, we must work not simply better, but creatively and intelligently.

Today, when we have entered the stage of widescale, practical implementation of the outlined measures, to limit ourselves to discussions means to lose time. "We must," V.I. Lenin wrote, "learn how to combine the political-meeting type democratism of the toiling masses, running over its banks like a stormy torrent of spring, with iron discipline during working time...."

To combine the development of democracy with the solution of specific problems, a genuine forward progress in all sectors of economic and cultural construction—such is the imperative of the times. That is why our

urgent task is to intensify the struggle against social parasitism, passivity, mismanagement, as well as indifference to labor and to public matters.

Nor do we have any right to overlook other negative phenomena. Certain persons, proceeding from their own narrowly egotistical, ambitious impulses, have attempted to cast doubts on the gains made by the October Revolution, the fundamental values of our society, the alliance of and friendship among the peoples of our multinational Soviet Fatherland.

We favor a great diversity of opinions, the discussion of any question, no matter how acute it may be, with all groups of the society. We are for discussions and for comparing views, as long as they are directed at strengthening and enriching the socialist foundations of the Soviet state.

We have an understanding attitude toward all those persons who, together with the party, trade-union, Komsomol organizations, and the soviet organs, are striving to actively participate in the renewal of society, and we are decisively opposed to those persons whose points of view contradict socialist ideals, who are not accelerating the cause, but rather hindering it.

We share in the increasingly louder demand by working people to halt the demagogues, safeguard revolutionary changes from extremism, rebuff those persons who are attempting to drown perestroika in a flood of sonorous phrases and to stealthily sneak in values which are alien to us.

The duty of each one of us, independent of age or occupation, nationality or religious faith—of all those who are truly concerned for the people's destiny and its future—is to facilitate by word and deed the consolidation of public forces in the streambed of accelerating the processes of perestroika.

And we do have these forces. They are, first of all, the labor collectives, where a person's moral point of view is formed and where his faithfulness to the socialist Fatherland is tested by deeds.

They are the Soviets of People's Deputies, to which the reform of the political system is returning sovereignty and which have sufficient political experience, as well as a sense of realism and responsibility, to carry out their own lofty mission on behalf of the people.

They are the trade-union, Komsomol, and other public organizations, and creative unions, which energetically advocate perestroika and are making their own contribution to the processes of renewal.

They are our glorious veterans, who have always been distinguished by their devotion to the cause of socialism, a high level of discipline and organization, who have generously transmitted their abundant experience in revolutionary creation.

They are the party committees and organizations, which, at the people's will, lead the masses in the struggle to purge our life of deformations and stagnant phenomena; they also actively involve working people in socioeconomic creativity and perestroika.

And it is the melding together of all these forces which is our popular front, one of which is engaged in the struggle for the revolutionary renewal of the society!

In order to accelerate this process, it is likewise important to further strengthen the solidarity and unity of all nations and nationalities of our Socialist Fatherland. Friendship among peoples, equality of all nations and nationalities—comprise the truly impressive result of implementing the Leninist nationality policy.

These concepts are filled with special meaning for Belorussia's working people. Over the extent of our entire 70-year history there has been no period when this republic did not sense the strength of unity and fraternity among the USSR's peoples. This was manifested most clearly during the years of the Great Patriotic War and the postwar revival of the national economy. The direct material damage alone caused by Hitler's predators amounted to a total equal to 35 times this republic's 1940 budget. But our loss cannot be compared with anything—some 2,230,000 human beings perished in the flames of war.

In isolation we never would have saved ourselves from the fascist devil. In isolation we never would have been able to raise our own plants and factories within a brief period of time from the ruins and ashes of our cities and villages. Both we and our descendants will be eternally grateful to the Great Russian people and to all the fraternal peoples of our Fatherland for their unselfish help and multifaceted support.

In the course of preparing for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which will examine the problems of international relations, active work is being conducted whose main purpose is to achieve a genuine harmony of interests among all nations and nationalities, based on the principles of socialist internationalism, independence and responsibility, mutual assistance and brotherhood.

The slogan "A strong Union means a strong Center and strong republics" corresponds more than ever to the interests of all the people in our multinational state.

Guided by conviction and the law, we must oppose any attempts to channel natural national feelings into the destructive streambed of nationalism; nor must we permit our general international gains to be discredited.

Today's active internationalism means multiplying our republic's contribution to developing an integrated national-economic complex. Today's active internationalism means strengthening bonds of friendship and mutual assistance with our Fatherland's fraternal peoples, respecting their national features and traditions, no matter where they live or what language they speak. Today's active internationalism also means unceasing concern for preserving and multiplying people's values, for further developing national culture and science.

A truly popular Belorussian culture, national in form and socialist in content, developed amid conditions of the integrated cultures of the fraternal republics, based on their mutual influence and assistance. It rests on the firm foundation laid by the sons of Belorussia: Frantsisk Skorina, Simeon Polotskiy, Kastus Kalinowski, Frantsishk Bogushevich, Yanka Kupala, and Yakub Kolas.

True to principles of party and populism, the republic's creative intelligentsia did much to embody the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution, create the immortal figure of Lenin, depict the history of the Belorussian people, its patriotism and internationalism, devotion to socialism throughout its 70-year path.

Today's artistic intelligentsia is ever more persistently defining its place in perestroika. And the duty of creative unions is to affirm the mutual high standards and lofty civic responsibility for creating works which brightly, truthfully reflect characteristic features of the times with all their conflicts and problems, which celebrate the heroism of pioneers in society's revolutionary renewal.

This republic is taking measures to enlarge the sphere where Belorussian is used. The number of educational institutions where Belorussian is the language of instruction is increasing. Training staff for VUZ's, schools, and preschool institutions is improving. Circulation of books and pamphlets in Belorussian and that of newspapers and journals has grown substantially. These are just the first steps in solving this complex problem.

Social sciences face quite a few serious problems. They must more actively provide a beneficial process to humanize and democratize society, form a spiritually rich personality keyed on common values and having high political and moral standards.

Reforming general-educational and vocational schools requires more efficiency and specificity from us all. We must substantially strengthen public education's material base. Before 1995 we plan to satisfy demand for preschool institutions, before 2000—for Pioneer camps,

convert general-educational schools to single-shift operation, provide VUZ's and tekhnikums with study areas, dormitories, cafeterias, and sports facilities.

This will allow us to take a major step forward in solving the extremely important social problem of transforming public education into a powerful means of preserving, developing, and handing on the spiritual riches saved by mankind, to fully activate the decisive factor of accelerating society's socioeconomic and cultural development.

When we assign and solve such large problems, we involuntarily turn to the past, to where we began. History attests that Belorussia was the most illiterate part of Tsarist Russia. Such a giant leap within a historically brief period is possible solely under conditions of a socialist society, whose chief goal is to provide for man's multifaceted development.

Since the earliest days of its existence the Land of the Soviets has proclaimed that the highest norm of interstate relations is a just and democratic world, along with cooperation among all countries and peoples.

These Leninist principles constitute the keystone of the BSSR's foreign-policy activity as well. While implementing its own sovereign rights, our republic has been and remains a reliable component of the Soviet state's united, foreign-policy front. They firmly follow the course of peace and social progress.

We are proud that Soviet Belorussia actively participates in the work of the United Nations, as well as more than 60 other international organizations and their organs. More than once it has acted at international conferences and meetings as the initiator in posing timely problems of a political, socioeconomic, or cultural nature.

Today the most important task of our republic's foreign-policy activity is to implement the new philosophy, the new concept of international relations, their demilitarization and humanization, as set forth by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his speech at the UN.

We must make better use of the opportunities granted to us by law to go out on our own into foreign markets. At the present time this republic sells its products to more than 100 of the world's countries. More than 90 Belorussian enterprises and organizations have direct ties with partners from various countries. Work is being conducted on setting up joint enterprises.

Friendly ties are being strengthened along many lines between Belorussia's oblasts and provinces of the PPR, GDR, SRV, PRB, and Slovenia (in the SFRY). Scientific, creative, medical, and other institutions are actively cooperating with foreign organizations.

The role played by this republic in developing the Olympic movement is increasing. All of us were gratified by the achievements of Belorussian athletes at the Summer Games in Seoul. With regard to medals won, they were in the top 10, having finished above 150 states.

In the future we will continue to strengthen and expand our international ties, since we regard them as an important means of firming up peace and security, the international indoctrination of working people, as well as the mutual enrichment of scientific and technical information and advanced experience.

VI.

Comrades! Even after 70 years the documents of the Belorussian CP's First Congress vitally convey to us the unbreakable faith of the delegates in the truth and justice of the socialist cause. This congress's appeal to workers, hired farm laborers, peasants, and soldiers stated the following: "Under the banner of the Communist Party our young republic is now being born, and it is under the banner of this same party that we are forming up in iron ranks in order to fight to the last breath for the triumph of the workers' and peasants' cause."

At that time the ranks of Belorussia's Communist Party included 17,771 persons. Nowadays the republic's party organization has more than 700,000 members and candidate members of the CPSU. The Belorussian CP is only one year younger than the Great October Socialist Revolution, but the following statement can be made with complete justification: it is the Revolution's offspring, its continuation.

The reform of the political system which is now being carried out in the country scarcely signifies that the CPSU is abandoning its own vanguard position within it. Having proposed the new course in 1985, the party affirmed that it is the specific, political force capable of leading the society along the path of perestroika. It is both the engine of renewal and is itself being actively renewed on Leninist principles so that it may fully perform the leading and unifying role, integrate diverse social interests in a united policy, and, in the final analysis, ensure the success of what has been planned.

By relying on the collective wisdom of the people and themselves learning how to live and work under the conditions of glasnost and democracy, the party committees and organizations are getting rid of the negative heritage of the past; they are abandoning, to use V.I. Lenin's words, communist decreeing.

Their influence on public processes is increasing by means of concentrating forces on improving organizational and political activity. Orders are giving way to intellect and the logic of persuasion, intuition is yielding to profound and multifaceted analysis. The center of gravity is shifting to political methods of work.

This process is not a simple one. But it is gathering force with each passing day. This was also shown by the just-completed accountability-and-election campaign. Sharp discussions were devoted to improving party work under the conditions of perestroyka, to searching for new forms of educating people, to multiply by party organizations one's own political, intellectual, and moral potential by means of each communist's potential and, through it—that of each public organization and each citizen.

In connection with the new procedure for electing the peoples deputies of the USSR, the working people through public organizations are obtaining yet another important channel of direct influence on the activity of state power. A possibility is being created to take more fully into account the specific interests and demands of the society's social strata, to exert a beneficial influence on stepping up the activity of public organizations.

We expect from the most mass among them—the trade unions—above all, an active assimilation of working people to administering the affairs of an enterprise or a society.

A basic question for the Komsomol at the present-day stage of perestroyka is that of enhancing its own vanguard role among young persons, of developing the best qualities within it, of aiming its increasing political activity at solving the specific problems which confront the labor collective, a region, or the republic as a whole.

Other public organizations are also called upon to contribute their own energy and potentials more intensively to perestroyka. The communists working in these organizations must become their soul, their political nucleus. To use V.I. Lenin's words, they must have an excellent knowledge of the matter at hand, live in the very midst of the people, know their moods, and gain their trust.

To be a communist today means to remain faithful to Marxism-Leninism, to the traditions of the fearless pioneers of the Revolution, the Bolsheviks of the Leninist Old Guard, to be ceaselessly concerned for the purity of the CPSU's ranks, to show an example of industriousness, and a high degree of responsibility and discipline.

To be a communist today means to think and act in a new way, to accelerate perestroyka by one's self-sacrificing work, to ensure a broad-based glasnost, to teach and learn democracy, to be concerned that there be as few verbal battles as possible and as many specific vital, useful deeds as possible.

To be a communist today means to persistently improve one's own spiritual and moral world, to be a model of decency, modesty, simplicity, and a love of mankind.

KiSSR: Masaliyev Interviewed on Party Restructuring

18300326a Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 31 Jan 89 pp 1-2

[Interview with Absamat Masaliyevich Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee by KirTAG special correspondent V. Verbkin: "The Main Thing Is the Turning to the People and to Active Deeds"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Perestroyka is gathering strength and setting up its scope. This requires from the party committees a re-evaluation of the entire arsenal of means for their own work, intensification of the practical activities and a courageous and creative approach to all matters.

Today, the specified changes are being observed even in the activities of the main staff of the republic's party organization—the Kirghiz CP Central Committee. How is it operating under the new conditions? Which problems associated with perestroyka regarding the work style and methods of the apparatus need to be solved? These questions constituted the content of KirTAG special correspondent V. Verbkin's interview with the first secretary of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee, A. M. Masaliyev.

[Correspondent] Absamat Masaliyevich, at the present time, it is indisputable that the destruction of the braking mechanism and the surmounting of stagnant features in all the spheres of society are impossible without the restructuring of the party committee's work style and methods. In this sense, the apparatus of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee has an enormous responsibility, since it has been called upon to set the tone in such renewal. Which positive changes can be noted here?

[Masaliyev] If one were to attempt to give a generalized evaluation of the changes occurring—and they are definitely occurring—then their essence lies in the restructuring of the style of the activities of the Central Committee and the local party committees, which is aimed at providing a qualitatively new level of political and organizational influence on our main spheres—the development of the economic system and the solution of social problems. Recently, the Central Committee's responsible workers have been changing the forms and content of the work, targeting it at the actual, unvarnished analysis of the situation, the correct selection of the direction of activities and the intensification of exactingness and strictness in evaluations. We are not side-stepping the sharp corners and not attempting, as happened so often in the past, to hide behind the "smoke screen" of so-called "objective" difficulties. Efforts are being concentrated on direct organizational work, on turning to the people and to active deeds.

In order to achieve such emancipation, it was necessary to undertake a review of the formal bureaucratic procedure of our activities, which has formed over the years,

and to uproot more decisively the administration-and-command style, the paper-generation, the red tape and the secrecy in deciding questions.

The Central Committee Buro is conducting work on unburdening the party apparatus from papers and on reducing the number of documents in circulation. The number of resolutions adopted by the Central Committee, for example, in the past year, has been reduced by a third in comparison with the preceding year. Far fewer of them are being sent to the obkoms, the gorkoms and the raykoms, from which, in turn, we are requesting various information significantly less often.

Step by step, we are striving to get rid of the speechifying at all levels of party work. Now, the Central Committee Buro sessions are conducted once a month, instead of twice, for 16 hours. Fewer and fewer economic questions are being submitted for consideration and more attention is being paid to the quality of the preparations of document drafts. There has been a noticeable decrease in the number of various types of meetings, which had previously been accompanied by the involvement of a large number of people. I will cite some figures: in 1988, 1,224 fewer people were invited to meetings and gatherings of active members, conducted by the Central Committee and its departments, than in 1987. It was agreed that, unless there was a special need, especially during work time, the administrators of enterprises, farms, ministries and departments would not be called in. This is proving its value.

The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers have received greater independence under current conditions in the solving of many questions.

I would note: as soon as there was a decrease in the number of papers, sessions and idle debates, there was an increase in concern about achieving genuine results and concerned intercourse with the people directly in the primary party organizations and labor collectives. The Central Committee apparatus' primary attention is being concentrated on rendering specific assistance to the local party organizations in the restructuring of their activities and the organization of control and execution.

There is quite a lot being done to improve work with letters. It has become more clear-cut and well thought-out and, primarily, more effective. The party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the local soviets, ministries and departments are now analyzing the mail more thoroughly, solving the presented questions faster and realizing practical suggestions and comments. In the Central Committee, every month, one of the department heads is informing the secretariat about the work with the appeals of citizens and other documents. The results of the analysis with the listing of the departments and the last names of their heads and the Central Committee secretaries are being posted in the reception rooms of the Central Committee secretaries. This contributes to the strengthening of performance discipline.

The practice of conducting Central Committee plenums has been improved. It is no secret that, previously, they were frequently conducted in a dressed-up, formal atmosphere. Many Central Committee members, while they were part of it, did not have a chance to participate in the debates or to submit any kinds of proposals. Now, things are different. The preliminary study of the matters placed on the agenda is conducted more thoroughly, with the involvement of a broad segment of the active members.

Also of great importance is the fact that the plenums are occurring without a previously compiled list of speakers. The Central Committee's members now have an opportunity to familiarize themselves beforehand with the theses of the Central Committee Buro's report, which makes it possible for them to comprehend the occurring processes and to think about what needs to be done in order to extend perestroika. And the criticism becomes more constructive and does not avoid specific persons, including also the members of the Buro and the Central Committee secretaries.

There has been an increase in the level of informedness of the populace about the work conducted by the Central Committee Buro. As you might have noticed, the most important materials under consideration by the Central Committee have begun to be published in the republic's newspapers. The regular meetings of the Buro's members and the heads of the Central Committee's departments with the labor collectives and the leading figures of science and culture, with the young people and with the workers of the mass media serve to expand glasnost. The discussions and frank exchange of opinions, which are emerging at such meetings, help us to comprehend critically our own practice and to seek new approaches. Frequently, valid comments addressed to the Central Committee, the government and their workers are heard at these meetings.

Of course, it is still too early to talk about glasnost and frankness having already become the norm. In the scheme of things, we are still facing a lot of work in the Central Committee and in the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms.

[Correspondent] And it is necessary to suppose that the changes in the party work methods is not an end in itself...

[Masaliyev] Naturally. We are trying to see to it that the party work is accompanied to the fullest extent by the solution of pressing economic problems and facilitates the expansion of the transformations in the economic, social and intellectual spheres of the republic's affairs.

The primary problems confronting us are food and housing and providing the populace with consumer goods and services. Along with this, pointed questions are being heard about health care, education and the ecology.

Solving them is at the center of attention of the Central Committee and the republic's government, and of the local party and soviet organs. Measures are being adopted which are most diverse and urgent and we are constantly informing the workers about them through the press. I want to talk about the attained results. Over the last three years, per capita consumption has increased: meat and meat products by 6 kg, milk and milk products by 64 kg and eggs by 20 units. This is with an increase in the republic's population by 270,000 people.

Possibilities have been investigated for expanding housing construction using centralized sources, enterprise resources and the resources of cooperative and individual construction. As a result, there has been a noticeable increase in the housing erection rate. Changes have been noted in the satisfaction of the demand for goods and services and we have begun to pursue a policy of increasing the production of consumer goods at enterprises of all the sectors, not just at those of light industry.

As of this year, all the industrial enterprises have changed over to cost accounting and self-financing and the establishment in the rural areas of highly efficient forms of labor—leasing and contracting—is becoming more and more widespread. All this is developing in the people enterprise and the feeling of being in charge. On the whole, a tendency has been noted toward a healthy improvement of the social and economic situation in the republic.

But we are being deluded by what has been achieved. There is still a long way to go until there is a fundamental change in improving the providing of food and housing and in saturation of the market with high quality goods. We understand that the available resources and opportunities should be used, first and foremost, in the best possible manner, in solving the problems confronting us. In the pre-election party document "Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee to the Party and the Soviet People," it has been stated exceptionally correctly: No one after us will solve our problems. Only we ourselves, together, through our mutual efforts, can overcome the existing difficulties and achieve our goal. The renovation of the forms and methods of the activities of party committees, including the Kirghiz CP Central Committee, has been aimed at this.

[Correspondent] The style of work of the collective organ exists and does not take shape by itself. This is the style of work of the specific workers, and first and foremost, of the entire Central Committee Secretariat and the members of its Buro. And, by the way, fundamental comments on this matter were also expressed at the 18th Kirghiz CP Congress and at subsequent Central Committee plenums. How are these comments being realized and what has appeared that is new in the practice of the work of the republic's leaders?

[Masaliyev] In my opinion, in the style of the activities of the Central Committee secretaries and members of its Buro, specificity in the statement of problems, rapidity in their solution, reaction to occurring events and the degree of criticism and self-criticism in evaluations are becoming greater.

On the whole, in the work of the Central Committee's Buro and Secretariat, there has been further intensification of the collective nature and the conditions of trust, comradeship and adherence to principles have been strengthened. All this, of course, to a large extent, protects against subjectivism and creates the prerequisites for the adoption of well thought-out decisions.

But, all the same, what we consider most important and necessary for ourselves are the development and deepening of the informal intercourse with communists and non-party members and the strengthening of the vital contact with the people, for, without this, it is impossible to count on successful results and on a business-like atmosphere in the rayons, the cities, the oblasts and the republic as a whole. I am talking about, first of all, about the constant trips of the leaders around the republic and their visits to the primary party organizations and production collectives, when they familiarize themselves with the state of affairs right at the site.

I myself and the other Central Committee secretaries and Central Committee Buro members have begun to have frequent private meetings with the workers—at enterprises, in the fields, on the farms, in the educational institutions, in stores and in workers' dining halls. Such direct contact with the people and the mutual frank conversation on problems are of enormous benefit. Thus, during these meetings, they express quite a few valid comments and sensible suggestions and share their own concerns. You can not talk your way out here using general arguments—the people do not want promises or lectures, no matter how appropriate, but rather, timely and competent solving of the questions produced by life.

For example, quite a few letters are sent to the republic's organs and newspapers from workers of the Toktogul'skiy, Alayskiy and Chatkalskiy rayons regarding serious difficulties and problems in the social and economic development of these regions. A. Dzhumagulov, R. S. Kulmatov and I, all members of the Central Committee Buro, went to these rayons, where we visited productions sections and population centers and talked with party and economic activists, shepherds, farmers, construction workers and power plant workers. We saw with our own eyes how things are shaping up here in the economic system and the social sphere and what the living conditions of the local inhabitants are. All this made it possible to evaluate the situation objectively. Based on the results of the trip, the necessary instructions were given to the corresponding republic and oblast organs. And for the Toktogul'skiy Rayon, the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers adopted a special resolution, in which specific measures have been set up for the further

development of economic, social and cultural construction and for improving the populace's living conditions for the years 1988-1995. Provision has been made, in particular, for carrying out during this period the planning and construction of irrigation and land-improvement projects, general education schools, kindergartens, clubs, bathhouses, health-care institutions, an airport in Toktogul and also a brick works. This resolution is currently being realized.

The complex problems confronting the republic require that we, the leaders of the labor force, be more energetic in joining in and augmenting the work. Each of the Central Committee secretaries and Central Committee Buro members should show, first of all, by personal example, how it is necessary to renovate the work methods and the way of thinking, to search tirelessly for new approaches and to take upon oneself more responsibility during the solving of questions.

[Correspondent] You mentioned that the republic's leaders have begun to make more frequent visits to local sites and labor collectives. Does it not seem to you that information about this could appear in the republic's press on a more widespread basis and more regularly? In fact, for the readers and the entire populace, it is extremely important to know what one leader or another is specifically engaged in and how effectively he is influencing the acceleration of matters in the economy. Yet, it is precisely this very aspect that also frequently remains in the shadow...

[Masaliyev] Obviously, one has to agree with this comment. Notices are appearing in the press and they are being broadcast on radio and television regarding such visits, but they are frequently of a fragmentary and random nature and are not always specific in content. In all probability, it would be advisable for such reports to appear on a systematic basis. But, of course, I am not talking about formal, verbose accounts. From the ethical point of view, there can not be two opinions about this. On the contrary, I am talking about materials in which the visit of the leaders to primary party organizations and labor collective would be dealt with and which should be brief but business-like, so that they would reflect more completely the poignancy of the conversation and the range of problems touched upon during such meetings.

The usefulness of such notices also lies in the fact that they would increase the responsibility of party workers for adopted solutions and would serve as a unique form of public monitoring of their fulfillment. Moreover, the mass media could then again follow the trail of a leader's trip and see how its results are being realized—and if they are not, then why—and inform the readers about this. I think this would serve to reinforce frankness and glasnost in the work of the Central Committee Buro members.

[Correspondent] The key questions of all of perestroika are the personnel ones. I would like to find out in more detail how consistently the Central Committee apparatus is being guided by this and what has appeared in its personnel policy that is noteworthy?

[Masaliyev] Today, it is already obvious to everyone that the success of the renovation processes, to a decisive degree, is determined by the degree to which our personnel have been imbued with an understanding of the necessity of the changes made and how energetically and decisively they act. The contemporary personnel policy, a principal increase in the level of which and its cleansing of everything stagnant, bureaucratic and formalistic are also the object of our special concern, has been called upon to give the corresponding impetuses.

What is required in order to free the personnel work from deformations and to make it truly effective and inseparably linked with the key problems of the republic's social and economic development? Those of us in the Central Committee arrived at a unanimous answer to this question: reinforcement of the democratic principles in this work.

We have set out decisively on a course of support for people who are full of initiative, thinkers and energetic and who can and want to forge ahead boldly and are able to attain success. We have an ever increasing number of such people. Perestroika has inspired them, opened up a wide expanse for creative activities and permitted them to uncover their own talents.

The realization of an integrated program regarding personnel matters also plays its own role in the formation and education of the corps of leaders. Measures are being implemented, which are aimed at preventing the selection and placement of personnel based on nationality ties, kinship and friendship. Of important significance here is the renewal and rotation of personnel. Over the last 3 years, quite a few of the first and second secretaries of the party raykoms and the chairmen of the gorrayispolkoms have been replaced.

In order to have fewer errors in this work, we are striving to eliminate as much as possible the questionnaire approach and make it a rule to consult with the collectives and the communists before nominating a person for a leadership position. Contained in such a style, which includes also the electiveness of the leaders, in our opinion, is a guarantee against subjectivism, abuse of authority and the influence of chance circumstances on the work practices of all the party, soviet and economic units, and against stagnation in the personnel staff.

At the present time in the republic, for all practical purposes, there is not a single new promotion for party, soviet and economic work and for enlistment in the reserves that is carried out without consideration of the opinion of the communists and non-party members.

Such a practice proves its value and makes it possible to avoid the volitional decisions and protectionism which occurred previously. Over the last 2 years, everyone who was promoted was discussed first in the primary party organizations for the place they previously worked. Secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms, chairmen of the rayispolkoms, managers of large enterprises and academic institutes and rectors of VUZ's have been elected and a number of ministers have been confirmed taking the opinion of the communists into consideration. So as not to permit stagnation in the work with personnel and to instill in them responsiveness to everything new and progressive, the Central Committee recently began to use in practice the accounts of managers at buro meetings and plenums.

For example, examined in the Central Committee Buro was the matter of the personal participation of the general manager of the Kirgizavtomash Production Association, A. M. Muraliyev, in the ideological educational work among the workers under the conditions of the transition to full cost accounting and a resolution was adopted regarding such participation.

It is no accident that this matter was selected. In addressing such a problem, we wanted not simply to expose and point out shortcomings, but, first and foremost, to summarize a positive practice and to acquaint other economic managers with it. The experience of Kirgizavtomash's manager also made it possible to do this very thing convincingly. Acting in close concert with party, trade union and komsomol committees, he conducted active ideological and educational work in the collective. It is subordinate to the tasks of the radical economic reform being carried out at the enterprise, to the strengthening of the new production relations and to the development of the social sphere.

During the analysis of the general manager's work, omissions in it were also noted. In particular, the fact that he has not involved in the ideological and education work all the managers of the association's structural subdivisions. Individual specialists lack profound political knowledge. The struggle to strengthen discipline, order and organization is not always distinguished by aggressiveness and consistency. Attention has been paid to the fact that the association's party committee and shop party organizations are not displaying the necessary persistence in the expansion of the collective's self-management and do not demand the proper exactingness from the subdivisions' managers for the state of the political and educational work.

What is the result of the examination of this matter in the Central Committee Buro? First of all, there is the fact that A. M. Muraliyev, in response to the criticism directed at him, paid greater attention to his personal participation in the ideological and educational work and intensified the demand that the managers of all the units be more responsible for the level of their political

culture. Additional measures have also been planned for the realization of the "Housing" and "Health" programs and for more widespread use of the economic method of construction.

All this had a positive response among the association's workers and contributed to the improvement of matters in the collective. Correspondingly, there was an increase in the social authority of its manager—it is only natural that, subsequently, on an alternative basis, A. M. Muraliyev was elected chairman of the Frunze Gorispolkom.

Briefly, the Central Committee Buro's attempt to increase in every way possible the business-like efficiency and responsibility of personnel and to assist them actively in mastering the contemporary forms of work is yielding its own fruit. At the same time, the changes are not coming easily. In a number of leadership positions on the rayon, oblast and republic levels, there are still some poor workers. Some personnel changes have not brought about improvements. In general, we are facing tedious and unyielding work in the restructuring of the corps of personnel.

[Correspondent] The current elections have raised a lot of new questions and unusual problems. How have the party committees' workers received the election campaign and were they prepared to operate under these unusual conditions?

[Masaliyev] Many party organizations have actively and boldly joined in the election campaign. For example, the Frunze Party Gorkom discussed this matter at a plenum and the material was published in the VECHERNIY FRUNZE newspaper, a number of party committees discussed matters relating to the preparations for the elections in the buro and specified organizational political measures.

The current election campaign is proceeding in a new fashion, indeed, on a broad democratic basis, in a situation where the workers have free choice. In particular, proof of this is the fact that, in our republic, for the territorial and national territorial districts, on 41 mandates, 339 candidates have been nominated for USSR People's Deputies. In other words, the political reform implemented in the country is already producing actual results, awakening in the people a genuine interest and a desire to participate personally in state affairs.

Of course, the new situation has required from the party workers initiative and untypical actions in response to the democratization processes. Unfortunately, not all party committees were able to join right in this work in a proper manner. Only now do we understand how deeply the old, rigidified approaches to an election campaign have been absorbed into our life. All the same, hope is high for the command, for the order and the overorganization. We feel that the party gorkoms and raykoms are doing a poor job of explaining to the party membership all the matters associated with the elections,

many of them are not in control of the situation and are just stating facts instead of influencing the situation. All of this needs to be overcome.

With each passing day, the election campaign is revving up more and more and now it has reached the point when all the party organizations should join in it. It is important that they have a clear-cut plan of operations for this period and work actively in the interests of the development of the election process' democracy and the formation of a deputy corps capable of carrying out the tasks of perestroika. We need to change, as quickly as possible, the direction and methods of agitational and propaganda [campaign and promotion] work and decisively relinquish forms that have outlived their usefulness.

We have always connected an election campaign with specific problems of social and economic construction and the solution of the urgent questions raised by the populace. And the current elections should not be an exception to this scheme. In implementing the tasks of political reform, the party committees of all levels have been called upon to intensify the organizational and political work on the priority directions of their activities and to keep all the important, immediate matters in the center of attention.

Kirghiz CP CC Buro Meets With Student Activists

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[Report by KirTAG correspondents A. Barshay and V. Niksdorf: "Do Not Be Afraid To Assume Responsibility: Meeting of Kirghiz CP Central Committee Buro Members With Student Activists From Frunze"]

[Text] As has already been reported in the press, on 21 January, in Frunze, in the Kirghiz CP Central Committee's House of Political Education, a meeting took place between the members of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee Buro and student activists from the republic's capital. Participants in the meeting included party, soviet and Komsomol workers and ministry and department heads. The urgent problems of improving the training of economic specialists, increasing the activism of young students in social affairs, the restructuring of the higher education schools and the role of the Komsomol organizations of educational institutions in the education of young boys and girls were discussed. A great deal of attention was paid to the matter of improving the social and living conditions of university and secondary students.

A frank and direct conversation took place. With the passion and radical extremism inherent in youth, the students gave to the discussion an acute, polemic nature and put a lot of diverse questions to the ministry and department heads. But the goal of all the meeting's participants was identical—how to make the lives of students more interesting and substantial and how to

direct the young specialists' creative potential most effectively to the solution of the problems of perestroika and the renovation of our society.

A characteristic trait: this unique dialog with the audience continued for more than 4 hours. But even after a break, when quite a few empty seats usually appear in a hall, this time, practically all the seats were occupied. The frankness of the conversation and the importance of the discussed themes could not leave anyone indifferent and the proof of that is the fact that more than 50 people spoke from the rostrum, at 2 microphones set up in the hall and, at times, right from their own seats. It was as if the very turbulent time of perestroika was being reflected in this meeting—they were speaking without any previously prepared list of speakers, without the preliminary discussion of the "key" report and, in fact, without rules. If someone, from habit, got carried away with general phrases, the audience immediately let him know about this. Fewer words and more specific everyday matters—this is the mood of those struggling actively for perestroika and it predominated at the meeting.

With What Are You Going Out Into Life, Specialist?

Higher education has quite a few problems, but the main one—and the students themselves understand this—is the quality of the training of future specialists. Analysis indicates that we are training a lot of specialists in different specialties, most certainly even too many. But there is evidently a shortage of good specialists and superficial knowledge is even more harmful than a complete lack of knowledge. Indeed, there, where an unknowledgeable person simply does not tackle a matter, the semi-specialist simply ruins it. In recent years, we have been witnesses to the fact that such ignorant decisions have led to trouble.

It is no accident that, when this meeting was being set up and a survey was conducted among the students, the main bulk of the questions addressed to the republic's Ministry of Public Education concerned the many problems of increasing the level of the specialists' training.

V. M. Zhuravlev, Kirghiz SSR first deputy minister of public education, in addressing the meeting, said: "The answers to many of the students' questions received by us in the ministry, in general, are contained in the party and state decrees on the reform of the higher and secondary special education schools." In addition, a whole series of resolutions has been adopted by the USSR State Committee for Public Education and by our ministry. Many of these questions were raised at the All-Union Congress of Public Education Workers. And many of them have been solved. The task of our ministry and our educational institutions is to realize the adopted decrees in the specific VUZ collectives and in the harmonious joint work of the rectors and the party, Komsomol and trade union organizations of the educational institutions.

What are these questions? The first group of questions from students of all levels of the VUZ's and secondary education institutions is associated with the educational process. This is the introduction of specialization, the raising of the level of instruction and the production practice and the intensification of training or, as the students of the Kirghiz State University write, the "universitization" of the training for scientific disciplines, the providing of textbooks and teaching aids and so on.

As you know, new instructional plans are being introduced now in the VUZ's, in fact, each VUZ has already started operating according to the new plans. They contain a very large number of possibilities for broader use of the specific nature of the VUZ itself. I.e., it is possible to expand specialization, it is possible, at the discretion of the educational institution itself, to select specified study disciplines and electives and to decline something and so on. Thus, it is necessary that all of you—the student and Komsomol activists—participate most directly, actively and with interest in the creative preparations and discussion of these study plans, so that they are not adopted merely by the departments, rectors and institute soviets without your active participation.

The second group of questions is associated with the training of specialists in conformity with the actual need of the republic's and the country's enterprises, organizations and institutions. These are the questions of the assignment of the young specialists, of a guaranteed job and so on. The country's higher education is shifting to special-purpose training of specialists in accordance with contracts with enterprises, ministries and departments. Supposedly, already in the next 5-year plan, approximately 70 percent of the specialists will be trained in accordance with direct contracts with interested enterprises and organizations. And only about 30 percent will be trained in accordance with so-called state orders. The foundation for this has been laid down in our VUZ's. Thus, the process of concluding these contracts is currently going on in the universities and the polytechnical institutions. In the Frunze Polytechnical Institute's Automated Production Control Department, for example, this year, the graduates have already been assigned basically and primarily according to special-purpose contracts. This means that the customers—the large enterprises and industrial ministries—will now dictate their own conditions and their own requirements to our graduates. They will stimulate the opening up of new specialties, as a rule, according to the new trends in science and technology. A very important question regarding the assignment of the young specialists. The USSR State Committee for Public Education's resolution of 22 August, 1988, confirmed the position regarding the assignment and use of the young specialists in the economy. Specified there are both the rights and obligations of the graduates who are entering industry and the rights and obligations of the enterprises and their managers.

In particular, stipulated in it is the right of young specialists to preferential assurance of housing through

the enterprises' resources, through leasing of available housing and through favorable loans, made when necessary, for housing cooperatives and so on.

The third group of questions concerns the democratization of higher education and the active involvement of the student body in the solution of VUZ problems. I would remind you that students have been admitted to the VUZ's soviets. They now participate in the organization of the educational process and the compilation of the exam schedules and they can monitor the process of the exams themselves. You know that the results of the student survey are now used during the teachers' competition. But, unfortunately, on the one hand, the rectors are not very actively involving students today in the self-management of the VUZ's. On the other hand, the students do not always display persistence in this respect. It is necessary that the student faction, as it is called in the VUZ soviet, participate actively so that the students' voices are louder. At the same time, constructive proposals are needed first and foremost and not merely grumbling.

The fourth group of questions concerns the national-Russian bilingualism and the feasibility of teaching in the Kirghiz language in the VUZ's, the study of the history of Kirghizia's culture and so on. Instruction in Kirghiz is going on in the Women Teachers Institute, in departments at Kirghiz State University and in the Osh Teachers Institute. But we have always talked about the fact that the specialist—whether an engineer, an agronomist or a doctor—should have a basis for further professional growth and, consequently, he needs to master the Russian language. At the same time, it is necessary to help the boys who have come from a rural school. Here we need to publish more textbooks and teaching supplies in the Kirghiz language, especially in the lower level courses in general scientific and general technical disciplines so that there will be especially active mastering of the subjects in the lower level courses.

And finally, the last group of questions concerns the social sciences. Of course, time is needed to prepare new textbooks and training materials. Currently, a plan has been prepared for the restructuring of the teaching of social sciences in the VUZ's and it is being discussed in the various regions.

Successes in the restructuring of the operation of the VUZ's can be achieved only with the conscientious participation in it of the institutes' own pupils and their interested regard for the studies. The Soviet student body has good traditions which come down from the first workers' department members. Even today, the road to knowledge is not an easy one—and one of the most important requirements is that the students be able to work independently, to accumulate the necessary knowledge and to use it skillfully. This is precisely the basis for high-quality training of specialists. Independence is shaped also by student self-management. The introduction of such self-management, said A Chukin, secretary

of the Komsomol committee of the Kirghiz State University imeni the 50th Anniversary of the USSR, in his own speech, is gradually changing the situation at the university, the students' activism is increasing and their mutual relations with the teachers are improving. Student work experience is being accumulated in the VUZ's academic councils. Two university dormitories have been converted to full self-management, all the positions in them, from watchman to superintendent, are occupied by students and, it can be said with certainty, that these are the best Kirghiz State University dormitories.

Such forms of student participation in the management of the educational process as the student dean's office and the united teaching and educational commission have demonstrated their own vitality. The exchange of student delegations with other of the country's universities is being carried out quite actively, thanks to the support of the rectors. Now, said the speaker, we are entering into direct contacts with the European socialist countries' universities. This is the 3d month of operations of the Uniservice Student Cooperative, established by the Komsomol committee, which is working in diverse directions—education, repairs, leisure activities, scientific and technical services—and has contracts for a total exceeding 30,000 rubles, whereby 15 percent of the income goes into the Komsomol's coffers. A lot of work on international education is being done by the Kyialkech International Friendship Club.

In general, there is undoubtedly progress, but there is still a long way to go to a decisive breakthrough. It would be incorrect to reduce all the problems to a poor material base, although this is a fact. Under identical conditions, in various departments, we have a substantially differing level of student activism. In our opinion, it is necessary to seek more actively new political methods of operation. One key does not fit all locks and there should be as many forms of work as there are groups of students with their diverse interests.

The rostrum for speakers at the meeting stood empty for the most part. The students preferred to state their own thoughts and suggestions laconically and briefly. And for this, the microphone in the hall was enough. Here are some of the thoughts which met with a response in the hall.

A. Dzholdoshev, medical institute student: "The level of training of doctors depends to a large extent on practical work with patients. And, in order to have this, the VUZ needs its own clinics. Indeed, in the city clinics, we are like guests and we just get in the way of the practicing doctors."

D. Mambetzhunusov, Kirghiz State University history department student: "I feel that the bulk approach during the selection of students is having a negative effect on the level of the specialists' training. For example, annually, 200 persons are admitted to our department's first course, plus 100 to the correspondence

section and 75 more in Osh. But, the question needs to be asked, whether the republic needs so many historians every year or if we are not really throwing public money down the drain. Perhaps, it would be better to reduce the quantity but raise the quality of future historians."

The chairman of the university's young scientists council, T. Baycherikov, asked to speak. In his opinion, for its own development, a university needs its own publishing house, first of all. According to my information, says the speaker, all the republic universities, except ours and Dushanbe's, have facilities for publishing their own scientific developments. The lack of a publishing house is a serious hindrance in the path of development of VUZ science.

It is necessary to establish within the framework of the university's social organizations, for example, a commission for young scientists and teachers affairs. Over the course of the year that I have been working at the university, a lot of young people have left for other VUZ's and the Academy of Sciences. Why, indeed, are they leaving? Evidently, a serious analysis is needed here—and this could be done by a commission.

There are grounds for thinking, continues the speaker, that, in our republic, there is not very much of a commitment to the potential not only of young scientists, but of the republic's scientists in general. I can not talk about all of science, perhaps, in the precise or natural sciences, we are not lagging behind other regions of the country, but, in that field closest to me—namely, the field of social sciences, we are lagging behind and very substantially. We are not developing such most promising and advanced trends in the development of social science studies as "social planning," "social technology," "social engineering," "political studies" and others.

D. Tarapchanin, Frunze Politechnic Institute student: "It is impossible for a specialist to be trained without knowledge of contemporary equipment. Our computer classes are very crowded—you can not get through them and there is no place to put modern equipment. And one more question: when will a new building be built for the mining and geology department's training school. There are 600,000 rubles that have been appropriated, but the project, as they say, is frozen."

G. Ismailova, student at the Kirghiz Women's Pedagogical Institute: "The goals set for our institute in the '30's, when it was established, I feel, have already become outdated. I support the idea of combining our VUZ with the Russian Language and Literature Pedagogical Institute [RLPI] and the establishment on their basis of a Kirghiz State Pedagogical Institute. This would make it possible to raise the teachers' level of training in the republic and would solve many of the university's problems."

The questions concerning student self-management occupied an important place in the discussion. This is a powerful lever for improvement of both the educational process and the students' life. An awful lot depends on how maturely and responsibly the students fight for the right to self-management and implement it.

Z. Eshenkulov, student of the Frunze Polytechnic Institute's engineering and construction department: "Student self-management is in its 2d year of operation in [this] department. They began with several groups and now the students manage all the department's affairs. The self-management organs have managed to rally and unite the Komsomol and trade union organizations and they pursue a common line at meetings of the departments, dean's offices and the department soviet. Yet, all the same, even the student self-management organs have few rights.

What a Student Eats

There are quite a few anecdotes circulating about hungry student stomachs. Frankly speaking, this institute self-activity was inherited from the time when students actually lived on a stipend "from session to session." However, the impassioned speeches at the microphones showed that certain traditions of everyday student life have remained. These include both a meager menu in the dining hall and a not-always-comfortable dormitory, which is in no way similar to their "own homes" and an already especially notable hindrance to studies in connection with the conducting of agricultural work.

The students reacted sharply to the speech by A. N. Zheleznov, the Kirghiz SSR minister of trade, who simply could not answer the audience plainly as to why the boys and girls in the city's VUZ's and technical schools are fed so poorly, such tasteless food and so expensively. The industry leader, in habitual fashion, just like at an industrial meeting, spouted figures, referred to objective difficulties and said that everything is changing as the student dining halls shift to cost accounting.

In essence, he could not answer the question from the presidium as to when, finally, the students' diet will be properly fixed.

From year to year, we see the one and the same picture: there is an adequate assortment of produce at the vegetable centers, but, for some reason, there is a lack of dishes with potatoes and other vegetables in the student dining halls. A. N. Zheleznov tried to shift the blame for this to Gosagroprom [the State Agroindustrial Committee]. In response to a question from one of the students as to when he would meet and solve these problems with the agricultural industry's leaders, the minister said that he is doing this on a regular basis. When, then, will there be results? came the reasonable queries from the hall.

A. Zheleznov, in point of fact, could not give any specific response.

But, according to the speech by P.G. Stelmakh, first deputy chairman of Kirghiz SSR Gosagroprom, the industry's enterprises have delivered meat, vegetables, milk products and pickled products in adequate quantity to trade organizations. How the trade organizations distribute them remains, obviously, a departmental trade secret.

"Do you have pelmeni in the dining halls?" P. Stelmakh asked those present.

"No-o-o!" answered the hall, amicably.

"How can that be?" Petr Grigoryevich shrugged his shoulders in bewilderment. "In fact, we are supplying the stuffing to the state trade organizations. There should be pelmeni and meat patties and goulash and cutlets. I promise you that I will definitely look into this matter and, in three days, we will solve it. I feel that, today, we can solve these problems."

The hall greeted these words with applause.

A painful theme for university and secondary students is agricultural work. Although the overwhelming majority of boys and girls are not the least bit against helping the kolkhozes and sovkhozes during the harvest, they are against foolishly wasting time and against mismanagement and confusion, as a result of which, precious study time is lost. They are for economical, cost-effective and equitable relations with the agroindustrial complex. Such an example was given at the meeting. The university's students were engaged in agricultural work up to the second half of October, during which time, 50,000 study hours were lost. This being so, what can the level of training of the future specialists be like and how is it necessary to compress the educational process in order to fit it into the program? But, at the same time, the most vexing thing is that the farms do not always need the students' help and they can not always deal with them wisely make adjustments as the work requires. Thus, while the university's students do not experience any kinds of problems at the Chuyskiy sovkhov, at the Prigorodnyy sovkhov, the city-dwellers' work has been organized extremely poorly. Here they not only earn nothing but even remain in debt.

K. Levina, a student at the Frunze machine-building technical school: "How they fed us on the kolkhoz! We had to bring our own food from home to the kolkhoz in bags. If the administrators of Gosagroprom had eaten together with us even just one time, they would have understood what kind of slop we were fed during the agricultural work."

S. Dolenko, Kirghiz State University history department student: "I do not understand who works out the agricultural work conditions for students. They really work us like serfs. We earn our bread. There are no stipulations about payment or food or living conditions."

It is necessary to work only according to contracts with the farms, where the parties involved should stipulate all the conditions.

The idea of a contractual basis for agricultural work was supported unanimously by the hall. A suggestion was even expressed about the organization of special student agricultural teams which would conclude long-term contracts with the farms for specified forms of agricultural work.

Everyone also agreed with the idea expressed by Kirghiz State University student historian S. Isakov about the fact that we are living at the expense of the future, for, truly, we do not consider how much we are losing when we send students, society's intellectual potential, out to harvest tomatoes and cucumbers and to sort out rotten vegetables at the centers.

There were also remarks in the course of the discussion about the fact that, as much as it is possible to talk about the students' living conditions, food and agricultural work, it is necessary to concentrate more attention on the problems of Komsomol affairs and increasing the civic activism of youth.

Many of them responded reasonably to this that the first concern of the Komsomol is how a young person lives, what he breathes and how he feels in the collective. And it is on how interested and concerned the Komsomol organization is with the conditions under which boys and girls study, work and live that the Komsomol's authority and power depends.

Your Civic Stand

The student years are the time of the future specialist's ideological, civic and moral formation. Patriotism, loyalty to our society's ideals, sincerity and honesty are splendid, precious qualities, which have always distinguished the Soviet student in his devotion to the Homeland.

Perestroyka needs people with firm civic tendencies and a socialist ideological conviction, who are capable of standing firmly for truth. Perestroyka needs independent people, who do not wait for instructions, but rather, assume responsibility and carry large and small matters through to completion.

T. Akmatov, chairman of the Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet, talked of this in his speech at the meeting. He also dwelt on the questions of the political reform of Soviet society and spoke of the role which youth should play in the work of the various level soviets.

The pre-election campaign going on right now has sharply stirred up the initiative of the Soviet people. Everywhere, the people are calling out the names of the most worthy representatives of the labor collectives and social organizations, who may be elected people's deputies. Among these candidates, we are seeing quite a few young people.

The chairman of the presidium of the republic's supreme soviet recounted how work is being carried out on the plan for changes and amendments to the Kirghiz SSR Constitution.

T. Akmatov shared his impressions from a visit to the Women's Pedagogical Institute. Unfortunately, the quality of the skills—and not just at this educational institution, but also at others—is lagging noticeably behind contemporary requirements. At times, the students can not answer elementary questions and this will not do at all. They are waiting for young specialists at enterprises and in schools and it is necessary to realize all the responsibility which is being placed on you, said the speaker, addressing the hall. Ahead of you is a great and interesting life—and even now, your voice, restless and bold, which stimulates action and creativity, should be heard. We have passed to you the baton of large and necessary affairs and we want to believe that it is being received by reliable hands.

At the rostrum is T. Tabyldiyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Komsomol Central Committee. We should acknowledge, he said, that even the republic's Komsomol Central Committee and the Frunze Komsomol Gorkom are working without initiative and creative exploration and are falling short of the target for many trends. And this is being indicated once again by today's meeting and by the speeches of its participants. This is why such meetings are very useful for us, the Komsomol workers, and they give us an impetus and charge us up for action. I would suggest that similar meetings take place more often right within the walls of our VUZ's, technical schools and colleges. And if the leaders of the various ministries and departments had met with the student youth more frequently, then many of the questions which have been heard here would have been removed from the agenda a long time ago. Unfortunately, not a single minister attended the Komsomol report and election meetings held recently at the university and the medical institute. But, of course, the Komsomol's committees themselves should also display initiative.

Then the speaker told in detail about the mechanism for assembling student construction teams and about the existing departmental approach in this matter. He reported that, as of this year, all the management functions of the student teams will be concentrated completely in the central staff of the student construction teams's.

Emphasis was placed on the importance for the Komsomol of the establishment of self-supporting youth centers as a means for strengthening the material base of the youths' initiatives.

The problems of the youth centers, the youth cooperatives, self-management, the financial independence of student and Komsomol organizations and the possibility of students working on their free time in industry—these themes were touched upon in the speeches of many of the meeting's participants. Quite a few interesting ideas were expressed by T. Masiyevskaya, secretary of the Frunze Komsomol Leninskiy Raykom, T. Maatkaziyeu, secretary of the RLLPI Komsomol committee, S. Parshuta, medical institute student and bureau member of Kirghizia's Komsomol Central Committee, T. Zhanakeyev, deputy secretary of the computer plant's Komsomol committee, A. Valitov, Frunze Politechnic Institute student and member of the student association's organizing committee, and many others.

A. M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee, spoke to the gathering.

We have come together today in such a group, probably for the first time—and not by accident, he said. On the one hand, our communists and Komsomol members bear the responsibility for the state of affairs in the republic. On the other—the restructuring being carried out in the republic, its results and its effectiveness depend on the specific contribution of each Soviet person, no matter what his work or where he went to school. And this is understandable: indeed, we all want our life to improve with each passing year. Perestroyka encompasses all aspects of the country's social and political development and requires a fundamental improvement in the activities, first of all, of the party, the soviets and all public organizations.

Perestroyka is proceeding and democracy and glasnost are being expanded. People have begun to feel free and to say what they are thinking about. The principles of justice in the solving of social and economic questions are being restored and more attention has begun to be paid to citizens' personal requests. The political system is being improved and substantial changes have been introduced into our Basic Law—the USSR's Constitution and the Election System Law.

We have begun to talk directly and frankly about our own current problems. The tolerated shortcomings and derelictions and all the negative phenomena have begun to be called, as they say, by their real names. Guilty

people are being named and criticized, regardless of the positions they hold. Boasting, positive assertions and glowing reports have decreased and television, newspapers and magazines are reflecting these new trends in public life quite fully and making them the subject of glasnost.

Perestroyka is aimed at making our socialist society into a stronger, more democratic one, with a powerful economic system, which brings together conscientious, educated people capable of solving any problems.

In order to do this, it is necessary to work conscientiously, learn with a high degree of efficiency and not permit deviations from the standards and rules of the socialist community.

In talking about perestroyka's first problems, which must be solved in the near future, the speaker singled out as the primary ones: the problem of an uninterrupted food supply for the populace—meat, milk, vegetables, potatoes, confectionery products and other foodstuffs, the problem of providing housing for the citizenry and necessary social and cultural buildings, and the problem of producing and delivering to the commercial network consumer goods—in adequate supply and of the necessary assortment.

These problems are not simple ones. But they must be solved without delay. In order to do this, all of us—each at his own work place—must do everything necessary to help the matter along in general. Everyone should put the question to himself: what have I done to change the situation for the better? Here, of course, if one has in mind a specific result, emotions and meetings will not help. What is required here is well thought-out, business-like and consistent work. Honest criticism and self-criticism are necessary, as is the desire to see, understand and correct one's own mistakes, in order to proceed further more successfully. Today, words are not needed, but rather, practical matters and constructive deeds.

There are some shifts in the republic's social and economic development. You can find out about them from our press. And these changes for the better are determined completely by specific matters. A decisive role in the solution of the urgent problems placed before us by life belongs to the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and our intelligentsia.

A large amount of the responsibility for the realization of the party's social and economic policies is being placed on the managers and specialists of the economic system's sectors and on the workers of the party, soviet and economic organs and public organizations. They are precisely the ones who have been called upon to be the organizers of the masses in the carrying out of perestroyka's tasks.

I am saying this because, the speaker continued, you who are sitting here in the hall and your comrades in the institute and the technical school will, in the near future, have to join the ranks of the labor collectives, managers and specialists. Some will go into industry and construction, others into medical, cultural and educational establishments, into agriculture and the services sphere. Briefly, everyone is facing the necessity of using in practice the obtained skills, of acquiring experience and of continuing the affairs of the older generation. What awaits you are difficult but interesting matters. There will, of course, also be difficulties—and it is necessary to be prepared for this.

This is why the time spent by young people in educational institutions should be used in such a manner that, without wasting it, the theoretical bases be mastered to the maximum extent and the practical skills of one's profession be acquired to the same extent. This depends on you and on the teachers' conscientious work. The main thing is that you need to study and then study again.

It is necessary to use all the possibilities for raising your own mental outlook and your general educational and cultural level to the fullest extent. Locally, they are waiting for young specialists who are well trained, creative thinkers and able to lead people. Each educated young person should be a promoter of the ideas and decisions of the party and the Leninist Komsomol.

Those of you present here—the Komsomol workers and activists of the educational institutions, the leaders of the young people, the administrators of VUZ's and technical schools—should understand this well and you have been called upon to organize the matter in such a fashion that, later on, you will not be ashamed of your own graduates and your own comrades-in-education.

In time, many of you, after the completion of your studies, will become the leaders of labor collectives and rayon, oblast and republic teams. And this, I will tell you frankly, is not a simple matter. It requires a high level of erudition, a knowledge of life and the ability to organize people in order to fulfill the established tasks. It is necessary to prepare for this even now, in the institute and the technical school. And the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, including the Komsomol Central Committee and the corresponding departments of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, emphasized the speaker, should help the student body in this matter.

Annually, our institutes graduate around 6,000 specialists, while the secondary special education institutions graduate more than 10,000 specialists. In the quantitative sense, if you take into account the graduates from the central VUZ's, such a situation suits us. With regards to the quality of the specialists' training, it is no secret that quite a few of the graduates of both the higher and

secondary educational institutions have a poor command of theory and have not mastered the practical skills for the selected specialty. Unfortunately, some certified specialists do not understand even the basic questions in their own profession. Yet, in fact, the state spends approximately 6,000 rubles for the training of a single specialist with a higher education and around 3,000 rubles for one with a secondary education.

I will tell you directly that the process of teaching students in many of the VUZ's and technical school, for the time being, has not undergone any changes. Here are some factual pieces of information. In the RLLPI, for the 1987-1988 school year, because of academic liabilities, 258 students were dismissed, or almost 13 percent of the overall number. In the Women's Pedagogical Institute, it was 245 or 9 percent. Many of the students leave the VUZ's in the first year. The main reason is the poor proficiency of the new contingent. In the Frunze Polytechnic Institute, for the 1987-1988 school year, 403 students were dismissed from the first year of the day-time courses, or every fifth student. One hundred eighty six, or nearly half of them, left the institute because of a lack of academic proficiency.

Of course, to attribute this completely to the institutes is impossible: the boys and girls have been poorly prepared for the studies in the VUZ by the school. We understand this. But, in fact, the guilt of the educational institutions is also great. Obviously, the teaching staff, the Komsomol and the student aktiv are not really looking for ways to increase proficiency and create conditions for enabling the students to master the theoretical course.

It is also impossible not to talk about the responsibility of the VUZ's for the acceptance of the new complement and for blunders in the acceptance commissions' work.

The physical education of the students is also lagging behind seriously. We are receiving letters from units of the Soviet Army, where former students are serving. It is being reported that they are not equal to the simplest physical training acceptance standards and their endurance in formation and in exercises is low. Yet, in fact, the republic's capital has, although, perhaps not even in the required amount, but all the same, quite a few athletic facilities. They are also at the institutes and it is just necessary to use them actively. In our opinion, the poor work on the student body's physical education also has a telling effect on the development of sports in the republic as a whole. At one time, our athletes, in many types of sports, held prize-winning positions on the Union level. Now these positions have been forfeited. The Komsomol and aktiv of the institutes and technical schools need to restore the former glory of Kirghizia's sports. It is not a matter of records, but rather, of the young people's health. The country needs specialists who are strong not only in mind, but also in body.

No less important for the future specialists, especially among the basic nationality, is mastery of the Russian language. Our republic is multinational and the binding, uniting language for all of us is Russian. It is necessary to know it thoroughly and well. Here is something that everyone needs to work on, especially the Komsomol organizations. There are also the special studies and the placement of students of various nationalities into one room in a dormitory and the combined resort to various cultural measures. The ways are many and they need to be sought out and used effectively.

On the other hand, students of the Russian and other nationalities need to master the Kirghiz language. You know that many ethnic Russian graduates do not go to regions with a Kirghiz or Uzbek population only because they do not know the language.

For the republic, the problem of bilingualism is an important one, but also not an easy one, and we should solve it. The higher and secondary special education institutions have been called upon to be the main unit in this work. Bilingualism is not only a social problem, but also a political one. A knowledge of languages makes it possible for young people to interact more with one another and this leads to the emergence of real friendship between them and to strong inter-ethnic ties. The city and rayon party committees and the educational institutions' party organizations need to make a basic change in their attitude toward the study of languages and to set things up in such a fashion that they produce a tangible result.

In talking about the students' ideological education, the speaker emphasized that there is still a lot of work for the Komsomol to do in this matter. A general improvement of the well-being of the workers is also reflected to some degree in the attitude of young people toward studies and work. The possibility of living comfortably at the expense of the parents in a number of instances leads to spending time frivolously and to negative phenomena.

Riding on the wave of perestroika, democracy and glasnost, there have emerged in the city of Frunze several so-called political clubs. They are made up of university and technical school students. However, it must be said that they do not always have clear-cut goals and tasks and are attempting to copy unconsciously the methods and ways of the various types of "national fronts" established in a number of regions of the country. Meanwhile, these movements frequently are not struggling for socialist ideals, but, using the well-known difficulties of the complex period of perestroika, they are engaging in demagoguery and diverting people from the path we have chosen. At times, the rogues and demagogues, using noisy phrases, are exerting their own influence on the young people. This is occurring primarily because, in many places, the Komsomol organizations are working passively. Yet, indeed, it is precisely the Komsomol which has been called upon to be the leader of the young people and this high calling needs to

be justified by deeds. I recall that the Komsomol layer among the daytime VUZ students amounts to 99.7 percent and among the secondary special education institutions to 96.9 percent. The Komsomol organizations of all the institutes and 22 technical schools have the rights of raykoms and 113 full-time Komsomol workers.

This large potential must be used skillfully. Unfortunately, among the Komsomol leaders, you seldom encounter one who would boldly enter into a discussion and would not retreat under the pressure of the demagogues and extremist-minded elements. Political discussions need to be studied by everyone, but you can not do this by ordering and shouting.

In October of 1917, under the leadership of V. I. Lenin, we chose the socialist path of development and we will not swerve from this path. The Communist Party established by Lenin is the leading and guiding force of society. It critically interprets its own work and changes the style and forms of its activities. And the Leninist Komsomol is also the militant assistant and reserve of the party in perestroika. This must not be forgotten.

Making use of today's meeting, said the speaker, in the name of the Central Committee Buro, I appeal to the Komsomol Central Committee, the city and rayon Komsomol committees and the Komsomol organizations of the VUZ's and technical schools with a call for you to invigorate your own activities. It is precisely the Komsomol which has been called upon to head up all the educational work among the student youth and it is impossible to hand this matter over to some kind of "association" or "society."

We consider it completely intolerable when, among the student body, there are increases in crime and alcoholism and the facts of drug addiction are being encountered. Thus, according to Ministry of Internal Affairs data, in 1988, 145 university and secondary students participated in the commission of crimes (they committed rapes and theft of state and public property and engaged in robbery and profiteering). These and many other errors in the education of university and secondary students, it seems to me, will be correctly attributed primarily to the Komsomol and its primary organizations.

We understand that there are problems which should be solved by the corresponding ministries and departments, the government and the republic's Communist Party Central Committee. There is also the creation of the necessary conditions for the educational process and laboratory and practical studies. There are also the problems of the students' everyday life, housing and food.

For example, the state of the industrial training base of the educational institutions does not stand up to any kind of criticism. It is hardly possible to consider as

normal the situation when, over the past 3 years, Gosstroy's organizations have completed the erection of extremely necessary projects for the city's higher and secondary special education institutions in the amount of 5.7 million rubles worth of construction and installation work as against the planned amount of 9.9 million rubles. The tasking has been completed by 57.5 percent in all. Here, Comrade U. K. Chinaliyev, is how the city party committee and the gorispolkom are concerned about the needs of the educational institutions. Present here are the leaders of the organs on which the solution of these questions depend and we suggest that they really concern themselves with these problems.

At the same time, the acuteness of individual questions might be removed by the forces of the administration and the komsomol and other public organizations of the educational institutions. Let us take, for example, everyday life in the dormitories and the operation of the showers, bathrooms, dining halls and snack bars. Here a lot depends on you yourselves. It is necessary just to display attention and concern and to instill in the students a caring and proprietary attitude toward the equipment. It is really not impossible to do something on a public basis, using the forces of the students themselves. It might be possible to establish well thought-out, customer ties with enterprises and thereby solve one's own urgent problems. It is necessary to impose rigid control over the receipt and consumption of products and the quality of food preparation.

It must be said frankly that the educational institutions' Komsomol committees lack initiative, youthful spirit and independence in solving one or another of the questions. Frequently, it is necessary to contend with the most naked form of parasitism when the young people are accustomed only to asking, but, when it comes to doing something with their own hands—no way.

Well, tell me, are some resources really needed to organize student monitoring of the operation of the dining halls or to set up genuine, effective competition? What is needed is just the desire, and if it is not there, then is it really possible to talk seriously about the independence of student collectives? Yet, indeed, you are asking for independence. No one is interfering with you in this matter, but you just lack the initiative.

During this same time of youth, students need, of course, to be helped. It is necessary to change into a system the visitation of the dormitories and dining halls by the rectors, department heads and department deans. Really, in general, the participation of older persons in the life of the young people has always been beneficial.

As the visits to the educational institutions by the members of the Central Committee Buro and the study of the state of affairs have shown, the Ministry of Public Education, the administration and the public organizations of a number of educational institutions are not dealing seriously with the problems of the students'

everyday life and affairs. What, for example, is stopping the organization of competition among the VUZ's and technical schools for immaculate maintenance of the dormitories and eating establishments and the summation and dissemination of the accumulated experience in this matter? Absolutely nothing. Many, however, prefer the old, well-worn practice, the complaints about the shortcomings of the accommodations, the furniture, the equipment and the lack of and quality of products. In some places, the reading rooms in the dormitories have not been operated for years and the students have nowhere to study. Is this really order? What is needed, comrades, is perestroika in thinking and in the approaches to these questions.

You, the future young specialists, are faced with solving complicated and enormous problems. There is the further exploitation of the wealth of hydroelectric resources of our rivers, the development of non-ferrous metallurgy, the construction of cities and reconstruction of our villages and the establishment of a resort area on Lake Issyk-Kul. You will have to solve the food program and the production of agricultural raw products for industry, watch over the health of our citizens, build housing and increase the production of consumer goods. In brief, there are a lot of things ahead of you and we are counting on you, our replacement, in this matter.

We have a right today to submit serious demands to the press and the other mass media about illuminating the student body's everyday life and affairs. It is not entirely correct when useful undertakings, and there are some, are mentioned very sparingly in the best instance, but, for the most part, they remain unnoticed by the press. This also applies to television and radio.

It seems to me, A. M. Masaliyev said in conclusion, that a good, useful conversation took place today. It was frank, objective and, mainly, necessary. If you have no objection, then we will continue the practice of such meetings in the future as well. We ask the aktiv present here from the institutes and technical schools to convey the contents of the discussion at our meeting to all the university and secondary students and to the professors and teachers. Let us all together, amicably and with a sense of great responsibility, set about solving the questions which have been discussed today.

Tajik Supreme Soviet Discusses Expanding, Improving Preschool Facilities

18300396 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text] As has already been reported, the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet discussed the question of the practice of examining, in the Soviets of People's Deputies of Leninabad Oblast and the organs accountable to them, of the appeals of citizens with respect to the

questions of the work of preschool facilities. In the decree that was adopted it was noted that, in spite of certain work in this sphere, less than one-fifth of the children are encompassed by preschool education in the oblast, and in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes—only 6.4 percent. Many preschool institutions are overcrowded, for every 100 places in them there are on the average 122 children. Still higher is the density in Pendzhikent and Leninabad. For the oblast as a whole, there are more than 18,000 unsatisfied applications for the enrollment of children in kindergartens and day nurseries.

The soviets of people's deputies and the organs accountable to them do not consider sufficiently deeply the problem that has developed.

As a result of the weakening of attention to these questions on the part of the soviet organs, the plan for the introduction of preschool facilities through centralized sources and enterprise funds was underfulfilled to the extent of 13 percent in 1988. The ispolkoms of the Leninabad Oblast, the Kayrakkum and Leninabad city, and the Khodzentskiy Rayon soviets do not satisfactorily carry out the work in regard to the restoration of kindergartens, which had been destroyed as a result of the earthquake in 1985. In the city of Kayrakkum, only 4 out of 11 destroyed kindergartens have been restored up to now.

The soviet and economic organs of the oblast inadequately interact with the labor collectives in finding possibilities for the expansion of the network of preschool facilities. They are not being built for the children of their workers by the large-scale mechanized bakeries of Proletarskiy and Khodzentskiy rayons, the Isfara Dairy Plant, and the Kayrakkum Grain Products Combine, as well as many farms of the State Agroindustrial Committee. Of 165 economies of the oblast, only 108 have constantly-operating preschool facilities.

Many preschool facilities are poorly supplied with inventory, toys, and technical means for the development and instruction of the children. A significant part of the managers and educators do not have special pedagogical training.

The network of milk kitchens for children is poorly developed. They exist only in Leninabad, Kayrakkum, Isfara, Ura-Tyube and Nauskiy Rayon. In the oblast shortage of qualified children's physicians is being experienced. The sickness rate of children is high.

These shortcomings are indicative of the poor control on the part of the Leninabad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies and its ispolkom over the state of affairs in the preschool facilities, the absence of the requisite exactness toward the jurisdictional ispolkoms of the local soviets, the inadequate persistence in the realization of the granted powers with respect to the implementation of the tasks of integrated, economic and social development on the jurisdictional territory.

In the decree adopted, the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet acknowledged the work of the Soviets of People's Deputies of Leninabad Oblast and the organs accountable to them with respect to the appeals of citizens in connection with the activity of preschool institutions as inadequate and required the ispolkom of the oblast soviet (deputy chairman, comrade M. N. Nazimov) to take measures to expand the network of preschool facilities, to improve their activity, and to satisfy the demand of the population for them.

The attention of the TaSSR Gosplan was directed to the unsatisfactory implementation of the decrees previously adopted by the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet in regard to the question of the expansion of the production and improvement of the quality of furniture for preschool institutions. The Presidium demanded the implementation of these decrees.

The TaSSR Ministry of Education was instructed to improve the training and complete the staffing of the facilities of Leninabad Oblast with qualified personnel, to extend to them practical assistance in the improvement of the organization of the educational process, and to provide in good time the necessary methodical materials.

To the TaSSR Ministry of Health, it was recommended to take additional measures in regard to the improvement of the organization of medical services for children, the prevention of children's diseases, the bringing to light of weakened children, the creation of sanatorium groups in the preschool facilities of Leninabad Oblast, and the strengthening with medical personnel.

The State Agroindustrial Committee, the TaSSR Ministry of Trade, the Tajik Union of Consumer Cooperatives, and the ispolkoms of the local soviets of Leninabad Oblast were charged with improving the supply of preschool institutions with vegetables and fruit, with the promotion, to this end, of the creation of subsidiary farms at enterprises and organizations, and with the establishment of strict control over the observance of the assortment and the quality of the food products supplied to the preschool institutions.

The Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet obligated the Soviets of People's Deputies of the republic and their ispolkoms to analyze in good time the state of affairs in the preschool facilities in order to put into effect concrete measures to improve their activity, to expand and strengthen their material-technical base.

Tajik Roundtable on Role of People's Deputy
18300429 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA
in Russian 10 Feb 89 p 2

[Report on editorial roundtable by M. Lebedev and V. Moldaver: "The People's Deputy. What Do We See Him Being Like? The Participants of an Editorial Roundtable Reflect"]

[Text] "Can there be a people's deputy. . . ." This is how an ordinary letter to the editors begins. The person who wrote it is searching for an answer to the question: What

should the person be like for whom he will vote on 26 March. Today the character and personality of the future USSR people's deputy are of interest to all of us, perhaps as never before. You see, through our will in March the Congress of People's Deputies will be formed, the realization of the main idea, the political reform: All fullness of power—to the Soviets, being carried out in accordance with the decision of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, will be initiated.

The figure of the elected representative of the people is at the center of the entire pre-election campaign. Not without reason were the disputes in the meetings and conferences for the nominations of candidates so heated. The acuteness of the discussions at the district [okrug] pre-election meetings is not abating. It seems, we all want to see among the candidates people who enhance restructuring, who actively reject inertia and social apathy, who are active in civil affairs, resourceful and capable of a bold search.

The figures published in the press can give some idea of the candidates for deputy. Among them are 71 workers and kolkhoz farmers, 20 engineering and technical workers, 42 representatives of public health care, education, science and culture. On the list of candidates are 50 directors of various industrial structures. Among the candidates are 229 members of the CPSU, 21 people 30 years old and younger, and 10 people 60 years old and older.

These figures we had in mind in assembling our "round table." We wanted to hear opinions from its participants that could help us to form an idea of the people's deputy among the participants of district pre-election meetings, which are taking place these days, and among all voters. The following exchanged views at our "round table":

D. Atuyev, engineer of the Tadzhikneft Production Association; A. Boyko, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet; G. Guskova, secretary of the Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayispolkom; F. Ibragimova, chairman of the women's council of the Guldast Association; K. Safarov, secretary of the Komsomol Committee of the Tadzhikgidroagregat Plant; M. Saidov, acting chief of the department of sociology of the TaSSR Academy of Sciences, and Ye. Tsyganova, member of the TaSSR Supreme Court.

[Correspondent] Today people open up, their potential splashes out, they try to think at the meetings. Thoughts are obtained which are, perhaps, not always well-ordered. But what is, is. We have not yet gathered the experience of democracy. It happens that candidates start to make promises that cannot be fulfilled, in order to attract voters. In Western democracy, this method has been well tested. Another contender does not advance any platform because he does not have one to his name.

A whole series of ethical, political, moral, and legal problems arise that demand solution. Among these problems, most likely, the most important one is the point of

view on the candidate. What should he represent? What should be our point of departure in assessing the nominated candidate, in giving preference to him?

[Atuyev] A politician from the heart, I would say, should be a deputy. There must be a calling to political activity. Perhaps, better, for the candidates not to be nominated, but for a contender to make application with the request to be registered as a candidate? In the West this is done and accepted.

Now they say to a person: "We would like to see you as a deputy." Some agree at once, others refuse. They, as a matter of fact, do not know how they will then work. In the law it is written that everyone, for discussion purposes, can nominate himself as candidate for deputy. But for the time being, this is the exception, it seems to me. A politician by calling should be a deputy. This is at the union level. At the local level, it is another matter.

[Guskova] If we compare the work of the deputy of a local Soviet, a republic and Supreme Soviet, they have different tasks. We now have 170 rayon Soviet. Perhaps such a number is not necessary?

Here is Andrey Vasilyevich Boyko. I am convinced that, when they elected him, he had a vague idea of what he would be engaged in.

[Correspondent] Perhaps, there is sense in nominating from among those who have gone through the school of deputy of a local Soviet?

[Guskova] Perhaps. We had a district meeting. There we heard the program of a worker. And if Andrey Vasilyevich in his time was not at all prepared to be a deputy, now it is quite a different matter. The organization of the election campaign is quite different today. And the candidate himself prepares to go out to people.

[Correspondent] And what qualities did you see in him?

[Guskova] He had a broad horizon. It seemed to me that it did not yield to the horizon of famous competitors. The candidates will have meetings and many mandates. It is necessary for the mandates not to be separated from life. You see, the questions that are being solved with difficulty and slowly are not global, but everyday questions: Heat supply, water supply, sewer systems, housing, and kindergartens.

They say, mandates should entail planning. 70 years of Soviet power, and there is imported water on Ulitsa Karateginska. When will we plan to have non-imported water?

[Saidov] No, the deputy must nevertheless concern himself with the republic, do we want this, or do we not want it? The mandates, about which we have talked here, are for the local Soviet.

[Correspondent] And it does not seem to you that in the person of the people's deputy of the USSR are combined the representative and the senator of the USSR? A person who must combine the state interests of the entire Union and the interest of the district? Are there not contradictions here? And should he not select what at a given moment is for him the paramount task?

[Safarov] Once we started to talk about mandates, I will say this: The elected representative of the people, certainly, must know how to study a question so as to attain its inclusion in the plan and then to defend his position. And for this, he must not be afraid to raise the question before a leader of any rank.

It is necessary to study the man. Perhaps he has concern in his blood: For there to be order, for there not to be losses. He stands at a machine, but he has deputy inclinations. If such a person sees disorder, he without fail turns to the manager, he will try to attain order himself and demand that the manager help him. We need the kind of deputy who can defend his opinion.

[Tsyganova] He must not only be a good production worker and a good organizer, but also to have a strong moral foundation. We know, and there are quite a few examples, when a man has one face in production, and another in the family. I think that a deputy can have many different qualities, but they must be based on a strong moral foundation.

[Correspondent] If the deputies will be professionals and they will nominate themselves, an exceedingly distinctive composition may take shape in our country. There is fear that there will be almost no workers and kolkhoz farmers among them. . . .

[Saidov] Is this really for certain?

[Correspondent] It seems to me, it is for certain. All strata of the population should be represented in the parliament. You understand that not everyone who nominates himself will be a politician. There are people who simply want to earn authority for themselves in this.

[Atuyev] During the election campaign all of this may manifest itself. How is it in other countries? The candidate is already at the finish, and suddenly they found him compromised, and he is compelled to withdraw his candidacy.

[Safarov] Here the thought was also expressed: Perhaps, a deputy should be elected, as it were, in steps, going through the school at first in the local Soviet. Here we nominate a worker. He stands at a machine, he has his own psychology. The man never was a deputy, if he is asked, he will, most likely, not answer at once what he imagines a deputy to be like. . . .

Now about something else. A meeting took place in our plant. They tell us: At your discretion—the candidacy of the first secretary of the party gorkom. In our collective there is suddenly discussion: We are not against, but the man has only come into this position, he has not yet shown his worth. We nominated the director of our plant.

The question arises: Why the director of the plant, and not a worker? You see, the man grew from worker to director, was graduated from an institute, why should we not nominate him? We have confidence in this man, although he now is not a worker.

[Boyko] At first we will nominate a man to the rayon Soviet, then for the city Soviet, the republic Supreme Soviet, and only then—to USSR people's deputy. This will be a violation of the Constitution.

[Safarov] It is not obligatory to go through all steps. What is needed is for a man to feel confident in this place.

[Boyko] Here is a good deputy of the local Soviet, and there is a lawyer or an economist. Whom will we elect, to whom among them will we give preference? It seems to me that in this place the lawyer or economist—competent, experienced—is preferable to another person.

[Correspondent] Incidentally, what qualities have you acquired, having become a deputy?

[Boyko] My horizon has expanded. People come to me for advice. Much more often I turn to legal documents. Previously, a voter comes and asks for help, I answer: All right, we will help. Now I say: All right, we will see. I will obtain documents, instruction, I see whether I can help, and then already I give an answer.

Previously, the only instrument was to write to the higher organ. But will they come half-way, is still unknown. Now it is different. Let us suppose, the Sector of Technical Control decided a question not quite competently. If the voter had turned to me, it was necessary to go to the chairman of the Sector of Technical Control and to persuade the opponents. If they agreed with my arguments, it was pleasant. You see, they agreed with me, not because I am a deputy, but because I succeeded in convincing them.

[Correspondent] Were cases when you, in voting at a session, raised you hand, but were not in agreement with what you were voting for?

[Boyko] The first years, I did not especially give it much thought. We thought that this is how it had to be. But you see, we were voting for a question which beforehand had been studied by a deputy commission, we raised our hand, trusting this commission, whose membership came to 90-100 people.

Then such questions began to be put sufficiently sharply. At two or three of the last sessions there were those who dissented. They voted against, they abstained. I also abstained during the adoption of the Law on Elections. I did not vote against because I understood that the law is progressive. But since I did not agree with a number of provisions, I abstained.

Kirill Lavrov said correctly that the hall in which the sessions take place is intended for unanimity. All have ear-phones, but there are no microphones and no call buttons. There must be an indicator board, call buttons, and secret voting. You see, this is a great psychological burden—to vote against.

[Atuyev] The main thing is that every vote be taken into account.

[Saidov] To reveal public opinion in the pre-election campaign, in my view, is very essential. The question of public opinion stands at the zero point. I was called to the gorkom, they included me in the ideological commission. I put together a questionnaire. This questionnaire was calculated for the first candidates. I proposed to test this questionnaire in one of the districts. The gorkom refused. We, they say, will wait until two candidates remain. But to make a probe of public opinion on the level of two candidates is inexpedient. I think that a person who comes to the election district should have choice of a greater number of candidates than two.

In the West, the survey of public opinion is conducted with maximum simplicity. Yesterday the survey was taken, the next day the results were obtained and published. In our country this is for the time being considered to be premature, it is even feared.

[Correspondent] But what about the Law on Elections?

[Saidov] This does not contradict the Law on Elections.

[Correspondent] But, you see, we thus create publicity for one of the contenders. . . .

[Saidov] I am for the broadest survey of public opinion in all stages—from the first stage to the elections themselves.

[Correspondent] But then the election will be done by bulletin?

[Saidov] The stereotypes of public opinion must be taken into account. Not all go to the elections with a clear consciousness of this election act. Here, too, a questionnaire is needed. It is anonymous, a person places crosses and zeroes but sets forth his attitude to the subject.

[Correspondent] There is a view that a survey is pressure of a sort. The survey itself corrects the consciousness of the voter. Is this not an infringement of democracy?

[Saidov] So there exists a district commission! The people surveyed have the right to answer or not to answer. If they distributed 100 questionnaires and they only received 20 responses, it is perfectly clear that the questionnaire is not a success. It means that people did not like it. Here, at this stage, we would organize newspaper debates among the candidates. Make out questionnaires, and let every candidate answer. Thanks to the press, people will find out who has the stronger position, and who has the weaker one.

The future deputy should have a command of the national and republic situation. But to provide water or heat to a house—is important, but it is at the rayon level. The debates must be held simultaneously. Candidates somehow could answer one another.

[Tsyganova] Well, o.k., here is a republic level leader. He is in command of his information about state affairs. But a worker? Is there a difference? With public debates, most likely, it is still too early to go in front of a broad audience.

[Correspondents] All the same, can we return the discussion to the personal qualities of the candidate? The people, if it knows that the candidate is the same kind of person as those who are around, will have greater confidence in him. It will believe him if it knows that the deputy thinks more about others than about himself. Incidentally, do deputies need privileges?

[Boyko] Previously in Moscow, when we went there for a session, we used the stores. They sold us sweets, even at the restaurant price, shirts, any kind of custom jewelry, small things. After 2 years, they took all of this away. They say, sinecure. Quite true.

Further. Free passage. Is this necessary? It is. Deputy rooms in airports? Perhaps, make them more modest. During the past year, I made 12 official trips involving deputy matters. A life on wheels. I believe that it is necessary to get preferred treatment in the installation of a telephone. There is also additional payment—for expenditures connected with deputy powers. I was interested in what this money is for. The answer: The deputy should freely move about. We receive 200 rubles. That is practically for taxi expenditures.

[Atuyev] In the eyes of the people, if you have advantages, you are a privileged person. Thus, not our man, this is how many think.

[Correspondent] It seems that the deputy should receive a deputy salary. In order for him not "live by begging," in order for him to be able to approach anyone in an appropriate manner.

[Boyko] I nevertheless to this day have not understood, although my term of office is nearing its end, on what basis the interrelationship of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the local Soviets should be built. I

am supposed to decide national questions. But people come to me in regard to the most elementary things: Pipe, a battery. . . . They do not go to the rayon Soviet deputy, but they come to me. And I have to concern myself with this for 2-4 months. The main thing—I cannot always help. It seems to me that, through my activity, I belittle the role of the local Soviets.

[Correspondent] A deputy, who fulfills his mandate, runs into the opposition of the administrative organs. Perhaps there ought to be some legal norms supporting him in the struggle against bureaucratism?

[Tsyganova] Every post has its peculiarities. Everything is assigned: The official duties, official instructions. But what the deputy can decide, in what question one can turn to him, we at times do not know. It seems to me, the Law on the Status of the People's Deputy is in need of improvement. That is the status of the deputy and his direct obligations.

People can understand: They go to a person with the high rank—deputy of the Supreme Soviet. You see, in our country it has long been thought: The higher the status, the more important. And for this reason, you see, it is inconvenient to say that he cannot take up this question. It is necessary to improve legislation on this plane. It seems this question will be solved. The functions of deputies, beginning with the local Soviet, must be delimited and defined.

Here is another question: Why are there no professional lawyers among the candidates? You see, we talk about a rule-of-law state, we have active discussions on this subject, but in the end there are no, or only a few, lawyers in the body of deputies. I think this is a great mistake. You see, the defects of the acts about which we are complaining are engendered by the absence of lawyers. In the discussions there are no voices which could stand up for these legal norms.

[Correspondent] Why were the lawyers so passive during the nomination of the candidates?

[Tsyganova] You know, in the Tajik Republic we did not even talk about whether to nominate or not to nominate.

[Correspondent] Not only as candidates were lawyers not nominated. Even among the members of the district commission, which at once ran into many legal problems (the Law on Elections, etc.), there are practically no lawyers. A superficial glance at the composition of the nominated candidates provides an occasion to say that there are few women among them. Perhaps, this is not women's work? That is the impression that is taking shape. At your enterprise, Fayzimo, there was a nomination. Whom did you nominate?

[Ibragimova] Me. It was in the newspapers. They wrote: Vote for a leader! They elected nominated me both by way of the Women's Council and by way of the district. . . .

[Correspondent] Well, and what of it? Can a woman fulfill the role of a real, militant deputy?

[Ibragimova] Of course, she can. Women work twice as much as men. They also have other qualities. In our country, many women's problems are being solved poorly, this is what we have to fight for.

[Correspondent] How do you regard the following situation: A deputy understands that he is not fulfilling the expectations of the voters. Should he ask to resign?

[Guskova] We have a number of deputies in our rayon who have resigned their office. They registered impotence. The deputy now somehow has lost authority. This is the consequence of the fact that they were deputies according to the statistics, deputies for whom this title was an appendix to their post. We have an enterprise manager, a deputy. He does not have any claim to being a production worker. And as far as a deputy is concerned, he is no use at all.

One woman was found. Having remained a deputy for one convocation, she honestly said: This is a great honor, but I ask to be released. But now candidates are determined, they make a selection, they prepare to defend their platform. The people make the selection.

[Correspondent] Andrey Vasilyevich, you refused to be nominated. Can you tell us in more detail about the motives of your refusal to accept?

[Boyko] Now I have the right not only to be nominated, but also to refuse nomination. I am studying at the Tajik Polytechnical Institute in the fourth course. If previously there was a possibility of turning out careless work, now there is not. In the VUZ, too, restructuring is under way. I want to be a good engineer. At present, I cannot be involved in political activity. The field of engineering, in my view, is my calling.

But then, no one sees the reverse side of the "deputy coin," but I have tried it out on myself. It was difficult for me. Several times I had the thought of resigning. You have enough of your own pains, but you do not have the right to refuse people when they come with their pains. You see, I cannot tell them to turn to my replacement. . . .

The high calling of USSR people's deputy and the reality of mastering this calling, the legal, material and other questions—we have not encompassed all the aspects of the subject. Perhaps, something we have outlined in a dotted line, we have persuaded the readers of something, and we

have challenged him to dispute. We will receive the answer in full to all questions on the day of the elections of USSR people's deputies—on 26 March.

**Kazakh CP CC Buro on Bilingualism,
Internationalism in Higher Education**

18300342 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 24 Jan 89 p 1

[KazTAG report: "Lofty Mission of the VUZ"]

[Text] Within the framework of the preparations being actively developed for the CPSU Central Committee plenum, which will consider the topical problems of interethnic relations, meetings between Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro members and representatives of the creative intelligentsia, mass information media workers, and the ideological aktiv have already been held. The regular meeting between Central Committee Buro members and the rectors of republic VUZs became a continuation of talk on developing Kazakh-Russian and Russian-Kazakh bilingualism and on the need for radical improvement in educational and upbringing work among youth. Party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol officials also took part in it.

Opening the meeting, G.V. Kolbin, Kazakh CP Central Committee first secretary, focused attention on priority tasks of improving interethnic relations. In short, they are expressed in the formula "strengthen that which unites people, exclude that which disunites." In the republic, definite experience has been acquired in this area, and lessons are being drawn from the bitter mistakes and omissions of the time of stagnation. Today, it is important to collectively and universally discuss the most painful problems and draft the necessary legislative acts, in accordance with which we must solve the problems raised by life itself. Unquestionably, this should all be done relying on the intensifying processes of democratization and glasnost.

However, the situation in the republic VUZs is far from favorable, stated U.D. Dzhaniybekov, Kazakh CP Central Committee secretary, in his speech. It was revealed that in many institutes, as well as KazGU [Kazakh State University] few students read newspapers and magazines, listen to the radio, or watch Kazakh television broadcast programs, and the rectorates and party committees are not keeping them posted on all issues being resolved in the republic in the area of interethnic relations. This also explains the students' obvious lack of information and ignorance of the most elementary things. Yet, after all, when there is no knowledge, it is easy for emotions to get the upper hand, which, frankly speaking, is quite undesirable in solving such delicate and multi-faceted problems, such as language, cultural-historical and other "strata" of interethnic relations.

A certain segment of the students, for example, asks: will the system of Kazakh kindergartens and groups be increased? However, the republic's mass information

media has repeatedly stated that many such kindergartens have been built in recent years and will be built in the future. Or the following question: will a translation board be organized? Yet, it has been in existence for a long time already. Or: scientific and practical conferences on developing bilingualism are needed. There were two conferences on the Kazakh and Russian languages last year alone. Thus, many other questions are raised which have either already been solved, or are in the solution stage.

The old approaches to organizing the educational and upbringing process and the lack of mutual understanding between the professors and teachers and the students frequently lead to the fact that the latter are looking, so to speak, on the side for answers to the acute questions of modern life and self-expression.

The growth in the number of independent youth formations is a striking and distinct reality of our day. One fact is gratifying: restructuring has aroused a force which has tremendous potential—the initiative and energy of youth. In most cases, it is creative and constructive, but sometimes—to the contrary.

Unquestionably, the development of Kazakh-Russian and Russian-Kazakh bilingualism is one of the main problems today. Consequently, the demand for future bilingual teachers is increasing sharply. However, neither the rectorates, nor the party organizations of most pedagogical institutes are working on this. Thus, in practice, clubs for students of Russian nationality to study the Kazakh language are idle and there is no control over their work. The Kustanay Pedagogical Institute in general sees no need for this at all.

Considering the presence of numerous specialists highly skilled in the Kazakh language and literature at KazGU, the Kazakh Pedagogical Institute imeni Abay, and the Urals and Chimkent pedagogical institutes, these VUZs have not become methodological centers for training teachers with the corresponding speciality for both Kazakh, as well as Russian schools.

Another problem is closely tied to this: in the course of a number of years here, we have been entirely unable to break the vicious circle, in which the weakest graduates of universities and pedagogical VUZs are sent, as a rule, to rural, particularly ethnic schools, and in turn these send poorly prepared prospective students.

The solution to the situation that has been created lies in significantly improving professional orientation work and in creating pedagogical boarding schools in oblast centers, where gifted children from the "interior" could be thoroughly trained for entry into the institutes.

The role and responsibility of professors and teachers for the condition of the instruction and upbringing of the student body must be raised to a qualitatively new level. Revision is required, and work with the VUZ cadres by

the party obkoms and gorkoms, whose activity in conducting reforms of higher education is frequently left on its own, is being done without principle, according to the policy of compromise.

Meeting participants also spoke of other important problems having to do with raising the effectiveness of the educational and upbringing process. In particular, they emphasized the need to improve the moral and psychological climate in institutes, for which contact between teachers and students should be strengthened, and rectors and student councils, which are essentially the same as labor collective councils, should be trusted more to solve cadre problems. The shortage of textbooks, educational supplies, and manuals for teaching the Kazakh and Russian languages remains acute as before. Employees at pedagogical institutes and at KazGU are not displaying proper initiative in this important problem. Yet, there are good examples. Thus, the Karaganda Cooperative Institute, not waiting for help from the sides, itself began compiling a Kazakh dictionary of specific terms in this field. A desire to regularly hold

republic seminars for rectors, at which it would be possible to examine the problems of VUZ life in greater detail and to determine the optimal ways to improve work, has been expressed.

Summarizing the meeting's results, G.V. Kolbin noted that the talk had been interesting and useful. Today, in preparing for the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum, the discussion of topical problems of improving interethnic relations should be broadly developed. In order to do this, the possibilities of the mass information media must also be more effectively utilized.

We have more than enough rostrums and channels for implementing the population's social initiatives, particularly those of students: beginning with the republic sociopolitical center for propaganda of Leninist ethnic policy, and ending with urban and rural culture funds and youth complexes. Today, the main point is to use them at maximum yield, including both for raising the level of youth international and patriotic upbringing, as well as for further developing Kazakh-Russian and Russian-Kazakh bilingualism.

Lithuanian Bishop Discusses Return to Religious Post

[18000606a Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 89 p 4

[Interview with Bishop Yuliyonas Steponavichyus by Yu. Yuryavichyus: "We Will Strive for Sobriety: Bishop Yuliyonas Steponavichyus in Vilnius"; date and place not given]

[Text] This week the capital of our republic was visited by the apostolic administrator of the Vilnius Archdiocese, Bishop Yuliyonas Steponavichyus, who kindly consented to answer a few questions.

[Yu. Yuryavichyus] Let me congratulate you on the occasion of your returning to the performance of your pastoral duties in Vilnius!

[Yu. Steponavichyus] I have received official permission to return to my duties. The obstacles are being removed. During this visit to Vilnius I was informed about the republican government's return to Lithuania's believers of the archdiocesan cathedral seat, its condition, and the preparations underway to turn the cathedral over to us. It should be noted that "cathedral seat" is an inaccurate designation. Vilnius is the center of the archdiocese; hence the cathedral in question is an archdiocesan seat. This is the Lithuanian people's most important cathedral, and preparations are now nearing completion to return it to the believers. But we have not yet entered it. This time I celebrated Mass in St. Mikaloyus Church.

[Yu. Yuryavichyus] What are your most immediate pastoral concerns and problems?

[Yu. Steponavichyus] There are quite a few concerns. In addition to everything else, we must devote some preliminary thought to the return of St. Kazimir's grave and relics to this archdiocesan seat. This will take place in early March.

I am greatly alarmed by the growth in the production of and trade in alcohol, along with the spread of drunkenness in the districts and parishes of this archdiocese. Therefore, I fully support the ideas and activity of the recently founded League of Sobriety, as established by Bishop Moteyus Valanchyus. We can achieve a national and spiritual rebirth only on the path of sobriety and honesty. The Catholic Church approves and will support the following slogan prepared by this public movement: "Do not produce, trade, purchase, drink, or entertain with alcohol!" Prior to Lent, which this year begins on 8 February, we will attempt to prepare a pastoral letter from the hierarchy of the Lithuanian Catholic Church to the believers concerning sobriety. We will strive to achieve a situation whereby 1989 may truly become the initial year of sobriety throughout Lithuania, and whereby the idea of sobriety may become assimilated by the Lithuanian people.

[Yu. Yuryavichyus] Your stay in Lithuania this time also will be brief. When will you become a genuine inhabitant of Vilnius, i.e., settle here?

[Yu. Steponavichyus] Although the archdiocesan seat is, to the gratification of all believers, being returned to them, the archdiocesan palace has not yet been turned over to me. I have neither a house nor an apartment, and so I still cannot get settled here. I hope that the newly appointed person in charge of religious affairs will effectively see to it that the archdiocesan palace is returned as soon as possible. Then I would not have to constantly travel back and forth from Zhagar, and I could devote myself fully to all the tasks of an apostolic administrator of the archdiocese.

[Yu. Yuryavichyus] When do you intend to conduct the first religious service in the archdiocesan cathedral?

[Yu. Steponavichyus] If no unforeseen obstacles arise, the first solemn service will take place in the archdiocesan cathedral on the first Sunday of next month—5 February. It will give me great joy and honor to celebrate the first Holy Mass in the cathedral of our people, who are being reborn.

I would like to wish Lithuania's believers in 1989 new steps along the path of the national and spiritual rebirth. May the Lord bless you!

[Yu. Yuryavichyus] May you have good health and many long years of life after your return to Vilnius!

Life in LiSSR Orthodox Monastery Described
18000606b Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by L. Serebrennikova: "An Orthodox Monastery"]

[Text] Every thing that reminds one of secular life must be removed from here. But massive walls cannot cut the inhabitant off from the outside world....

I was standing in front of some ordinary wooden doors, but I did not have the right to open them. An icon-lamp burns behind them day and night; a Psalter is read aloud to mark each day of the year. But I was not allowed to see or hear these things. It is forbidden for any person to enter here from the street, especially a woman. To be sure, some do enter here. The monks are helped in their housework by domestic servants—those who are chaste either by vows or by age. But I do not belong to that category. With the blessing, i.e., the permission of the Father Superior, my colleague, the photo-correspondent, was allowed to enter the monastery's refectory. He not only shot some pictures of the mid-day meal but even tasted the monastery food. It should be noted that it made the necessary impression on him. Now I too know what the monks eat, a subject about which quite a few

legends have been circulating. With their religious-mystical outlook on life, these men turn away from everything which constitutes the essence of man in the world. They take upon themselves such obligations as breaking off old ties and family ties, giving up personal property (poverty), and abstinence (remaining unmarried), attachment to the monastery, and a subordination to its charter.

"In short, just like in the army?"

"Externally it seems similar, except that in the army it's a matter of discipline, whereas here it's a matter of voluntary obedience. Discipline requires an external obedience, while voluntary obedience requires an internal consent to this obedience. You have your life, we have ours...."

It was not surprising to hear these words from the monastery's Father Superior.

Abbot Adrian is a young man. He wears the black garb of a monk. There is a contrast between his external appearance and his simply expressed feelings.

Our conversation took place in the office of the diocesan administration—a modest-sized, comfortably cozy study. Having caught my curious glance, Abbot Adrian explained what saints were depicted in the icons. They are arranged here on all four walls.

Silence, cleanliness, and order—all this affects one's psychic state; it subdues a person who comes here for the first time. The surroundings and the Father Superior's quiet, calm voice make it possible to become accustomed to these religious rites. That is to say, one accepts the rules of the game.

Our conversation was about the monks. And there are 10 of them here. Half of them are young men. I tried to understand what had led them here. At first glance, everything seems simple. Those who flee to God's cloisters are thereby saved from life's problems; they seek oblivion from the burdens of existence. Having lost their faith in spiritual values, they strive for the unbending authority of a Father Superior. That is precisely what I told the abbot. He looked at me with regret and, after sighing, he calmly explained the following to me.

"A monastery cloister," his voice flowed quietly on, "with its rigid code of conduct, strict hierarchy, and closed quality can only be borne by strong men.

"Those days are gone when only persons fleeing from problem families would come to a monastery. There is a prevalent opinion to the effect that yesterday's teenagers, because they lack the 'needed human figures to model themselves on,' rush headlong into a faith without realizing the depth of the tragedy which is occurring...."

The lack of family or societal understanding strengthens even further this desire for communing, this striving to be useful and needed—to find a meaning in life at any price, to find one's true "identity." While listening to the Father Superior, I had the following thought: a few months ago we could hardly have imagined that music from a church service devoted to the baptism of Rus [Old Russia], "God Is Appearing to the Russian Land," would resound throughout the entire country, or that we would be able to see the documentary film entitled "The Cathedral" on our television screens.

Now being prepared is legislation on freedom of conscience; it is supposed to remove from the Church the petty supervision which has fettered it. Because, you know, in 1929 clergymen were deprived not only of all civil rights but were also sent to "places not so remote."

Of course, we must not boast that we will become different in just one hour. But society today is speaking at the top of its voice about its own past. And the Church should also speak up loudly about the pains and misfortunes which have fallen to its lot during the last seven decades. It simply must openly create a necessary monument to those martyrs to the faith who perished in Stalin's camps. And, finally, we must talk in all frankness about the fact that in 1961 priests were virtually excluded from participating in parish life.

Though separated from the state, the Church cannot be separated from the society. The Church is capable of safeguarding persons from the serious danger of losing their spiritual independence. Under just what circumstances had Abbot Adrian become a monk? Of course, one does not become a monk by simply putting on a monkish garb.

"Certainly not," he said, as if echoing my thoughts. "I grew up in a religious family. Mama told me quite often that she dreamed of me becoming a monk. This evoked a spirit of opposition in me. I said that if she wanted that, let her show me the way. But I still did not want to enter a monastery.

"And so I graduated from secondary school and went into the army. After my military service I enrolled at an institute. Everything was going very well. And suddenly I experienced a deep void within myself.

"I quit the institute and resolved to enroll in the seminary. I passed all the exams but was not accepted. It could be said that I did not pass the competition, that is, I failed the specific interviews manifesting, so to speak, a loyalty to God. It was necessary for me to gain experience by passing through a probationary period. And I went to serve in one of Moscow's church's as a psalm-book reader—reading aloud at the church services. A year passed. My chosen path was confirmed by specific work. And suddenly I was invited to work on the journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. It was from here that I enrolled at the seminary. But here's an interesting fact: I

began to engage in my studies and again felt that there was no satisfaction from what I had 'accomplished.' Within six months after leaving the seminary I entered a monastery, at first as a servant, then I took my monastic vows and enrolled in the ecclesiastical academy. I served in Kaunas, then in Vilnius. I became a Father Superior."

...The Holy Spirit Monastery. It was built during the 16th century. Over the course of four centuries this monastery has been a cultural center. The monks have disseminated Orthodoxy, copied books, assembled a library, and provided shelter to poor and unfortunate persons.

"In the present-day world the Orthodox Church does not impose its own point of view on anyone," said the Father Superior. "Its impossible to confirm faith by force. The path to Christ requires internal experience. For a Christian his faith and patriotism, his love for the Fatherland are indivisible. There is an official Soviet statistic which informs us that the number of Orthodox believers comprises 10 percent of the country's adult population.

"There is a prevalent opinion that during various periods of changes there is an increased growth of religiosity. No, during the period of perestroyka this divine cloister has not increased by a single monk. There were 10 men before, and so it has remained. To be sure, there are three novices, but they came here after graduating from the seminary. The youngest monk is 22 years old.

"The daily schedule in this monaster is a traditional one. The official time for rising is 6 a.m. A servant walks around with a bell and rings it. He is called 'the awakener.' But one can arise even earlier. It's up to each man, but no later than the established hour. Then each monk says his prayers alone in his cell. And at 7 the general divine service begins, and it lasts until 10:30. This is followed by breakfast for those who wish it.

"At 11:30 the monks proceed to their service duties, i.e., to work.

"One man replies to letters; another engages in office work. There is also the position of housekeeper. He is the one who looks after the housework and repair of the rooms. And then there is the steward, who is responsible for preparing the food. The sacristan looks after the church vestments, the condition of the chapel, and sees to it that everything is in proper order on the altar. The treasurer handles financial matters.

"To this we should add that the young monks almost all have a higher education, obtained in their secular lives. Upon entering monastic life, they abandon their former occupations.

"Dinner begins at 3 p.m. Then, if there is a great deal of work to do, the monks continue it until 5:30. At that time the evening worship service begins, and it lasts for three

hours. After supper, around 11 p.m., there is some free time in the monastic schedule not occupied by work or prayers. This is a time when one can read...religious literature."

I left the monastery late in the evening. Some celestial singing could be heard from the chapel. But this was not a miracle; it was rather the splendid choir of our contemporaries—the monks of the Holy Spirit Monastery.

LiSSR CP Central Committee Discusses Cooperation between Atheists, Believers

*18000606c Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
27 Jan 89 p 3*

[ELTA report: "To Ensure Freedom of Conscience"]

[Text] Vilnius, 25 January (ELTA)—A session of the Commission for Coordinating Atheistic Education was held today in the Lithuanian CP Central Committee. Discussed here was what activity should be undertaken by atheists under the conditions of perestroyka and spiritual renewal. Specialists in religious studies and atheism spoke out in favor of further improving relations between church and state, as well as cooperation between believers and nonbelievers in the cause of preserving peace, in the areas of ecology, morals, especially sobriety, strengthening the family, and charity.

At the same time it was noted that we must also continue to develop the profound traditions of freethinking and atheism in Lithuania, to facilitate the implementation of freedom of conscience for all citizens. This session also approved the idea of reviving the freethinking society and clubs.

L. Shepetis, secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, participated in the session's work and spoke at it.

Rector of Recently Opened Tbilisi Spiritual Academy Interviewed

*18000559 Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian
28 Jan 89 p 5*

[Interview with Bishop Tsilkanskiy Zosime, rector, by B. Urigashvili: "Spiritual Academy"]

[Text] As our newspaper already reported, the Spiritual Academy opened in Tbilisi on 1 October 1988. It would be no exaggeration to say that its opening was a big event in the life of the Georgian people. An event, the positive consequences of which, apparently, will already be felt in the foreseeable future.

It is also just that we, laymen, representatives of the most diverse strata of society, have evaluated the opening of the academy as the appearance of yet another, very significant focus of concentration of the spiritual, cultural and intellectual forces of the people. Something else is also clear. The opening of the academy is a visible testimony to the

new policy of leadership of the country and republic, of the shift of priorities towards more humane, more natural forms of social life, toward the gradual revival of respect for the rights of the individual, of the specific person.

Today, the first semester in the life of the academy students is past. It might be of interest to our readers to visit with us inside its walls, to find out how this very specific higher educational institution of Georgia operates. What are its distinguishing features, and what, perhaps, unites it with other VUZs?

We are speaking with Bishop Tsilkanskiy Zosime, rector of the academy. The first question that we asked him concerned the motives for its creation.

[Bishop Zosime] "Preparation for the creation of the academy began several years ago," the bishop says. "Yet the need for its existence became imminent far earlier. However, we were unable to put this idea into practice for a number of understandable reasons. Only now, in the time of restructuring, when many things in our lives are changing, including the state's attitude towards the church, has this become possible.

It should be noted how much the creation of the academy means to the life of the Georgian people. After all, the entire Georgian culture, the world outlook of a person, and his spiritual origin was in many ways formed under the influence of orthodoxy. The point here lies not only in religious faith, but in far more. After all, it was precisely the church which became a phenomena, around which the Georgian state rallied, and precisely it fulfilled the mission of uniting the people.

[B. Urigashvili] It is hard to dispute this, but another question comes up. Everyone knows full well what kind of persecutions the church was subjected to by the state, right up until most recent times. It is hard to imagine how, under such conditions, it was possible to preserve the spiritual and intellectual basis on which the present-day academy appeared.

[Bishop Zosime] Indeed, beginning in the 1920s and until the mid-1960s, crushing blows were dealt to the church by the state. Spiritual seminaries and church parochial schools were closed and cathedrals were mocked. Although it was very very difficult to bring the word of God to the flocks, the church withstood. Already in 1963, a spiritual seminary was revived in Mtskheta and it became possible to train priests.

The sharp need to create a higher spiritual school was already being felt at that time. We had to revive traditions which had been established in the early 12th century at the Gelat and Ikalto academies. In their day, these academies were a focus of religious and social thinking. Besides church studies, sciences such as philosophy, grammar, mathematics, rhetoric, astronomy and others were studied here.

The most acute problem for us was that of cadres. Although we, as I already said, have prepared for the academy's opening for several years, we have nonetheless experienced difficulties with cadres. Here, I must note the inestimable assistance which Tbilisi University has given us. From the first days of the academy's creation, the university rectorate and its entire professorial and teaching staff were with us. Today, many university representatives teach at our academy. They include Marika Lordkinidze, Zaza Aleksidze, Zurab Kiknadze, Georgiy Tsintsadze and others. The fact that theologians and secular scientists give lectures to our students together inspires great hope in us.

[B. Urigashvili] I understand that the creation of the academy pursues many goals. Nonetheless, which of them is the most important?

[Bishop Zosime] The revival of Georgian theological science. This is very, very important today. Essentially, along with the loss of Georgian political independence, the independence of the Georgian Orthodox Church was also lost, slightly later in 1811. It became part of the Russian Orthodox Church. Yet the Russian Orthodox Church was not especially interested in the development of Georgian theological science. Quite the contrary. This was a natural continuation of the policy of tsarism. Later, in this century, when the question of the church's existence itself was raised, one did not even need to mention theological science. Therefore, the serious decline in theological science is a certainty. However, thanks to the Lord, the situation is being corrected now. In addition, the academy should be not only an educational institution, but also a scientific center for the Georgian Orthodox Church. We understand that there are many difficulties along this path. There is also a shortage of literature and textbooks. However, our mood is optimistic, for we sense the universal support of Georgian society.

[B. Urigashvili] On what principle is the educational process structured in the school, and what basic subjects are taught here?

[Bishop Zosime] Of course, the basic subjects are theological. Study of the holy writ—the Bible—holds a special place. Much time is given to the study of history in our educational plan. This includes the history of the Georgian Church, the history of Georgia, the history of other churches and the history of other religions. We also study psychology and logic. Of the languages, we teach Greek and English, and starting next year we intend to introduce Ivrit. The study of this language will be voluntary, as desired. Art history and the history of philosophy are taught. In general, we will devote most intense attention to the study of philosophical thinking. We cherish the hope of introducing the study of rhetoric. A great deal of attention was devoted to it in the ancient academies. However, the traditions were lost later on. Not only here, but almost everywhere. We hope that we will manage to revive this science. It is still important,

because the dissemination of the Christian religion occurred precisely through the assistance of sermons and the living word. In order to draw people's attention, one must master this art to perfection.

[B. Urigashvili] Was there any competition in the entrance exams for the academy?

[Bishop Zosime] It should be stated that the competition for entry into spiritual educational institutions has grown recently. This concerns both seminaries and academies. However, since many churches in Georgia have recently become active once again, we accepted more students, than we had expected. It will be very good if this tendency holds in the future as well.

[B. Urigashvili] How many students are enrolled in the academy and seminary now?

There are 15 students enrolled in the academy, and 50 students in the third class of the seminary.

[B. Urigashvili] Do academy students receive a stipend?

[Bishop Zosime] Yes, they receive a stipend of 70 rubles.

[B. Urigashvili] Where do your students come from?

[Bishop Zosime] Basically, from Tbilisi. However, there are representatives of other regions in Georgia as well.

[B. Urigashvili] And where do they live?

[Bishop Zosime] Previously, when the seminary was in Mtskheta, we had a boarding-house where our students lived. Later, when the seminary moved to Tbilisi, we decided to reject this system and grant the students greater freedom. However, I think that this was hardly justified. You realize, for a spiritual person the maximum renunciation of secular concerns is very important. In order to perfect oneself spiritually, to achieve the word and design of God to perfection—and one is simply not a theologian without doing this—one must devote oneself as little as possible to secular vanity. Furthermore, the young person simply needs a wise, adult spiritual mentor. In a boarding-house, all the conditions for this will be created. So, we are thinking of returning to that system.

[B. Urigashvili] What subjects must the students pass to enter the academy?

[Bishop Zosime] One difficulty lies in the fact that many of today's students did not graduate from a seminary, but basically from secular higher educational institutions. However, they must pass the same entrance exams, as those who have graduated from a seminary. Specifically, to enter the academy one must take catechism, holy writ, theology, church history and liturgy. A fundamental knowledge of these subjects is entirely necessary in order for a young person to become a theologian later.

[B. Urigashvili] How does your educational process work and with what system is a student's knowledge rated?

[Bishop Zosime] The educational process is divided into two semesters here. Pass-examinations are given at the end of the first, and exams—at the end of the second semester. The grading scale uses the same 5-point system used by all secular educational institutions. We have been unable to think of anything better for the time being. Perhaps, we will stop using grades later on. Let each gain knowledge in proportion to his own strength.

I thanked Bishop Zosime for the conversation and went to the auditorium. There I met two students: Mikhail Botkovi, studying in the academy, and Georgiy Gablishvili, in the seminary. Mikhail is from Ikalto. He studied at a seminary before entering the academy, and before that graduated from an agricultural tekhnikum. Georgiy is from Gora. Before entering the seminary he worked in a church. At first both of their families regarded their choices with disbelief, but later everything fell into place.

They answered the question of what motivated them almost identically—a desire for inner self-perfection and the aspiration to serve their people. And, of course, divine enlightenment.

Does their present state of interaction with their coevals and friends hinder them? Indeed, in general how do their friends regard the fact that they decided to devote their lives to the worship of God?

"On the contrary, for them it is even interesting to interact with us. Probably because we mutually enrich ourselves spiritually through this interaction," said Mikhail.

Georgiy added: "Recently, my friends have begun to respect me more and to take an interest in my studies at the seminary."

I do not want to draw profound conclusions from what I saw and heard at the Spiritual Academy. However, one thing is entirely clear from the young men's last words. We are growing accustomed, with difficulty, but we are, to the diversity of forms of social life. We are learning to relate normally to dissidence and to the religious feelings of people. After all, no matter how different we are, one thing unites us—the land on which we live. All of us—atheists and believers, party members and non-party members—must do everything we can to make life on this land more humane, more human. I would very much like to believe that the time of shock patrols that exposed, with ruthless severity, young believers and the simply curious by the doors of cathedrals have irrevocably vanished. We will miss nothing from those days. The more spiritually rich people we have, the richer our society will be.

OGONEK Protests 'Disinformation' in Emigre Journal

18000627a Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 8, Feb 89 p 2

["From the Editors"]

[Text] Recently a number of publications (both domestic ones—MOSCOW, NASH SOVREMENNİK, MOLODAYA GWARDIA, and the foreign Russian-language publications KONTINENT and PANORAMA) have published slanderous statements about us. Disinformation about what is going on in our country, our culture and our literature has more than once been exposed in the pages of OGONEK; but the flow of lies has, alas, not ceased.

We were just sent a statement from the magazine KONTINENT, which reports, in particular, that: "At a 9 November CPSU Central Committee meeting the participants were informed they had received a letter from 19 Perestroika supporters in the arts, protesting the possible publication of Gulag Archipelago. And although the contents of this letter has not yet been released to the public, in spite of the flourishing of glasnost, the names of certain of its authors have become widely known: Vitaliy Korotich, Mikhail Shatrov and Anatoliy Rybakov—for which we warmly congratulate them. If the information we have received does not correspond with reality, we will gladly apologize to those who have suffered."

This is common gutter talk. Naturally, there was no such letter. However, we can understand the reasons that this lie emerged and to which circles it is of advantage.

As far as Solzhenitsyn's works are concerned, the editors of OGONEK have not received any manuscripts from the author, and thus have not examined them. However, we do not exclude the possibility of republishing one of Solzhenitsyn's works with which contemporary Soviet readers are not familiar.

We are touched by the ease with which KONTINENT, which for years could not bear the Soviet press, slides into an ecstasy of fraternizing with the most "well-intentioned" and ever-correct magazines in Moscow. We do not like these persons at all. And it would be even more unpleasant if they were to declare their love for us.

Sinyavskiy Views Perestroika, Glasnost in Paris Interview

18000627b Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 1, 1-8 Jan 89 p 20

[Interview with Andrey Sinyavskiy, by IZVESTIYA Staff Correspondent Yuriy Kovalenko: "I Live On Russian Culture"]

[Excerpts] Born in Moscow in 1925. A Moscow University graduate with a degree in philology, he worked at the Institute of World Literature, and was employed as a critic

at NOVYY MIR under A. Tvardovskiy. From 1956 he began to send manuscripts abroad, where they were published under the pseudonym Abram Terts. In 1965 he was arrested and condemned for his works, but he did not consider himself guilty. Freed in 1971, he and his family departed for France in 1973. Since that time and to this day, he has been a professor at the Sorbonne. Associated with the magazine SINTAKSIS, published in Paris by M. Rozanova, he is author of a number of works of fiction and studies on literature.

[Kovalenko] The magazine SINTAKSIS—is that your creation?

[Sinyavskiy] Yes, and publishing it consumes all my wages and all my honoraria. The subtitle of the magazine says, "Commentary, Criticism and Polemics." It is the only independent magazine in the Russian emigre community, since no other assets other than my own are invested in it. Its periodicity varies and its circulation is 1,500 copies. But the expenses are not recouped, even if the entire circulation is sold out. Right now business is going well and we have published four issues this year. Thanks to perestroika, there is interesting material. At the present time Soviet newspapers are far more interesting in terms of their sharp criticism than the emigre press—which dolefully repeats ad infinitum that there can be nothing good in the Soviet Union. But how long can one simply curse Soviet rule? Gorbachev and his policy of glasnost have seized the initiative, and as a result the Soviet intelligentsia are on his side.

[Kovalenko] What sort of relations do you have with the Russian emigre community?

[Sinyavskiy] My relations with Western circles are fine; but with the emigres, I would say—complicated. The emigres are divided, arbitrarily speaking, in two directions: the authoritarian-nationalistic, and the liberal-democratic—to which I can relate. The "Authoritarians" stand for firm rule and religious revival, and promote nationalistic ideas. In a word, they are somewhat like the Pamyat Society. And finally, the last division is on questions of perestroika. Some of them are pleased, but others say, "No, that is a deception, and just another tactical maneuver by the Bolsheviks to deceive the West and continue their aggressive policy." But here is a paradox: when I was tried I was called "an agent of international imperialism"; but here I am considered the "hand of Moscow..."

I will explain my own position. I follow the Soviet press and Soviet magazines very carefully, especially of late. I subscribe to OGONEK, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, NOVYY MIR, YUNOST, DRUZHBA NARODOV, NASH SOVREMENNİK, and VOPROSY LITERATURY. My attitude toward perestroika is, of course, positive. It is natural to be pleased with something good that is going on in one's native country. I see positive advances in the area of

culture and in the press. Incidentally, why is the word "glasnost" used over and over in the Soviet press? Why is "glasnost" not replaced at times with its synonym—"freedom of speech"?

At the same time I am not inclined to fall into euphoria; for there are no guarantees that there will not be a return to the past. But, nevertheless, I rejoice that "Doctor Zhivago," "Akmatova's "Requiem," and Bulgakov's "Heart of a Dog," have been restored to Russia, and that they have begun to print Nabokov. New artistic forces are included in the process of cultural self-realization of Soviet man. This will promote the development of culture. The two segments of Russian culture must interact. Any national literature is essentially the same, regardless of the different fates of the writers and their positions and views, and regardless of where they live. Have Bunin, Nabokov and Khodasevich really ceased being participants in the literary process in Russia by traveling abroad? Meeting one another many years later, the separate branches of a uniform Russian culture will still be able to give new impetus to its development.

[Kovalenko] What distinguishes Russian literature from Western European?

[Sinyavskiy] The forms of Western European literature vary more widely. But Russian writers have introduced to literature certain very important themes and turning points, and in particular the topic of the camps.

[Kovalenko] And you spent about six years in the camps.

[Sinyavskiy] For all those years I worked at hard labor only. I hauled sawdust and knocked boxes together. I was a freight hauler and an ordinary laborer. Psychologically it was very hard—my wife and small baby remained free. And on top of that, you understand that you are finished as a writer. But finding myself among the zeks, I fell into a special world. The story is my favorite genre, especially when it is based on reality; and in the camp I somehow encountered a fantastic reality, which before I could only imagine. I learned more of my own country in the camp than during all the preceding years—even though my wife and I had traveled to some of the most remote places. The camp was for me, if I may speak in the high style, an unbelievable encounter with my own people; moreover, taken in a kind of cross-section of the very best and the very worst. There I strived to use every free moment, sitting on my cot, to write.

[Kovalenko] How were you arrested?

[Sinyavskiy] My wife and I were prepared for arrest, and we understood that sooner or later it would happen. Nevertheless, the arrest took place most unexpectedly. I was walking to a lecture, when a voice rang out from behind: "Andrey Donatovich?"

I turned around, did not see anyone and started to turn back again, when suddenly—in one movement, I was stuffed into a car which was already standing to the rear with doors flung wide. And so on the street—although there was a crowd of people around—no one even noticed anything. Well then, we went directly to Lubyanka and interrogations. For several days I tried to deny that I am Abram Terts; but then understood that it's ridiculous to deny the facts, which they had in their hands. And I took the position which I maintained at the trial as well: that is, I acknowledged the facts, but I did not acknowledge myself guilty; the moreso, since I was charged not with publishing books abroad, but with the fact that they were of an anti-Soviet nature—and they knew that was a lie.

[Kovalenko] How did your life shape up after you were released?

[Sinyavskiy] When I emerged from the camp, I then lived in Moscow for two years prior to emigrating. I did not work anywhere, but I continued to write; and naturally, the question arose as to where I could be published... And here they sent us off to Paris, by personal invitation.

[Kovalenko] Does the fact that a writer lives abroad have any kind of influence on his language?

[Sinyavskiy] Naturally, it has an effect. For certain people this is the whole drama. I know authors who have given up writing. For their creativity they need live material, the language of the streets; and there is no such thing here. But for me no such problem exists; for I write "from my head."

[Kovalenko] What sort of problems disturb you, as a writer?

[Sinyavskiy] There are many. I can see and I know how terrible unemployment is, but I will never write about it. My compositions are, as a whole, stories. I am on the side of morality in the arts, but morality does not consist of saying, "Be good! Be good!" but that the artist points out the intrinsic value of a person. I am not much of a believer in the didactic possibilities of fiction. Its influence is enormous, but we do not have the ability to regulate it.

[Kovalenko] Do you have a readership here? After all, the circulation of Russian-language books in France is on the average, 600-700 copies.

[Sinyavskiy] I am a chamber writer and consider myself an author for the few. Therefore I do not thirst for a wider audience, or the need to teach people. Mandelshtam used to say, that the conceivable reader is a projection of the author's "I." Therefore, I would say that I write for myself and for a few people, scattered about in time and space. And I did not send my works to

the West out of a desire to open its eyes, to shock it or to seek a mass readership. No, on the whole for me that was for the purpose of preserving the text.

[Kovalenko] What can you say about Russian culture in the emigre community? What kind of future does it have?

[Sinyavskiy] I am convinced that it is impossible to create a culture on emigre soil. When I was living in the Soviet Union, I imagined the culture of the first emigration as a kind of conclusion to the "silver age" in Russian literature. And when I arrived here, I saw what this "age" had turned into. I do not think that anything will remain of us here either; for emigration is not a place for creating a kind of independent culture. But it is a place of creativity for certain authors. Therefore I do not perceive the first emigration as a uniform culture. This was the place where Tsvetayev, Remizov and Nabokov had worked. Of course, the first emigration was much stronger than the third in terms of its culture. But we do have, perhaps, one advantage—we differ from it in the sense that we do not believe that contemporary Russia is cut off from us. Emigration is a test through which one has to pass. Either you perish or you somehow hang on, and you do something. One cannot even talk about victory. But culture is an intrinsic value, and some of its pieces can be preserved here.

[Kovalenko] Do the old emigres continue to come to your lectures?

[Sinyavskiy] The old emigres have become unbelievably detached from the 20th century in an aesthetic sense, and they have withdrawn to somewhere in centuries gone by. Without exception they do not understand anything at my lectures. And this is particularly so when the topic is poetry. They don't even understand Blok. They somehow live in the pre-symbolist epoch. And I'm not even talking about later phenomena—Mayakovskiy, Khlebnikov, Pasternak. For them this is on the whole a deep dark forest.

[Kovalenko] Which of the new Soviet writers seems the most significant to you?

[Sinyavskiy] I follow Soviet literature very carefully, and I like very much Mikhail Kurayev's novel, "Kapitan Dikshteyn," which received hardly any attention at all in the USSR; and, I like the tales of Tatyana Tolstoy and Venedikt Yerofeyev's story, "Moskva-Petushki." I am attracted most of all to the works of the new writers which are associated with expansion of the stylistic possibilities of prose, constructed on combinations of fantasy, lyrics, irony and the grotesque.

[Kovalenko] And what about the Russian writers living in the West?

[Sinyavskiy] Eduard Limonov, Sasha Sokolov... And of the poets, of course, Brodskiy.

[Kovalenko] In recent times, meetings have taken place in Copenhagen and Barcelona, and quite recently in Strasburg, between Soviet prose-writers and poets, and Russian writers living as emigres. The former were represented by Voznesenskiy, Rozhdestvenskiy, Adamovich, Baklanov, Bitov, Iskander, Korotich, Dudintsev, Shatrov and others; the latter, by Aksenov, Sinyavskiy, Voynovich, Gladilin and Etkind. To what were these meetings devoted? And what in your view is their significance?

[Sinyavskiy] These meetings were devoted to questions of perestroika, in the area of culture in particular. Topics at the meetings also concerned historic problems—Stalinism, for example. I recall that on the nationalities question I argued—not with a Soviet participant, but with one of the emigre-writers. Whereas at the first meeting there a climate of suspicion and tension—especially at first—at the other two the atmosphere was unfettered and friendly. In spite of the fact that we are situated on opposite sides of the border, there were no insurmountable obstacles between us. For we are united in the fact that we are proponents of perestroika and are making common cause with it.

[Kovalenko] Yuriy Daniel has died in Moscow. He was your close friend...

[Sinyavskiy] Daniel, both in life, and in his writings had a brotherly attitude toward people. His stories, "Govorit Moskva" [Moscow is Speaking] and "Iskuplenie" [Redemption] present to us the fellowship of people. He was a friend to a large fellowship, as his verses testify: "Run your fingers over the names of your friends like a string of pearls, like a Rosary..."

[Kovalenko] Would you like to visit Moscow?

[Sinyavskiy] Of course. I have friends there. But first of all I would like to come home with my books, and then come and go myself.

[Kovalenko] Perhaps I am mistaken, but it seems to me that you are living alone here.

[Sinyavskiy] Alone, although we have personal contacts. We have warm relationships with Natalya Sarrot, a French writer of Russian descent. I have maintained friendly contacts with many Soviet writers; and here in France I have struck up new friendship with those whom I did not know. First in secret, but now openly, they come to us as guests. We also meet with French authors. But French I know only on an everyday level. Should I make a genuine effort to master the language so I could converse with the French? But why should I do that? You see, I am not entering the French culture. I live for Russia and for Russian culture. And all of our affairs basically revolve around Russia.

Komsomol CC Secretary on Group's Election Platform, Priorities for People's Congress

18000595 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with Nikolay Paltsevoy, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, under the "How Should We Approach the Elections?" rubric: "Our People in the Kremlin"]

[Text] **KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's correspondent met with Nikolay Paltsevoy, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee and chairman of the commission on preparing the All-Union Komsomol's draft platform for the election of USSR people's deputies, and asked him to answer several questions.**

[Correspondent] What tasks does the Komsomol's Central Committee face as it submits the All-Union Komsomol's election platform for discussion?

[N. Paltsevoy] The primary task is to collectively develop a precise and clear-cut program of action for the People's Deputies elected from the All-Union Komsomol—a sort of mandate from the Komsomol's voters.

For the first time the Komsomol has been granted the right to directly choose its own representatives to serve as USSR People's Deputies. In this regard the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol deems it essential to confer with Komsomol members on the chief question of the All-Union Komsomol's campaign strategy: How should we approach the elections? We must also determine what stands deputies from the All-Union Komsomol will take in the soviets.

[Correspondent] Which will take priority for the future group of deputies from the All-Union Komsomol—the interests of society or the interests of young people?

[N. Paltsevoy] The program of action for the People's Deputies elected from the Komsomol, of course, will be geared, first and foremost, to national interests and the consolidation of efforts in the cause of restructuring society. But our envoys to the soviets must remember that they have been elected to represent the League of young people. Therefore, our political priority is a unified, comprehensive state policy with respect to young people. The USSR Law on Young People should be the legal basis for this policy. Its enactment is a high-priority task for the deputies from the All-Union Komsomol. We propose that a Committee on Young People's Affairs be formed under the USSR Supreme Soviet to effectively conduct policy towards young people.

[Correspondent] In your opinion, which of the draft's sections are most fundamental and important for the All-Union Komsomol today?

[N. Paltsevoy] The draft platform reflects the Komsomol's resolute determination to strive for the further democratization of all life's social spheres, the expansion of glasnost and the establishment of a state governed by the rule of law. We are calling for the establishment of a political and judicial barrier to manifestations of a cult of personality, the removal of unwarranted restrictions on the publication of statistical data and archival materials, the development of an accurate history of the state and Party, democratization of the activity of higher agencies of state authority, the generation of greater openness in our society, and the expansion of contacts between Soviet young people and their peers abroad.

We declare our support for plans to reduce the size of the Armed Forces. The Komsomol favors making public the country's defense budget and reducing defense expenditures with the funds to be redistributed to education, health care and municipal construction.

We are all fully cognizant of the fact that the resolution of young people's social and economic problems is totally dependent on the success of economic reform. Therefore, we feel that our deputies should support the equitable development of all forms of socialist property, the radical expansion of enterprises' economic rights, and the high-priority development of new forms of economic activity (joint enterprises, joint-stock companies) in the area of consumer goods production.

Under the conditions arising in the transition to new economic forms of management, it seems proper to us that deputies from the All-Union Komsomol defend the interests of the least secure and most socially defenseless categories of the populace—invalids, young families, families with many children, single mothers, and war and labor veterans. We support a guaranteed minimum wage, the elimination of departmental fiat in the resolution of important social issues, the separation of young people's issues as a whole into special sections of plans for social and economic development, expansion of the system of state credit for young people, and the focussing of attention as a top priority on the resolution of the housing problem, and in particular the development of young people's housing complexes, etc.

The draft sets forth the All-Union Komsomol's stand on environmental protection issues. The Komsomol intends to actively support the environmental protection movement, and to strive to develop judicial guarantees that public opinion is taken into account in the resolution of ecological problems.

An important point of the All-Union Komsomol's draft campaign platform has to do with the upbringing and education of the young generation. We believe that these problems should become a truly national and state matter—which, as we see it, means an increase in the funds allocated to education in the state budget and the democratization of school and university life.

We are in favor of instilling in the young generation a spirit of peace, making relations among nationalities more harmonious and introducing young people to the spiritual and moral treasures of world culture. The Komsomol intends to support in every possible way the charity movement and initiatives on preserving and restoring historical and cultural monuments. The creation of conditions that promote a healthy life style and young people's use of leisure time in a rewarding and interesting manner is a subject of special concern to us.

These then are the All-Union Komsomol's basic guideposts in the area of state policy.

[Correspondent] How was the draft composed? To what extent were existing trends among young people and the aspirations and hopes of our young contemporaries taken into consideration?

[N. Paltsevoy] I should note that this document was developed collectively. In addition to the commission of the All-Union Komsomol's Central Committee, scientists from the Higher Komsomol School's Research Center took part in its preparation. Komsomol activists in Moscow and Moscow Oblast and specialists from the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences expressed their opinions with respect to the draft. We attempted to incorporate the suggestions and observations contained in hundreds of letters sent to the Central Committee from Komsomol organizations.

A commission created under the All-Union Komsomol's Central Committee is drawing general conclusions on the basis of the suggestions being received. They will be taken into account in the development of a final version of the Komsomol's platform for the election of USSR People's Deputies. Candidates for deputy who were nominated at the fifth plenary session of the All-Union Komsomol's Central Committee are also taking part in this work. Needless to say, the best proposals from the programs of young candidates for deputy themselves will also be entered into the text of the future platform. Incidentally, they represent extremely diverse social groups of young people. The 200 or so candidates include 35 workers in the production and service spheres, 19 rural laborers, 21 representatives of young people in the sciences and arts, 10 Komsomol employees, students, enlisted men and journalists. Their average age is 28.

[Correspondent] Usually, each deputy has his own program and his own platform. We, however, are developing one platform for everyone. Doesn't this mean that their program loses its individuality and applicability to a specific region?

[N. Paltsevoy] I see no contradiction. It is essential that we formulate the gamut of young people's problems in one program so that we can strive, on that basis, to carry out a unified and comprehensive policy for young people

on a national scale. However, this in no way rules out the possibility that deputies from the All-Union Komsomol will have their own individual programs composed on the basis of a mandate from the Komsomol members in their own region or oblast.

[Correspondent] The election campaign, during which candidates for deputy from the All-Union Komsomol meet with Komsomol activists, is now underway. Such meetings have already been held in Cheboksary, Krasnoyarsk, Tolyatti and Tashkent. But does this make sense when, after all, it is the members of the All-Union Komsomol's central electoral agencies that will select them and not the Komsomol members themselves?

[N. Paltsevoy] Discussion of the All-Union Komsomol's election platform is at its peak, and therefore, such meetings are quite necessary and useful, in my opinion. The draft is being refined before audiences of young people. I am sure that the interests and expectations of young people will become increasingly clear to candidates for deputy at these discussions, while at the same time, the candidates will have yet another chance to verify their own stand on issues. In March they will have the opportunity to discuss their chief impressions of these meetings at a plenary session of the All-Union Komsomol's Central Committee and to make final revisions to the draft provisions based on them. So the discussions and meetings with the candidates for deputy from the All-Union Komsomol—and by the way, we invite members of the central electoral agencies to them as well—are an integral part of the Komsomol election campaign and a source of feedback that is so essential to the Central Committee now.

[Correspondent] The fifth plenary session of the All-Union Komsomol's Central Committee adopted a decision to carry on the discussion throughout the Komsomol in two stages. Could you discuss this in some detail, please?

[N. Paltsevoy] We intend to discuss the draft election platform during the first stage of discussion, which extends through the end of March. The second stage will be devoted to discussing questions of Komsomol life and progress made in restructuring within the Komsomol. This stage will extend from August through December and will coincide with the report and election period in the Komsomol organizations.

In our opinion, Komsomol meetings, political clubs, seminars, meetings of activists and the young people's mass media should serve as centers of discussion. We propose that the results of the discussion be conveyed to the plenary sessions and meetings of activists in the republic, territorial and oblast Komsomol organizations, and then passed on to the Central Committee's commission. In March, the final version of the platform will be prepared, whereupon the plenary session will review it and pass it on to deputies from the All-Union Komsomol as their program of action.

On the whole, we think that discussion should be the norm for the League of young people, a natural part of its vital activity and a school of political culture for young people.

Komsomol Revenues, Budget Discussed

18000462 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian
No 6, 11-17 Feb 89 p 7

[Interview with N. Kuchinskiy, business manager of the Komsomol Central Committee, by V. Solovyev, correspondent: "Where Do Komsomol Dues Go?"]

[Text] Our correspondent V. Solovev asked N. Kuchinskiy, business manager of the Komsomol central committee, to answer this and other questions.

[Correspondent] Where does the money for the Komsomol budget come from?

[Kuchinskiy] First I have to say that, for the first time in many decades, a Komsomol budget—the one adopted at the January plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee—was publicly discussed beforehand.

Membership dues represent the bulk of our income, about 70 percent. Twenty percent comes from publishing activities.

The rest comes from activities of the Office of International Youth Tourism (Sputnik) and the All-Union Student Construction Brigade, as well as from Komsomol organization programs. I would like to start by making it clear that many Komsomol organizations cannot pay for themselves. The money for them comes from grants, which totalled about 50 million rubles last year.

[Correspondent] Where does this money come from? The government?

[Kuchinskiy] No. The Komsomol stopped receiving government grants in 1959. Eighty percent of it comes from publishing activities, while 20 percent comes from redistributing funds obtained by Komsomol organizations that manage without grants, such as those of Belorussia and the Ukraine.

[Correspondent] What is the total amount of the Komsomol's annual budget.

[Kuchinskiy] The annual budget of the Komsomol is about 500 million rubles.

[Correspondent] Many people believe most of this money is used to support Komsomol management at various levels.

[Kuchinskiy] Let us look, as an example, at the budget of Belorussia's Komsomol organization. Fifty-eight percent goes to pay Komsomol personnel at various levels. But it is important to note how this percentage is distributed.

Of the total amount, 3.5 percent of the money spent on management goes to the LKSM [Lenin Communist Youth Union] central committee. The Komsomol obkoms get 9.8 percent, the gorkoms get 7.5 percent, and the rural raykoms get 26.7 percent. The rest is spent by low-level Komsomol organizations.

The salaries of the low-level organizations "eat up" almost half! Yet at the same time, the problem of secretaries available to work exclusively on Komsomol matters is quite serious at low-level organizations. You can judge for yourself. The salary of a "Komsomol-dedicated" kolkhoz or sovkhoz secretary is only 155 rubles.

As for the Komsomol central committee, no low-level organization money at all is used to support its staff. Publishing activity alone brings the central committee more than 60 million rubles a year, while the cost of such activity is less than five million rubles.

[Correspondent] Staff cuts—including at the Komsomol—will probably also help in the more economical allocation of resources.

[Kuchinskiy] On the average, we are planning 30 percent cuts in the staffs of the Komsomol central committee, the union republic LKSM central committees, and Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms. The duties of over 2,000 offices at this level will be taken over by Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms.

[Correspondent]: Komsomol personnel who get cut will still have the opportunity to do Komsomol work through public organizations. But don't they obtain more benefits if they are members of the Komsomol staff?

[Kuchinskiy] Judge for yourself. The average official salary for a Komsomol staff member is less than 170 rubles. This is much lower than in the economy, and is clearly not much money. Like the head of the Komsomol central committee department, I receive a salary of 360 rubles per month, while the first secretary of a major obkom—such as Kiev's or Minsk's—gets 310, and an instructor gets 195. Any staff member who goes on vacation may be compensated in money for his "sick days" as long as the sum he receives does not exceed one month's wages.

Depending on his performance, he may also be awarded a bonus equal to two months' salary. The Komsomol has 33 vehicles, only one of which has been assigned to a single person. The 500 members of the Komsomol central committee staff have 98 dachas among themselves.

Undoubtedly, you had other "benefits" enjoyed by certain Komsomol managers in mind. The problem is no one has established the existence of these "benefits" in the Komsomol, or in other institutions for that matter. Additionally, they would have another name: misfeasance.

Dushanbe Tekhnikum Students Riot

18000599 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by A. Ganelin: "Hit First, Fedya?"]

[Text] On the evening of 20 February, a crowd of students was standing in front of the dormitory of the industrial-pedagogical tekhnikum in the central region of the city of Dushanbe. Opposite them was a line of militiamen.

No, this was not an unsanctioned meeting in defense, for example, of the ecology or in support of a candidate. And the students were holding in their hands not placards, but sticks and iron rods. In answer to the repeated suggestion to disperse, a torrent of stones fell on the militiamen. Shots rang out above, and the militia went on the assault.

What happened that day?

On 20 February, a group of unknown persons burst into the dormitory. Destroying everything in their way, they unmercifully beat the students. One of the workers of the tekhnikum was injured. After repulsing them, the students ran out into the street. As if blind, and not in control of themselves, a crowd numbering roughly 150 persons started to beat up passers by and to throw stones at buses. After this, the students burst into the movie theater "Tadzhikistan," and after interrupting the show, attacked innocent spectators. Then the militia was raised by alarm. They were met by stones. One of the militia workers was hospitalized and several persons were injured. There were also victims among city residents.

On the next day after the event, I asked the tekhnikum students why they had changed into a crowd smashing everything in their way. The boys, now calm and courteous, shrugged their shoulders: they themselves didn't know; they beat up our guys, they said, and so we started smashing everybody.

It is now becoming clear who burst into the student dormitory and caused the fight. This question is being answered by an investigation, which is operating now very actively. I am certain that the instigators will be found without fail. Nevertheless, the main question is by no means answered: why was a single spark enough to result in the explosion of rioting in the dormitory? Why did the students turn into a crowd? You see, the tekhnikum is not simply industrial but also pedagogical.

Soviet Psychiatrist on Stalin-Brezhnev Era, Misuses of Psychiatry

18300221 Moscow UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15, 17, 19 Nov 88

[Article by M. Buyanov, candidate of medical sciences: "A Sick Society or a Sick Leader?"]

[15 Nov p 4]

[Text] "When I read something about the victims of Stalinism, about mass suspicion, or about genocide in our Motherland which occurred long before the events in Cambodia, I ask myself these questions: 'Was Stalin mentally in good health? Can a completely normal individual enjoy a sea of blood so boundless and endless? What would psychiatrists say in this regard? And how would they evaluate the Brezhnev era, the direct legacy of Stalinism, when dissidents were taken in for psychiatric treatment and kept there, while being of sound mind all the time?'"—G. Churbakova, Irkutsk.

Candidate of medical sciences Mikhail Ivanovich Buyanov is the author of many instructional books, articles and discussions. His book "Discussions On Children's Psychiatry" (PROSVESHCHENIYE, 1986) is presently being translated into English, Portuguese, Arabic and other languages. We asked M. Buyanov to address the issues raised in this letter.

More and more frequently when we look at the background of the sharply increased interest in Stalin's personality, we see published articles whose authors evaluate him simply as a mentally ill individual, especially towards the end of his life. It is necessary to cool down the emotions, however, of those who are prepared to reduce the endless diversity and dialectic of existence to psychopathology—things are infinitely more complex than that. Like any science, psychopathology can explain only that which falls within its frame of competence. The purpose of my essay is to show the lack of justification for the interpretations cited above.

What defects did Stalin have, and what defects did the society he lived in have, the society which he ruled? If the luminary was mentally ill, what kind of illness was it? How did it proceed, and how did it affect Stalin's ability to rule such a huge state over a 30-year period (a uniquely lengthy term)?

We are as yet unable to provide an exhaustive reply to these questions—there is too little objective information available (I would be grateful to any readers who would share their observations and thoughts). Many archives are inaccessible, but even in the event they soon were to become available, we could hardly expect to find conclusive evidence for psychiatrists—Stalin feared doctors and dealt with them only in extreme situations. Many medical personnel who had the misfortune of treating this capricious patient were executed at his command,

and those who remained alive were paralyzed with fear for the rest of their days—they kept any information they had to themselves and did not leave memoirs.

I am a doctor—I must own up to all the good there is in medicine, and all the bad as well. I am proud of the lofty manifestations of the human spirit, and I am ashamed of the fall of individuality to the level of a trolley wheel. The misfortune of our country lies not only in the degrading queues which have in no way disappeared and in fact are today longer than in the days of the Second World War, not only in the reduction of a great power to the level of a raw-material appendage of the economically developed countries—the tragedy is to be found in the devastation of soul which comprised the strategy of Stalin-Brezhnev policies over the course of the 20th century. And this tragic circumstance should not conceal the illusion nourishing many people as to the supposed proper order existing, as it were, in Stalin's time, the low prices, and the asceticism of the leadership in the capital and outlying regions. An unhealthy society most often chooses for its leader a disharmonious individual who develops the defects of society to the level of monstrous caricature.

It was a hatred of such natural movements of the human soul as pity for those who have fallen, loathing of informers, sympathy for the unfortunate, assistance to one's own people—near and far, paternal and filial feelings, responsibility, conscience, concern for one's honor and good name, which led to the people's demoralization, to their inability to put up resistance to their mutual destruction. Who created this atmosphere of hatred? Stalin? No. It was the clique Stalin headed and not Stalin alone.

Periodically, Stalin and company would begin a campaign against doctors, and it was the doctors themselves who played the leading role here—the great and all-knowing one used the hands of some to put away others. I will cite just two examples. In 1938, during the last of three famous trials of “enemies of the people,” among the defendants were three of the most prominent internists of that time—L. Levin, I. Kazakov and D. Pletnev. Who appeared as expert witnesses here? Who marked the three professors? Other professors—and not just any others, but the pupils of those on trial.

The main supporting voice in the 1938 trial was V. Vinogradov, the very individual who Stalin put in prison in 1953 as a British spy. He thirsted to occupy the position of personal healer to the father of the people. Vinogradov was supported by M. Vovsi, N. Shereshevskiy, and many other famous Moscow doctors who were later arrested as part of the “doctors’ plot.” Submissiveness, blind faith, fear and cynicism—these are the things that guided the witnesses who destroyed L. Levin, I. Kazakov and D. Pletnev. Everything was later repeated. Vinogradov, Vovsi and others were saved from execution only by the death of the tyrant.

At the beginning of the “doctors’ plot,” it was the doctors’ own colleagues who were most active in exposing the accused—such is the fantastically low level they dropped to, the likes of which even Dostoyevskiy and Kafka never described. And these were doctors—they had taken the Hippocratic Oath. Against such a background of moral decay it would hardly be possible for psychiatrists to obtain useful, objective information about Stalin.

Again I would like to turn the reader's attention to one extraordinarily important consideration—could just the sun-faced father of the people, the supreme first of firsts, could he alone bring down a great state to the level of medieval despotism? Must all the guilt be ascribed to him alone? Of course not. The stench of decay touched the people themselves. The state itself turned into a lackey of the tyrant. Without the moral stupor many people had fallen into, no Stalin would ever have been able to take hold of Russia.

Stalin's power became possible only thanks to the protracted demoralization of the people and total suppression of society by the state. Sad but true.

Like any tyrant, Stalin was a cynic. He quickly came to understand that excessive or extended efforts were not necessary to lower a weak and obedient personality to the level of an animal. It is thanks to this that the nightmares of collectivization, the trials of the thirties, and other atrocities became possible.

Over the twelve years of Hitler's rule, about 10 attempts were made on the Fuhrer's life. Over the entire course of Stalin's life not one such attempt was ever made. Is it possible you would not have found a single individual who decided upon this? Right now we don't know. Perhaps, perhaps not. Everything in people's consciousness was turned topsy-turvy—good was called bad and vice versa. Clearly, whatever way the people were—that is the way the leader of these people was. Biologically the Germans of 1933-1945 are identical to the Germans of 1988, but politically they are incomparable. The same goes for the Soviet people—they behave completely differently today. They fight for perestroika and honor idols of the past. But will they then come tumbling down on dissidents? Will the people be silent when a famous academician is exiled to Gorkiy? It is possible unless, of course, they—you and I, that is—stand up in support of justice, glasnost and democracy.

Well, were there traits in Stalin's personality which, apart from the trends of the era, would be considered by psychologists as pathological during any era? Did Stalin suffer from epilepsy, schizophrenia, feeble-mindedness, or some other illness which is always manifest in some particular way, regardless of the appraisal of contemporaries and descendants? There is no evidence of this. And, indeed, if the immortal leader did suffer from some

disorder traditionally associated with psychotics, he would not have been able to execute functions of state and would soon have been removed.

It is evident that Stalin's character traits became quite accentuated in old age—this will happen with anybody, and more often than not it is not a disease. In other words, the torch of communism had no pronounced mental illness, and one cannot reduce everything to a psychic anomaly he was supposed to have had. This would be ignorant and entirely groundless. Of all famous paranoiacs, Stalin is, so to speak, the most normal—although his life, the psyche of his father and children, endless petty squabbles in his family, and the warped fate of his progeny all show why it is not a chance interest psychiatrists have in Stalin. Moderation must be shown here, however.

A specific era selected Stalin. Stalin accentuated the manifestations of his time and became its voice. For this reason even today he has his admirers. Nevertheless...

Modern psychiatry seems to consist of two parts: major psychiatry and minor. Major psychiatry is concerned with disorders where there are pronounced psychic anomalies (delirium, hallucinations). It deals mainly with people suffering from schizophrenia and other major disturbances of the psyche. Such individuals are generally not often encountered, and Stalin was not among them.

Minor psychiatry associates people with non-acute disorders lying on the boundary between normal and pathological disorders, neuroses, psychopathies, and certain other disturbances. Not all psychiatrists relate such disorders (especially when they are hardly noticeable) to psychic pathology. The hero of our essay can be categorized within this group of borderline patients, specifically, to the psychopath group. Stalin's personality was grave—he was gloomy, suspicious, ruthless and egoistic. I would place Stalin among those unique personalities which, in their most phenomenal form, have concentrated within themselves everything characteristic of tyrants, sick and healthy alike. Stalin can be considered a paranoiac and psychopath with tendencies towards delirium but, just as the key must fit the door for it to open, so the nature of a personality must correspond with the environment to create a tyrant. Without an appropriate environment, Stalin would be just a petty egoist, a waning personality full of envy and obsessed with a passion for considering himself greater and more intelligent than others.

Stalin is no maniac in the medical sense. He is a maniac in the social meaning of the word. An insatiable thirst for power, hypocrisy, unquenched ambition, incinerating treachery, cold hatred towards everybody who doubted him as the chosen one, detached and thoroughly pondered political calculations devoid of moral limitations, of any emotion, of any artistic improvisation—this was Stalin.

If he suffered from any ailment, any particular disease, then I would call it tyrannomania.

Stalin was a son not of Georgia or Russia—he was the son of a complex, contradictory time. By virtue of his disposition towards schematic thinking, disbelief in spiritual ideals, a passion for intrigue, an incredible degree of grudge-bearing and vengefulness, this person brought to the level of ugly caricature what was roaming about but had not yet solidified in society. History had already seen similar examples—specifically during the period of the French Revolution when the same kind of cold, doctrinaire people pushed a noble movement of the popular masses to absurdity, and following which the internally decaying country collapsed at the feet of Napoleon. Outside of Stalin's time, outside of his epoch, one cannot find understanding—and there is no point in trying. He was a magnifying glass of his era and a distorting mirror at the same time.

[17 Nov p 4]

[Text] As long as I live I hear stories about how Vladimir Mikhaylovich Bekhterev advised Stalin, presented him an honest diagnosis and was poisoned for it.

Whether Stalin poisoned Bekhterev or had nothing to do with the man's death—I do not know, and suggest that we could hardly expect to have proper information about this since, following the leap-frog that took place in OGPU, NKVD and MGB agencies during Stalin's time, documents were irretrievably lost more often than not, witnesses did not remain about, and no one even dared think about writing memoirs. But be that as it may, the story of Stalin's mental illness going back to Bekhterev's time enjoys some popularity—considerably more now than before. It seems Stalin was a madman, the people notwithstanding. Psychiatrists looked their patient over—they are the guilty ones.

There definitely may come along psychiatrists who want to please various groups and will therefore start explaining a great deal through Stalin's mental state—some of us are masters in making deft diagnoses of historical personalities. We recall how, under pressure from local authorities, a psychiatrist during the Brezhnev era would diagnose schizophrenia for someone who argued with a chief or expressed outrage at the boorish bureaucracy. True, we should not rebuke the psychiatrists all that much in this regard—after all, they are the way society is although, on the other hand, society turns towards truth and conscience. And, indeed, clear examples of great courage, human dignity and unflinching struggle have been seen in the most difficult times among doctors, and teachers, and military leaders, and people in the arts.

On the eve of his destruction S. Kirov came to visit P. Chagin, his old friend from the days in Baku. He sat and drank tea but was morose, upset by something. Chagin asked him what was wrong. Sergey Mironovich replied:

"My soul aches."

"What soul? We are Marxists. We have long ago proven that there is no trace of any soul."

"If it aches—that means it exists."

Whatever efforts are made to abolish the soul, conscience and honor, no matter how well they prove that these concepts are class-immaterial and have no ideological texture—all the same, the soul, conscience and honor do exist. Without them man will perish. They contain the basic meaning of human life and cannot be abolished.

But let us return to the story of the relationship between Bekhterev and Stalin—if, of course, such a relationship existed. Here is the legend one hears.

Some party activists opposed to Stalin came to Vladimir Mikhaylovich and asked to present their view concerning the state of the leader's psyche. They presented Bekhterev certain information and gave him the opportunity to talk with several people related to Stalin. As a result the courageous and honorable doctor stated that Stalin could impart tremendous harm to society by virtue of his abnormal suspiciousness, lack of sensitivity, and uncritical attitude towards his personal failings. In a less important post he might be a relatively harmless and inoffensive individual, although obsessed with a sickly ambition and thoughts of his own greatness. The future linguistic genius found out about Bekhterev's expertise and ordered the scientist-scholar to be liquidated.

I have spoken with many people who knew Bekhterev well, with his relatives in both the Khrushchev and Brezhnev years, and they all invariably state that Stalin killed Bekhterev—not he himself, of course, but through his assistants.

They said that Bekhterev participated in certain consultations regarding Stalin's health—not in connection with the leader's mental state, but with regard to his strokes, loss of use of his hands, and other neurological disorders. They invited Bekhterev not as a psychiatrist (and in fact he was not a psychiatrist), but as a neuropathologist. All of the participants in these consultations are long dead. In all probability the consultations, held at the end of the 1920's, gave the tyrant an uncomfortable feeling.

Having gotten rid of Bekhterev, Stalin decided that doctors could get rid of him just as easily. Stalin used obedient doctors to remove Lenin from his active role in due course, and we cannot rule out the possibility that this curtailed Lenin's life. Stalin was therefore able to disbelieve doctors, knowing that they can be a weapon in the hands of political enemies.

The puzzling death of M. Frunze, brilliantly described by B. Pilnyak in his "Tales of the Uneclipsed Moon," a death the author accuses Stalin and Voroshilov of being

involved in, would also not provide any support for Stalin's "love" of doctors. And then he launched the "doctors' plot" towards the end of his life, worthy of the gloomiest episodes of the Middle Ages.

But none of the millions of healthy and educated people who heard about the diagnosis supposedly made regarding Stalin by Vladimir Mikhaylovich Bekhterev exclaimed at that time: "The tyrant is a madman! Bekhterev has warned us!"

And this is the point—that neither during Stalin's time nor a quarter of a century after his death did anyone consider him to be mentally ill. Never did he consult a psychiatrist—neither before nor after his accession to power. Hitler was checked by psychiatrists many times prior to 1933, for example, and pronounced a psychopath, a personality in which normal human traits were markedly deformed and related in distorted fashion with one another.

Stalin did nothing to his own detriment. He subjected everything to his personal whims and nightmarish thirst for power. He killed people, concerned not with the country or communism but only with how to remain in power. The most a psychiatrist can say is that Stalin's life was the life of a psychopath, a special psychopath not like anyone else.

These lines were written by the organizational committee secretary of a scientific conference conducted in Moscow in November 1971. Prominent at the conference was Vladimir Nikolayevich Myasishchev, a leading Soviet psychologist, psychiatrist and psychotherapist, and close student of Bekhterev. For about 30 years he headed the Psycho-Neurological Institute of Scientific Research imeni Bekhterev. Following the conference, at which Myasishchev spoke with brilliance, I accompanied him home and asked about the death of his teacher.

The professor responded in this manner:

"In December 1927 Bekhterev was sent to Moscow to participate in meetings with psychologists, neuro-pathologists and psychiatrists. Just prior to his departure from Leningrad he received a telegram from the Medical and Sanitary Administration in the Kremlin requesting that he call their office immediately upon arriving in Moscow. Bekhterev made the call and was then directed to proceed to the Kremlin.

Bekhterev arrived extremely late at the meetings and one of the delegates asked what had detained him so long. Bekhterev replied irritably—in the presence of several others:

'I was examining a certain paranoid who has problems with the use of his hands.'

Either one of those present reported the incident as he was supposed to do, or Bekhterev's fate was already preordained, for several hours after uttering these words he died unexpectedly. He was physically very strong and had complained of nothing. His unexpected death astonished everyone and many began to suspect something wrong."

"Well, what did the autopsy show? You can't be buried without an autopsy."

"There was no autopsy."

"What?"

"After that session Vladimir Mikhaylovich went with the other delegates to the Bolshoi Theater. Some men came up to him there—they were not delegates and no one knew them. They led the doctor into a buffet where he began eating some kind of sandwiches. Then these people vanished and no one saw them again. Bekhterev passed away that night and was cremated in the morning. There was no autopsy and his urn was sent to Leningrad that evening."

"What about Bekhterev's brain?"

"His brain was embalmed and sent to Leningrad, to the Institute imeni Bekhterev. The fact is, not long before his death Bekhterev proposed that the brains of prominent individuals not be destroyed so they could be studied."

I continued to gather evidence on Bekhterev's death.

In November 1985, the Second Session of Latvian SSR Neuropathologists, Neurosurgeons and Psychiatrists took place in Riga. In attendance was the elder Leningrad psychiatrist Georgiy Viktorovich Zenevich. Somehow we wound up wandering the streets of old Riga. In spite of his very advanced age, Professor Zenevich retained a high energy level and a clear head. When I asked him about Bekhterev's demise, he recounted what I had already heard from Myasishchev.

In October 1987 I was in Leningrad and went to see Professor A. Shereshevskiy. Avgust Moiseyevich is a prominent Soviet psychiatric historian, and he too told me what I already knew.

Not long before his death, Vladimir Mikhaylovich became a widow and remarried. His new wife turned out to be a distant relative of the then all-powerful Genrikh Grigoryevich Yagoda. It is said she truly loved her husband and tried to steer harm away from him. But soon after Bekhterev's death she disappeared without a trace...

Following Bekhterev's death, almost all his relatives living in the USSR were subject to repression and perished in the endless GULAG Archipelago. Among

those surviving, fortunately, were a granddaughter of the doctor, today a world famous physiologist and academician, Natalya Petrovna Bekhtereva.

Stalin is guilty of the deaths of a multitude of innocent people, and this is corroborated by irrefutable facts. For him, therefore, the killing of Bekhterev would be a natural continuation of his life line—nothing was impossible when it came to this. Be that as it may, the legend of Bekhterev's death is so much closer to fact than the legend of the death of Mozart at the hand of Salieri.

The Mozart-Saleri conflict is the eternal conflict of talent versus envy. The conflict between Bekhterev and Stalin is altogether different. It is the struggle of freedom against slavery, of free thought against unified thought, of honor against treachery. Bekhterev always distinguished himself by virtue of his steadfast courage. Not only did he speak beautifully—he lived beautifully. He lived as he preached, never bending his soul. This was an internationalist (he defended Mendel Beylis when a tsarist court wanted to declare him guilty of using the blood of a Christian infant, and thereby launch mass pogroms against the Jews). He always took up a militant humanistic position. Here was a tribune with a tremendous social temperament.

In other words, Bekhterev was a potential enemy of that administrative-bureaucratic system which Stalin created.

[19 Nov p 4]

[Text] Many individuals, clearly psychopaths, were not always hospitalized by psychiatrists. And it happened that these people brought tremendous harm to society. But there were also vastly different instances.

On 29 May 1970, Zhores Aleksandrovich Medvedev, the famous biochemist, gerontologist and columnist from Obninsk who authored the first basic works exposing the Lysenko phenomenon, was forcibly removed to the Kaluzhskaya Oblast Psychiatric Hospital, an event which agitated progressive society. V. Kaverin, M. Romm, A. Sakharov, A. Tvardovskiy, V. Tendryakov and many others demanded Medvedev's immediate release. And on 17 June of that year Medvedev was discharged.

This arrest marks the beginning of a new chapter in the history of Soviet psychiatry. True, prior to this time people were dispatched to psychiatric hospitals for reasons more political than medical (as was the case with S. Kirov's widow, for example), but after 1970 this was done more frequently.

As society is, so is science. But what proceeds from defects of the era and what from the defects of certain people or clans of people? Hasn't psychiatry become a

victim of those same circumstances which brought our country to the brink of disaster—from which it firmly intends to break away following April and the 27th CPSU Congress?

Like the representatives of any profession, psychiatrists are children of their times. They repeat the mistakes and delusions of society. Only some, like physicists and writers, teachers and columnists, are able to move forward and warn society out loud of the disasters which threaten. It is impossible to demand that psychiatrists one and all be like Jordano Bruno or Galileo. Among them, like among representatives of any profession, the heroes are all known by their names.

But heroes are people of great courage, unafraid to move forward in defiance of events—that's the way it was, is, and always will be. I cannot help but recall Elmar Johanovich Kara, for many decades a chief psychiatrist in the Estonian Health Ministry, who displayed particular heroism in the years of the last war. The fact is that the Nazis annihilated mentally ill people, and did this with the help of the doctors themselves, ordering them to draw up lists of those considered incurable. There was no country seized by Hitler in which the doctors failed to heed fascist demands; nowhere did sick people manage to be saved. But not a single sick person was killed in Estonia. When they ordered Professor Kara to draw up a list of incurable people he refused. Moreover, he moved his living quarters to the hospital (along with his wife and son), and declared that if they were going to kill the invalids they would also have to kill him and his family. The fascist commandant decided this was a whim of sorts and believed the stubborn fool would soon abandon his idea. But it didn't work that way—Kara held out until the republic was liberated. He sacrificed his life for people who were not even able to appraise his deed. That's how a psychiatrist should be.

Candidate of medical sciences Anatoliy Ivanovich Koryagin was arrested in Kharkov at the end of the 1970's. Koryagin publicly opposed declaring dissidents mentally ill on the grounds that these people were advocating their views—which, by the way, later resounded from the rostrums of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Doctor Koryagin was released only after the 27th Party Congress.

The heroes we have cited, however, as well as others not mentioned, are people moving forward, all the same. They are found in all spheres of our lives—you can find them in the schools and institutions. The names of these progressive champions are also well known in our country.

In the schools, like in medicine, thousands and thousands of our honest and conscientious colleagues find inspiration in their example. But how many people are there still among us who personally carry the heavy load of the ailments of our recent past—instinctive fear when

confronted by a stern glance, gesture or shout by authorities? The situation in medicine is more familiar to me as a doctor, the examples more real.

Let us say the gorkom secretary phones, or the chief of police, and berates the head doctor, saying he's got madmen on the loose there—just look at the books. When the doctor tries to defend himself, when he recalls the Hippocratic Oath, he is immediately cut short—you do not contradict the authorities, otherwise they will expel you and you'll go off to the district as an internist. And so they subject themselves to every whim of the local authorities. Often they have really messed up. And the uproar resounds all over the world—Soviet psychiatry is punitive, as it were. And no matter how many times the USSR Health Ministry tells psychiatrists not to succumb to pressure from ignorant non-professionals, the effort has no effect—Moscow is a long ways away and their own gorkom secretary is right nearby.

But in addition to the pressure exerted on psychiatrists by non-medical organizations and individuals, there is something else which plays a decisive role here—the demoralization of psychiatry itself, which led to the Lysenko phenomenon making itself felt for a long time—and even today this has not been entirely eliminated.

A favorite topic of Lysenko advocates was the chimera of one disease turning into another—neuroses into psychopathy, one form of schizophrenia into another, opposite form. Until recently, entire institutes of psychiatry seriously discussed these hypotheses which have never been proven by anyone.

The Lysenko people attempted to replace science with their own pseudo-scientific structures and explained all of this through dialectic materialism. They behaved as though they knew something about those matters which are not understood and which will never be accessible to the ordinary man. Real scientists understood immediately what was going on here and disavowed the Lysenko school. Arguments still flared up for a time at many psychiatrists' meetings and conferences, but they were later extinguished on their own. Life does not support chimera. It takes no special intelligence to draw up hypotheses, but checking them out is a more complex matter.

On such hypothesis remained afloat for quite some time...

Back in 1937 G. Sukhareva published a unique work. She wrote about different types of schizophrenia progression, taking general medical principles as the basis for her observations and conclusions. It has long been known that every illness on earth can progress through fits or attacks, periodically, continuously, or a combination of these.

The fact that schizophrenia, like any other disease, can progress in a variety of ways is evident to any doctor. The rate of progression can also vary. But if the rate is very delayed or the dynamics of the disease are completely undetected, if there are few symptoms, then can it be said this is schizophrenia in the traditional sense?

Supporters of these views stated that, no matter what the rate of progression, it is schizophrenia all the same. "Everything progresses, everything changes. Today it is one progression, tomorrow—another. The dialectic!" they argued. But if this is how we are to understand schizophrenia, then we can diagnose it in all the heroes of this article, and in its author and all its readers.

But under conditions of general, unified thought, things were not easy for those who dissented. Since time immemorial one's position has been respected in Russia—the higher the position, the more correct the person seemed to be. In the middle of the 19th century, writer A. Nikitenko uttered sadly that in Russia if you do not serve, you were not born; when you leave service, you have died. Those who served in rank lived in clover, at the expense of great detriment to other people.

It is psychiatrists themselves who, during the Brezhnev era, slipped the idea to leaders of punitive agencies that anyone who comes out in opposition to—it doesn't matter what—simply in opposition, is latently or overtly mentally ill. More often than not the person is psychopathic or someone with slowly progressing schizophrenia.

In order to diagnose a mental illness, a doctor must not only possess professional skills and knowledge, but a heart and conscience as well. Well, if some academicians provide the example of how to avoid listening to one's heart, then ordinary doctors could have it all over them!

The authorities had heard enough—"We don't have dissidents—we have insane people."

Unscrupulous people never failed to take advantage of this—some gave diagnoses of schizophrenia to keep a criminal out of prison. Unfortunately, there are also many narrow-minded people among psychiatrists. People who have become accustomed to slavery can hardly be expected to quickly stand up straight. But those who are now growing up, those who are 15-18 years old today—it is they who constitute the hope of our country. We must remember this! We must work for the sake of this! Of course, even today it is not easy for every one of us to pursue a clear and pure goal. Three years of glasnost have still not changed all the masses, grown accustomed to unconditional obedience. The 27th CPSU Congress has given us all a great opportunity and we have not as yet adequately taken advantage of it.

It must be stated that the USSR Health Ministry has reacted very faithfully to criticism and the situation with regard to psychiatry has improved. New regulations were

quickly adopted, designed to improve aid to the mentally ill. Such aid is in fact improving, although slowly. We cannot help but be happy to see the appeal contained in the Address of the CPSU Central Committee to the All-Union Congress of Doctors: "To imbue in the doctor a sense of responsibility to the people and to the country, a striving to achieve professional competence, a high degree of morality and mercy—this is the main task life presents us with."

I am convinced this fully pertains to the doctor and the teacher as well. What is needed is a deep common understanding on the part of all of us, a consistent effort towards the achievement of genuine perestroika and the rekindling of honor, conscience and truth. We must completely get rid of the Stalin-Brezhnev vulgarity—from our lives and from our hearts.

Were Stalin alive during the Brezhnev era and had he expressed the views he propagandized prior to 1917, he would not escape a special psychiatric hospital. Perhaps then there would not have been a 1937? Yes, there would—only without Stalin. It would have been under the name of some other leader.

On 25 June 1988, not far from the Moscow subway's Rechnoy Vokzal [River Station], a rally of many thousand people took place, and the question was discussed of erecting a memorial dedicated to the victims of the Stalin repression. Speakers included Ales Adamovich, Yuriy Afanasyev, Yuriy Karyakin, Elem Klimov, and other prominent individuals. The speech of Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov was met with a storm of applause. Many victims of the Stalin and Brezhnev repressions made speeches. This was a gathering not only of the victims of totalitarianism, but of those who fought against it. For the rest of my life I will remember the moving, unforgettable vision of this rally. The passion and conviction with which people spoke! And the Stalin-Brezhnev psychiatrists would number some of them among the schizophrenics and foresee the rapid advent of feeble-mindedness.

They were wrong, consciously wrong. This must be acknowledged. And these mistakes must not be repeated—i.e., we must not give in to threatening sounds and significant head-nodding from above. We must not bow to idols and erroneous authority.

Public Opinion Poll Documents Major Concerns

18300307a Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 1, 6-12 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by A. Krivoruchko: "What Is Behind the Problems?"]

[Text] **What are the most burning social issues facing our society today?** This question was put to 1,136 Moscovites during a regular telephone survey conducted by a group dealing with prospective problems of the social development at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of

Sociology at the request of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. Out of the seven social problems offered for consideration, our respondents were to choose one or two which they regard as the most important.

- 50.2 percent consider the improvement of the medical services as the most urgent problem;
- 44.2 percent, supply of foodstuffs;
- 37.6 percent, the solution of the housing problem;
- 30.3 percent, the fight against unearned income;
- 28.2 percent, reform of the pension system;
- 26.1 percent, better supply of industrial goods;
- 21.2 percent, improvement of relations between nationalities.

What is behind these figures?

Responses regarding the condition of the medical services embrace mainly two aspects: first, the quality of medical services and medicine in general, and its backwardness: "there are too few doctors of high qualification"; "treatment is bad"; "outpatient departments work outrageously bad". Secondly, "a bad attitude of doctors toward the patients" "indifference" "heartless attitude" on the part of medical workers and a lack of respect for the sick people.

The problem of improving the supply of foodstuffs embraces the following three aspects: quality, distribution and lines. "The main thing is not abundance but quality". "I never buy bologna at all, you can't eat it." "All the diseases come from food products. We have to eat a lot of chemical substances." This and similar comments were made by Moscovites to accompany their responses.

Most of the respondents put emphasis not so much on the quality of the products but on the wrong, according to their opinion, distribution, and "not only in Moscow, but in the country as a whole," "from city to city." The problem of the waiting lines is closely connected with this, which causes social tension, resentment towards "out-of-Moscow arrivals, since "during the daytime you have to stand in lines and can't buy anything in the evening."

The housing problem. Here the "surplus living space," "vacant housing space" or "speculation in apartments" came to the fore. The respondents made a proposal that "each executive committee should review its housing fund and make a record of surplus housing space."

Special importance was given to the problem of providing accommodation to young families who "should receive at least the keys to a room, in order to avoid divorces caused by living together with the parents." They also stressed the necessity to "enlist the help of those who need housing in construction of the housing."

In spite of the fact that the fight against unearned income came up only fourth, it solidly occupied the leading position according to the emotional heat of the replies of the respondents. The Moscovites called unearned income the "root of evil," "the source of all our troubles," "the scourge of our society." "The most important thing is to control earnings"; "the solution of this problem will affect all other problems"; "if we do away with swindlers, the country will prosper."

The reason behind this strong emotional outburst on the part of the respondents is explained by the fact that unearned income is regarded by them (and they're justified in that) as the source of property differentiation in society which doesn't correspond to one's contribution to the public production.

As to the pension problem, the respondents highlighted practically its single aspect, the size of the pensions. Most of the respondents think that pensions are too low and you cannot "live on them." According to the respondents' opinion, the pensions received by those people who worked before the war and those of the collective farmers are especially low.

This problem gave rise to the greatest number of proposals which can be grouped in the following manner: increase the size of the pension considering the rise in prices; to cut down on unjustified pensions; not to reduce the pension of those pensioners who continue working; when determining the size of the pension, take into account not only the salary but also the length of the work record; to calculate the size of the pension according to the salary in the past ten years; take into account the number of children that were raised in the family.

In the supply of industrial goods, the problem of the quality is again on the front burner. The complaints against "very low quality" make up one half of the elaborate answers on this issue. Almost one third of the respondents pointed to the unavailability of a "whole number of goods" including those "for elderly people" such as footwear and underwear. The most common complaints are "there's nothing on the shelves," "there's nothing to buy," "things that are available are very expensive." However the concrete proposals made by the respondents are of an abstract nature.

Apart from evaluating the importance of the seven social issues offered for their consideration, our respondents additionally singled out other problems which, according to them, are not less important for our society at the present time.

They can be grouped into the following:

- condition of the economy as a whole, 30.5 percent;
- condition of public mores, ideology, cultural education, 14.5 percent;
- youth problems, (job placement, leisure time, morals), 13 percent;
- alcoholism and drug addiction, 11.5 percent;
- reform of the political system, 9.1 percent;
- other problems (education, family and child care, crime, environmental protection), 21.4 percent.

The overwhelming majority of comments were made on general economic issues, including pay for work, the rise in prices and the quality of goods. In this situation the proposals made by the respondents are the most far reaching. "Introduction of real cost accounting"; "matching jobs with labor resources"; "overcoming the estrangement of property"; "development of cooperative and corporate types of property along with the state property, reducing the latter's role".

It is noteworthy that the problem of the ideological education and overcoming of social apathy and "philistinism" was not only raised by our respondents independently, but came to take one of the leading places, following immediately the economic problems. The necessity for "a new way of thinking," "new consciousness," "good ideology" without which "it will be difficult further on," and also "raising the spiritual level of the people," "our morale and morals" is profoundly realized by the respondents as "the most crucial, the most topical of our tasks."

Computerization of UkSSR Schoolrooms Profiled
18110035a Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in
Ukrainian 28 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by V. Chopenko, "When Will the Computer Come to the Classroom?"]

[Text] A course entitled "Fundamentals of Information Science and Computer Technology" was added to the school curriculum in 1985. The purpose of course is to form the knowledge, ability, and skills essential for practical utilization of the personal computer (PC). Academician A. P. Yershov, who was in charge of the project, stated at the time: "It would be wonderful if over the next five years we could establish a computer classroom in every rayon in the country. This means approximately 5,000 schools—schools which can be visited without buying an airplane ticket." A most modest goal. Why? Did it proceed from realistic capabilities? Soviet computer hardware—the Korvet and the Elektronika UKNTs—is less than state-of-the-art and is manufactured in small quantities. Judge for yourselves. In 1985

Ukrainian schools received 35 installations (an installation consists of an instructor's terminal and 10-16 student terminals), 90 in 1986, plus an additional 100 installations over the two following years. In order to fill in the gap we must resort to the purchase of Japanese Yamahas, for hard currency, of course. Because without the hardware we are like a horseback rider competing in an auto race.

In this republic there are 400 computer display classrooms for 9,200 secondary schools. The number is a little larger if we count the computer centers of patron organizations and at base enterprises, and computer classrooms at teachers' secondary schools, at pedagogic higher educational institutions, and at oblast advanced teacher training institutes, to which upper-graders also have access. This fails to solve the problem, however.

The shortage of personal computers has resulted in a so-called "chalk" information science. Wherever computers are lacking, teachers resort to chalk and blackboard. But how can one teach the structure of a computer without graphic aids? Are students going to master without graphic devices algorithmic thinking, the pattern of which differs substantially from the graphic pattern which is produced by the subjects of the school curriculum?

When we talk about the computer in the schools, we are talking not only about "fundamentals of information science..." but about overall computerization of the learning process.

But for this one must have instructional software, without which a computer is nothing but a telephone with a severed cord. But there was no coordinating center in this country which could guide both the methodological and practical activities of computer enthusiasts or could produce software and teaching methods materials at the national level. "Individual developers" captured the national market. This chorus of voices also included Kievans—the interministerial laboratory of the former UkSSR Ministry of Education and the Republic Academy of Sciences for study of electronic computer and microprocessor hardware in the school, headed by V. D. Dolyna. The laboratory has in fact become a republic scientific development center for this new curriculum course. In order to establish a more solid and lasting connection, the relationship was formally articulated in the form of development contracts with leading pedagogic higher educational institutions in the Ukraine. Laboratory personnel, although this was not part of their duties, approved and certified at educational institutions software which had been written at individual schools. It is interesting to note that upper-graders themselves made corrections and changes in the programs. The most actively-involved students became co-authors of the software packages.

One should bear in mind that the "Information Science" applications software which the schools receive from central sources are standard packages. For this reason each teacher and his students endeavor to modify them, to enrich them with their own innovations. The degree of

sophistication and the general applicability of the applications packages are evaluated by a team of experts from the national Algorithms and Teaching Software Fund. By the end of this year a regional fund will also be established in the Ukraine. Prominently figuring in this fund will be software developed by students at schools No 132 and 1145 in Kiev.

Universal computer literacy can be achieved, however, only if a sufficient number of trained teachers are available. Thus the personnel problem has become acute. Pedagogic higher educational institutions would require five years to begin turning out specialists in this new area of specialization. Education agencies were compelled hastily to set up specialized courses to provide additional training to almost 22,000 mathematics teachers and, in part, physics teachers. Even under these conditions, however, it was not possible entirely to fill in the gap. For this reason permission was given for applications programmers to take a second job in the schools, whereby they would be credited with teaching seniority. But these instructors, representing approximately 5 percent of the total, now require training in education.

It is true that the people at the UkSSR Ministry of Public Education are convinced that these problems can be resolved in the near future: at the present time 15 pedagogic higher educational institutions are training teachers who, on an equal basis with their principal subject area—physics, mathematics, and technical skills—will have an additional area of specialization—information science. And by 1990 students at all 22 pedagogic institutes in the Ukraine which have faculties of physics and mathematics will acquire an additional subject.

There is one more important problem connected with computerization of our schools—a psychological problem. There are apprehensions that the personal computer will dehumanize teaching. Or else it is asserted that the computer threatens intellectualization of pedagogic activity. It unquestionably places new demands on the teacher's professional knowledgeability, but it by no means diminishes his active role in the teaching and education process. In the usual classroom a teacher simultaneously handles two or three typological pupil subgroups, while in a computer classroom this number increases to dozens. One student, who is intellectually sharp, is a good many lessons ahead of the lesson schedule, another student, less sharp intellectually, has fallen behind, while still another has started simply playing with the computer. And the instructor must keep an eye on all of them. It is precisely the individual pace of advance which forces a teacher to work in a mode similar to the operator of multiple machine tools.

Specialists are also concerned by another question: what is the best age at which to introduce children to electronics? The answer is as follows: the earlier a youngster becomes accustomed to computerization, the easier and faster he overcomes the psychological barrier. There is

one essential condition: he must be able to read. So are information science classes gradually to appear on the class schedule of the intermediate grades, and later in the youngest grades as well?

"Of course!" V. D. Dolyna is convinced. "There is already now a reasonable basis for introducing the Fundamentals of Information Science course beginning with the seventh grade. For three years now our laboratory has been conducting an experiment with six-year-olds. The results are gratifying. The children feel comfortable in front of the computer display and affectionately call the computer their friend. In my opinion we have many reasons for concern in this country. In Bulgaria, for example, today there is not a single schoolchild who has not worked with the Pravets or IMKO personal computers, which were designed specifically for instructional needs. The country's best poets, artists, layout designers, and journalists have produced for the youngest children a school textbook on fundamentals of contact with the PC. In Bulgaria for six years now they have been teaching even kindergartners familiarization with electronics. And yet in this country we have restrictions: provisional recommendations permit a child to spend only 25 minutes a week in front of a computer display, and yet children sit for hours in front of a TV set, which is much more harmful than a PC display as regards static charges, radiation emissions, and eye fatigue."

Valentyn Dmytrovych is right: with these restrictions it is hardly likely that schoolchildren will soon master the capabilities of computers. Presently existing supercomputers perform operations to the extent of six brain cells (and these number 14 billion). The Japanese neurocomputer made by Fujitsu, which will "think" independently and act autonomously, is equivalent in its capabilities to 100,000 nerve cells. This is a symbiosis of biotechnology and electronics. While we were in the process of developing and adopting 8-bit personal computers, they became totally obsolete. And yet we are going to be using these machines to teach not today's but tomorrow's schoolchildren, those who will become engineers in the 21st century.

I shall end my not very optimistic remarks with parting words quoted from the already-mentioned Academician A. P. Yershov: "We are launching a great ship named 'School Information Science'. It is the task of each and every one of us to rig and fit this ship out, to safeguard its buoyancy and maneuverability, to keep up with it and to transport our children and grandchildren aboard this ship into the 21st century fully prepared for future, truly epochal changes...." You and I are the helmsmen of this giant ship. It depends on us whether it makes its way out to sea or runs aground on a shoal.

Tajikistan Deals With Infant Mortality From Crop Defoliant Pollution

18300358 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA special correspondents A. Karpov and S. Tutorskaya: "Is It Easy to Be Little? The Struggle Against Infant Mortality in Tajikistan"]

[Text] The road stretched through the Vakhshsk Valley. To the left and right were white clumps of cotton, the quick movement of hands, and the bright kerchiefs and

dresses of the cotton pickers. Cotton picking in Khatlon-skaya oblast was in full swing. A tiny airplane circled the field, getting closer and then farther away.

Gradually we began to sense a strange odor. Our fellow travellers, Tajik doctors, explained that this is very fine dust of a defoliant. Recently they tried to spray the defoliant from the ground in one of these rayons. This is less harmful to the health. Then the sovkhoz workers themselves went to the administrators and asked that the spraying be done in the old way, from an airplane. That way, they said, the leaves would fall off more quickly and the earnings of the cotton pickers would be greater.

...For many years they have told us that the arable regions of Central Asia are heaven on earth. When it came time to take a sober look, it turned out that this heaven is quite fragile. For over 6 months there have been extremal temperatures in this heaven—an ideal medium for any infection.

Also, despite the active search for water resources, there is still a shortage of drinking water. The encroachment of chemistry continues. We might add that in recent years at the initiative of the republic's "Selkhozkhimiya", the dimensions of the sanitary-protective zones around the population centers were reduced. All this, as well as the low household sanitation conditions and too frequent childbirth have a very direct effect on the health and viability of newborn infants. It is the most tender and most precious—the child—who suffers from the distortions of the adult world.

The Alarm: a Hungry Child

Last year a unified program of care for mothers and children was adopted in the republic. Considerable funds are being allocated for free meals supplied to children and mothers. There are plans to build new health treatment centers. But for the time being...for now the construction of a republic children's hospital is successfully being put off from one year to the next. The situation with the staffing of obstetricians and and pediatricians is difficult. And, while in the preceding 10 years the infant mortality rate has been reduced to one-half its previous number, today it is difficult to achieve even one-tenth of a percentage point a year. Out of every 1000 children born today, 49 do not reach the age of 1 year. Only Turkmenia is ahead of us in this indicator.

It seems that the relationship is not quite fully understood. Ten percent of the success in treating young children and nursing them back to health depends on the doctore, and the other ninety percent—on the social conditions.

Many families need help in improving the nourishment of children. Last summer a surprise visit by a team of doctors and workers from the local TV [not further expanded] investigated the care of children in the

Ashtskiy rayon of Leninabad oblast. They discovered that at one of the farms the nursery schools had been allocated only 1 kilogram of meat in 3 months. The youngsters' diet did not include any eggs or vegetables. Yet there are many prosperous farms in the republic. It would seem, for example, that they would be interested in the experience of the Transcarpathians and Vinnitsy Oblast, where the kolkhozes are building new hospitals, participating in meeting all their needs, and organizing meals for the children.

The scientists of the Scientific-Research Institute for Protection of Mothers and Children have checked the questionnaire survey of mothers whose children died under 1 year of age. The overwhelming majority had an income of 50 rubles or less for each person in the family. Over 4/5 of these mothers did not know the standards of sanitation and hygiene. When they feel ill, they do not go to see a doctor. They have only a vague concept of family planning.

Today the children who are suffering from anemia and exhaustion receive free meals and their mothers receive food and iron supplements. But does the food get down to every child? Today this question concerns not only doctors and nurses, but also Soviet and party organizations and the community. This is not a campaign and not a measure, but work for a long time.

Isfara. A Small But Firm Step Forward

In the Isfarinskiy rayon the infant mortality is lower than in other rural rayons of the republic. Here over half the population receives purified drinking water. One more water line is being built. When it goes into operation, the problem of drinking water will be solved.

We visited a newly built children's hospital which serves the entire rayon. It had 280 beds for children and 20 for mothers (the health of mother and child is corrected simultaneously). For over 10 years now there has been extensive work with women. They are taught to properly care for their children. Generally, the doctor sees the sick children at home. One thing is bad: the Gosagroprom provides almost no help for the medical personnel. Out of 8 planned milk kitchens in the rayon, only one has been built—by the Millionaire kolkhoz imeni Lenin. Generally, food for the children is prepared under poor conditions. This is a source of constant worry for the practical hygiene physicians. Last summer epidemiologists from the Ukraine came to help, and their help was tangible.

The doctors of other rayons in the republic will not be offended—here even aid falls on a better prepared soil. Here are the facts: The doctors of Leninabad Oblast are very successfully treating children with special solutions in cases of acute intestinal illnesses (according to the methodology of the WHO). It is specifically here that last year the All-Union Conference of Physicians on Rehydration was held. Also, the local doctors have huge

practical experience. Dodokhon Abdurashidov is the chief physician of the rural walk-in clinic at the Kolkhoz imeni Kuybyshev in Isfarinskiy rayon. There are 4,500 children under his care. The four pediatricians (according to the norm, 5 are required) are almost always out making the rounds, always seeing children. That is the only way to identify an illness in its early stages.

Isfara has not escaped the general misfortune—the scarcity of medicine and medical apparatus. In the republic's only new children's hospital which we visited there was a shortage of many things—incubators for nursing premature infants, disposable syringes, and sterilization equipment.

In this very same Isfara, however, they were able to equip a huge polyclinic with a good pediatric section, which would be the envy of many large cities. A child with infantile cerebral palsy can be given a free course of treatment here—a massage. Any kind of physical therapy procedure, good stomatology with up-to-date filling materials—all these are at the disposal of mothers and children.

The Route of Water Is Long, and a Few Words About the Residual Principle in Pediatrics

In Dzhilikul of Khatlonsk oblast the concerns of the physicians are different. The obstetrician at a rayon hospital, Shakhrinso Lutfullayeva, (blue cap, drawn face—she delivered a child last night and stayed on duty for the day shift) shows us her belongings. They are not great—20 obstetrical beds. The women are satisfied that they receive good care. The department, which is located in an old added-on part of the building, sparkles with its cleanliness. The repairs were done recently by the doctors themselves, and at their own expense. The paint is fresh. This is not only attractive. It is one of the conditions of sterility. It is a pity that there is no running water in the department. It has to be brought in. But that is not all, sighs Shakhrinso. We have no room to set up an operating room here. If there are complications at birth, the woman must be taken to the village of Goroukty, which is 20 kilometers away. She may not get there in time...

We decided to take this trip, which is not a short one even if one does not feel bad. The new hospital was built in the village a year ago. The walls have already cracked (there was an earthquake here), and have had to be reinforced with metallic armature. Here on the third floor is the surgery department, where the expectant mothers are brought in cases with complications. There is a water line here, but the priority of the hospital for water is last. When there is water, it does not get up to the third floor, because the pump is not strong enough. The hospital's chief physician, Abdullo Abdurasulov, is nothing short of a hydrotechnical specialist. Necessity has been his teacher. Every day he inspects the water line to see that water is not being taken away from the patients.

Later he told us: When we went to Goroukty, the order was urgently given to supply water to the hospital there. Yet when we spoke with the doctors, the water in the faucets was already drying up. As it turned out, they took it away for irrigation...

Returning to Dzhilikul, we visited the infectious diseases department of the rayon hospital. The patients, and children among them, are housed in wood barracks which because of their age were vacated by a school. There is no water. It is questionable whether or not there will be heat in the wintertime. Patients suffering from typhoid fever and hepatitis are housed in the same building (which is categorically prohibited!). They were hurriedly washing the floor for our arrival at the "medical center". A clever little nurse was rinsing the rag in a dirty puddle outside.

The conversation with R. Dovlyatshoyev, deputy chairman of the raysoviet ispolkom, proceeded with difficulty. Undoubtedly, he is trying to facilitate the position of the hospitals. It is not easy for him to bring about order in a rayon where only 3 percent of the population drinks purified and decontaminated water. However, Rezvansho Dovlyatshoyevich was not able to fully explain one thing: How could the ispolkom have brought itself to house its social provision department on the hospital territory in the children's section, evicting from it half of the little children? This is truly a residual principle in pediatrics...

We were seen off by a sort of monumental masterpiece of architecture. Above a tawdry patchwork quilt hung from the barracks, above the hospital propped up on supports and with no water, from among the old buildings (including the ispolkom) and the add-ons there towered the marble multi-story building of the Dzhilikulskiy party raykom.

Visiting Teams, Team Members, Advisers

For the second summer a visiting team is working in the republic. These are doctors, nurses, and epidemiologists, primarily from Zaporozhye, Melitopol, and Poltava. For the second year, with the financial support of the All-Union Children's Fund, the USSR Ministry of Health is sending doctors to help in this region. They come in the most difficult months, when the number of intestinal illnesses among children increases. It is generally recognized that the local doctors work fairly well, but they are terribly overworked (in spite of the extremal heat). An obstetrician here delivers 4-5 times more babies than his colleague in the European part of the country. Pediatricians are just as overworked.

This is the result of incorrect distribution of specialists, which has developed for decades according to purely formal criteria. The number of obstetricians and pediatricians was planned for the "average bed space", but not for the actual birth rate and number of children. The

republic ranks 11th in the country in terms of its provision with pediatricians. Today, new regional programs have finally been developed which consider the local peculiarities. However, it is difficult to immediately change the difficult situation which has been formulated over a period of many years. To demand immediate reports on favorable changes means to push doctors into false reporting. Also, the situation cannot be corrected by administrative reprimands alone.

We were told with peculiar pride that not a single case of infant mortality is concealed. There is a difficult return to the elementary norms of professional ethics and professional duty, which have been neglected for many years.

We must say, the Tajik doctors perceived the visit of their colleagues differently. Some were not happy about it ("it would have been better if they had given us this money"). Of course, not everything is yet well organized in the work of these visiting teams. Beginning with their duration of stay—it should be not 45 days, they justly believe here, but longer. Not all rayons received those specialists for which they had the most acute shortage (and why not coordinate ahead of time and agree precisely on who was expected and what the conditions were to be). Here is an excerpt from the report of the current visiting team, approved by the Tajikistan Ministry of Health. A Ukrainian resuscitation team was working in the intensive therapy ward of the Kurgan-Tyubinsk hospital. In 45 days they saved 40 severely ill, dying children, and lost 2. And furthermore: A team of medical workers from Simferopol and Kherson acted skillfully and decisively in liquidating mass food poisoning in the city of Kommunisticheskii. There are many such examples.

They all present summaries. The participants of the visiting team tell with concern that the hospitals here, which already quite often find themselves in difficult conditions, have a shortage of medicine and equipment. They noted also the unquestionable influence of the difficult ecological situation on the health of the children. The Ukrainian doctors offer to bring medicine and laboratory equipment next year. Yet they notice also that the local doctors, alas, have gotten accustomed to many things and have stopped noticing many things. "They bring in a dying child who has lost about half of his body weight," tells a doctor who is a member of the visiting team, "and the mother says that this began 'yesterday'. Where, we might ask, was the pediatrician?" And, here the "bureaucrats from the center" are not at fault. Just as in the following situation: For 700 births a month the hospital receives only 2,000 diapers. And when a nursing infant who has fallen ill with an intestinal disorder was brought in in serious condition with cuts on his stomach ("to let out the bad blood", the mother would justify), for this we were simply not prepared.

We must prepare for some "specifics". This is why the decision was made to establish duties of permanent specialists in pediatrics, answerable only to the Union

Ministry of Health. They are called advisors. For their additional work load they are paid by the All-Union Children's Fund. One such advisor, Igor Alekseyevich Melentyev, is successfully working in Leninabad. He has extensive experience, a knowledge of the local conditions, and initiative. They are happy with his work.

But what about the scientists of the republic's Scientific-Research Institute for the Protection of Mother and Child? They occupy leading positions and give very correct recommendations. And then...they happily go off on vacation during the most difficult time, when the infectious disease rate in the republic is at its peak and little children are dying. That is how it was this year too. Yet is it not logical—each visiting team should be assigned a specialist from the local institute so he can apprise them of the situation as quickly as possible? For comparison let us note: In Kirghizia in July, August and September all vacations for pediatricians have been cancelled. Since the struggle with infant mortality is proceeding so slowly, it should be treated as a war.

Stop the Music, Or, Who Will Build the FAP?

It would seem to be clear: the kolkhozes. Yet almost everywhere, wherever we went, except possibly for Yavanskiy and Fayzabadskiy rayons, where things are going well, FAPs (surgeon's assistant-obstetrical stations) are being built poorly and slowly. What is the reason for this? We presented this question to V. Arutyunov, republic Gosagroprom deputy department head. We heard [from him] that out of 1 billion 236 million rubles allocated in this five-year plan for the development of agriculture, only 7 million is being earmarked for rural medical facilities. The construction base is weak. Yet in the republic $\frac{2}{3}$ of the population is rural, residents of kishlaks.

...You leaf through the local newspapers (almost every issue contains sharp articles: Where are the air conditioners for the pediatric sections? How are the children being fed?), you speak with the rayon leaders. And you find out: Here they have given over a new kolkhoz office building for use as the rural walk-in clinic. There they have given a dacha [summer house] for use by children. There are many such cases, although there is a certain lagging behind the neighboring Uzbekistan. Yet we still should not be too happy. Stop the music, so to speak. It is a temporary solution—and temporary is exactly what it is. This, we might add, was recently mentioned also during the general approval of physicians at the All-Union Congress. The best kolkhoz [medical] office, said the congress delegates, is not equipped for the work of an x-ray machine, for surgery, and for who knows what else that a patient needs. Often there is not even water in the buildings which are handed over for use...

The future is for model hospitals, walk-in clinics, and FAPs. Model means such a medical facility which provides everything necessary for normal diagnostics and treatment. Then it will not be necessary, as in Dzhalikul,

to take an expectant mother who is barely alive 20 kilometers away for an operation. And sick children will not have to view the landscape through holes in the walls.

The local public organizations must still take the main step to meet the doctors halfway. When the best buildings in the city and village are walk-in clinics and hospitals; when children's kitchens are housed in new, clean, model buildings, and when all maternity homes and children's hospitals are properly equipped; when the shortage of medicine in pediatrics becomes a thing of the past; when the advice of a doctor is law, and nursing personnel are properly trained—then, perhaps, we will be able to say that the protection of mother and child have really become a priority direction. Much must still be done to prepare doctors for rural areas, to see to their living conditions, so that they will not go off to the city. Then the best Tajik medical men, whose selflessness and love for children are widely known, will come to the mid-latitudes to help eliminate intestinal and other infections. And the child who is wasting away and suffering from malnutrition in peacetime will become like a semi-real remembrance of the past.

Activists In Non-Party Political Groups Profiled
18300348 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 24 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by L. Vaydman: "Trial By Perestroyka"]

[Text] "In essence, freedom is the right to be against something. In October of 1917, we began losing this freedom, which finally dwindled to nothing, and this in turn determined the entire subsequent history of our country."

She was not a naive person. She had finished her course work at Moscow University's graduate economics department, was nearly done with her dissertation, and had ten years of work experience with the republic-level Gosplan scientific and technological institute. She knew what she was talking about.

"People are born free. There is no ideology or social ideal that can compensate them for the loss of that freedom."

Much conviction, although not completely logical.

If there is no ideology or social ideal worthy of freedom, how can freedom express itself? An ideology is a system of views about politics, rights, philosophy, morality, esthetics, and religion. It thus follows that none of the ideologies now known is capable of being worthy of man. Freedom stands alone. It is absolute and immeasurable. It transcends any ideal. It rejects any effort to organize people socially, even though organization is something man, from the genetic depth of his being, has always sought.

Although they may have espoused anarchy, neither Bakunin nor Kropotkin, who rejected the state as a form of violence against the individual, intended for their ideas to conclude in the events of Makhno or total chaos. In fact, if we analyze them, we will find something quite different. In rejecting the state, they do the opposite. That is, they create their own version of how man should be socially organized.

The "something" is known as the Demokraticheskii Soyuz [Democratic Alliance] (DS) or "opposition political party." Opposition to the CPSU of course. The party's declaration contains a clear-cut claim to leadership, but from the first word gets hopelessly bogged down in its own axioms. It is a pound of ambition and a penny's worth of logic.

She was quite skeptical of both the principles laid down in the DS's program and its charter. They seemed naive, almost childish. There was no reason not to take them seriously. But her refusal to discuss them was based on purely practical considerations. She had no interest in the DS or in that same Glasnost whose proclamations were spread all over Moscow before the party conference. She had more important concerns than amateur politics. At least Sakhib Zhanabayeva did. But Nina Petrovna saw things differently.

"You want to get the truth from them, the communists? What amazing naivete. Why don't you give me the materials on your situation; we'll publish them in our magazine GLASNOST. You've heard of it, right? That's the only way you'll learn what freedom of speech and freedom of the press are, and how important they are in an enlightened world."

It was a strange meeting.

An hour earlier she had had no idea that Nina Petrovna Shumilkina even existed, or that Nina Petrovna had formerly worked at the republic-level Znaniye society and now had no particular occupation. But Nina Petrovna acted like they had known each other since childhood. And in some miraculous way, she had even located her in Moscow, with its millions of people. Even her relatives could not have known where she would end up, what she would do, and where she would go. Unlike in the past, one cannot languish in hotels.

She did not enter either Moscow State University or the economics department right away.

"I failed the first exam with a resounding bang. So much for what my dear hometown of Kayraky had taught us."

But instead of going home, she went to Leningrad, to work at KRASNYY TREUGOLNIK. Back then, they were hiring anybody they could get their hands on. There were no limits or quotas; they just needed bodies. There was simply no one to work. And work she could, since, like many people from large families, where the value of

one's daily bread is known, she had been taught since childhood to do so. Almost immediately, she began taking preparatory courses, and a year later gained admission with no trouble. No quotas and no condescension. She did it like everyone else, on an equal footing. "It is humiliating when people condescend to you because of your ethnic or other background. The only thing that makes sense is competition based on ability. Competition of background is ridiculous."

There was only one problem. There was no financial help in sight, and even a scholarship would have been tough to live on. Everything could have been much easier (except her studies), but the department did not offer any sort of encouragement. The technical mathematics department is just that way—it's a tradition. And a useful tradition at that, with a 24 hour a day schedule.

She held on for two years. Half-starved, she found ways to survive. But she realized she would not make it for three years. "I guess I could have begged for alms, although that would have looked pretty bad. A healthy person with their hand outstretched. It just isn't right."

She decided to switch to the economics department, where the burden of tradition was lighter, and where she could get a good job. But this time from the very beginning, the first year. With no money problems.

She worked as a guard, cleaning woman, and mail carrier. With her scholarship, it was enough to live.

After she got settled, she had her younger sister Bakhyt join her. "She is a talented girl, with a good head on her shoulders. In Moscow she started off at mathematics school, where she had no problem at all. Then she got admitted to the same department I had had to leave."

It seemed to her that her difficult life was perfectly natural and normal. "You have to build your life by yourself, from the ground up. Completely by yourself. That's how you find out what's really going on. You learn what's right and what's wrong, and who your friends really are."

Yet another, completely different life was being built alongside her own, and she had no idea it was even there.

At night, Sakhib would deliver telegrams and clean the rooms where visiting officials waited for their audience. She measured her output in hectares. At the same time, her countrymen, the high born sons and daughters of the rulers of her republic, used their feudal communist ideology to divide the Kazakh people into black and white, "clean" and "unclean." These scions of great families had separate rooms in the dormitories of Moscow's universities, as well as special furnishings. In addition, they use a network of couriers working in various official capacities in Moscow to obtain thousands in pocket money.

They were enrolled in the most prestigious schools, thus enabling them to meet their goal of being cultivated for leadership and brilliant careers. The future belonged to them.

A future, it seemed, that did not have a place for S.G. Zhanabayeva, from the settlement of Kayraky in the endless Sary-Arka area—a settlement known only as a refuge for political exiles and "special settlers."

"As they sometimes say in these situations, I was unbelievably lucky. The appropriate authorities in Moscow received a "document" from Alma-Ata requesting that a graduate of Moscow State University's economics department be recruited for a job in the republic. Can you believe it? It was a chance to continue what I had been studying in my last courses, and to work seriously in the field."

But the course of events took a very different turn.

They had confused her with someone whose name sounded almost the same, but which was written completely differently. Some official had heard wrong and sent the announcement to our S.G. Zhanabayeva, supposing her to be the intended recipient of the letter, a relative of a higher up in the Party central committee.

The mistake was discovered shortly thereafter, and the official who made it nearly had a coronary, but the customary formalities were already underway, the orders had been signed, and the easy ways out were all blocked. Even then, when custom should have been religiously observed, they told him: "Do what you think is best. But do it after 'careful consideration.'"

She was given the fatherly advice to "Go home," especially since it had been discovered that she was from the Karakesek clan, which did not have any top story jobs reserved for it.

But the persistent MNS [junior scientific associate] predicated these recommendations with a visit to comrade Ketebayev, who was then chairman of the republic-level Gosplan. In a telephone conversation with the subordinate director, Ketebayev expressed himself in very unambiguous terms: "How come you're hiring so indiscriminately? But if you're going to hire them, you have to follow through."

It was 1973, and it would be 16 long years before the curtain fell on this very unvaudevillian show, which had used the life-style of the time to enmire the republic in what was later known as the period of stagnation. It was the apogee of the bureaucratic system, which flourished as only it could. It even got to the point where it seemed unusual to see the coat of an official without a fashionable Gold Star "ornament" on it. And the republic's economy rumbled straight down the road to disaster.

An unusual situation developed. She was advised to return to her hometown, where economists were surely needed as well. But she asked why not having an uncle would keep her from working at the Institute in question. She received a frank answer. It would not, but only on the condition that she had an aunt.

These rejections were worded differently from the "carefully considered" ones she heard earlier, but their meaning was the same. She needed a father-in-law, brother, wife, nephew, sister-in-law, mother-in-law, or anybody, as long as there was somebody. Outsiders were not allowed at the Research Institute for Economic Planning and Quotas (NIEPiN). That was the problem.

To an outsider, it all looked pretty strange. Close relatives would go days without showing up for work, were never responsible for anything, and made a great show of working hard. But from the perspective of scholarship, their work had no more value than scratch paper.

There was also another surprising fact. As a junior scientific associate, and very recent arrival at the Institute, she was supposed to review work done by competitors who had already become part of the academic community and were seeking degrees. Her job was to identify their professional weaknesses and lack of elementary knowledge—knowledge that any diligent student should have had.

This job was the outsider's main work for a long time. For some reason, the awards for her work went to other people. And in fact, most favors went to other people, especially those who were close to Turkebayev. Doctor, professor, and distinguished figure, Turkebayev's most important quality was that he was someone's uncle's nephew. Everyone knew which one. And, because he knew what dividends it could yield, he wanted everyone to be even more aware of it.

The Nephew was in charge of much more than just favors and futures. He could determine the success or collapse of a career. For example, he could prevent one from having to wait in line for an apartment, since he could allocate one from the "director's housing stock," which he controlled like his private property. This included her, the outsider, whom he gave a "bed" in the dormitory, where she shared a room with 12 other persons. This was how a woman readying herself to have a child was treated.

Nephew or not, Turkebayev himself explained the above-mentioned matters to her, and she immediately acquired a reputation as a troublemaker. Subsequently, her "oxygen was cut off," as was fashionable to say back then. That is, her life was made almost unbearable.

We must neither exaggerate or oversimplify. Even in that time of social distortion, there were party and soviet organizations and oversight agencies at work. Swindlers got thrown in jail, idlers were fired, and things went

pretty much as they were supposed to. But only to the extent that they did not encroach on the special interests of a certain family. Nor did it make any difference whether this interest was affected directly or only indirectly, or whether the issue at hand was the untalented president of the republic-level Academy of Sciences or a rank- and-file member of a clan. The family is surrounded by a powerful force that incinerates those uninitiates who, like moths attracted to a flame, try to penetrate the inner sanctum.

The Institute, which on paper was run in accordance with the Gosplan and in fact was run by Turkebayev, was a creation of the Uncle, a first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and a personal friend of an important personage. And somehow the idealist Sakhb Zhanabayeva, who nobody knew, was placed directly in the center of this circle of people and power. Zhanabayeva, who, as she had been reminded, was a Karakesek, with no ties to the ruling clan.

She spent some time observing the activity at the Institute and evaluating its scholarship, and out of naivete offered the editors of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA an article outlining her views on the damage caused by excesses of family partisanship, the apparent collapse of institutional morals, and the flourishing of completely unscholarly interests.

We have no intention of attacking people who may have understood the situation, but whose hands were tied. The editors, aware of who was being spoken about in the article, shuddered and returned the many-paged manuscript to its author.

We have no intention of attacking them. All of us are heroes now that the reasons to fear being heroic have been eliminated.

When she realized what was going on, naive idealist Sakhb Zhanabayeva decided on a different course of action.

"I felt it would be proper to request a meeting with comrade Kunayev to tell him what goes on Nephew was involved in at the Institute; to let him know that no one was doing serious scholarly work, and that regular drunkenness was rampant; and to inform him that visiting scholars are treated to colossal feasts at Institute expense, undoubtedly to distract them from the intellectual poverty of the work done there."

She imagined that the meeting would go something like this.

Once made aware of the situation, Uncle would issue Nephew a very harsh reprimand, and say: make the Institute a research facility like it was supposed to be; get professional economists to perform the jobs of economists; and, finally, turn the government institution from

a nepotistic nest into something capable of studying the very serious problems that make the republic's prospects, to judge from projections, so grim.

Other questions would also be raised. Such as the moral caliber of the Institute's leadership, or their competence.

But Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev was on leave.

Then he was travelling on business.

Then he was away.

Then the excuses began a cycle as regular as the changing of the seasons, and she began to doubt that a comrade Kunayev even existed.

An assistant explained very seriously that the first secretary of the communist party central committee did indeed exist, and advised her to "go home" and wait for him to call.

And call he did, since shortly thereafter she received a warning.

"Those Moscow universities did something to you. The professors shake hands, democracy has been let loose..."

And that was it.

Then Zhanabayeva the idealist turned to other quarters. "A few genuinely talented people write the dissertations for their superiors. This gives them the opportunity to defend their own dissertations eventually, and to be put in charge of a section or department. To safeguard them from the possibility of serious criticism, works of dubious scholarship are marked "For Official Use Only." Secrecy is a smokescreen used to keep outsiders from attending the defenses."

But they had given her an apartment and a job as a junior scientific associate; they had let her start graduate studies and given her the topic of her dissertation. What else could she want?

Fairness, it would seem. From each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor. Anything else, regardless of the form it takes, is exploitation of man by man; that is, survival at someone else's expense. That is the issue.

She did not resort to surreptitious accusations and refrained from writing anonymous letters when her requests, instead of getting attention, put her in harms way. She spoke her mind openly, perhaps a little more openly than she should have. Before she would go to the raykom, Gosplan, or central committee, she would tell the leadership of the Institute about her intentions, even enumerating the topics to be discussed.

Nephew, a person well versed in such matters, repeatedly recommended to her that she hold her tongue, like all other Soviet people, primarily for her own sake. But even though she had forgone her idealism, she continued to give information on flaws at the Institute to the central committee of the Party and the CPSU central committee Party Control Committee. She did this fully aware of her impotence. Her letters wandered from office to office and finally, after many landings on unknown desks, made their way to the in-basket of Nephew. Zhanabayeva received a "carefully considered" answer, with some admission of this, partial agreement with that, and only trivial objections to her assertions. Yet, it never got to the point where a spade was called a spade.

She had been unable to prove even a single one of her accusations. The authorities did not offer her anything in the way of substantial support. And finally, what was bound to happen sooner or later did happen: she was thrown out of the Institute, which devised a "carefully considered," downright classic set of circumstances. The Scholarly Council, whose activities were traditionally a secret (although only for imbeciles), voted by overwhelming majority against the election of S.G. Zhanabayeva to the position of junior scientific associate. Such a decision is final, with no appeal possible, be it through legal or labor union channels. And as such it is a pure manifestation of family partisanship within a tightly knit clan, which, in order to protect itself, decides to rid itself of an outsider. These things are not provable; the secret pathways to a decision are known only to the elect, and are rarely divulged to the outside world.

Did it make sense to banish the outsider in the midst of her troubles?

Now we come to 1985, with people already talking about perestroika. Everywhere. But for Nephew, it was nothing but a little air turbulence. As before, the might of Uncle spread across the republic.

After the 16th congress of the Kazakh communist party, which re-elected Kunayev to the post of first secretary, even desperate optimists realized that perestroika had died aborning. The slight tremor of fear almost felt by Nephew passed, and he received official congratulations. It has all been seen before: people may talk and even let off steam, but things will hew to the same old course.

And what about Zhanabayeva, who was now unemployed?

Even with no formal ties to the Institute, she was guided by higher interests and continued to insist that it be changed. She could not reconcile herself to either the idea of a scholarly institution that had never solved a major problem or a level of scholarship that was far below what was needed for reforming the planning system, addressed only trivial topics, and was ineffectual.

In much less time than before, she found many more people who agreed with her: "The republic-level Gosplan commission, in conjunction with representatives of several academic institutions and the Kazakh SSR People's Control Committee, has once again verified the substance of the statement, and concludes that the Institute and its leadership are responsible for several (?) serious violations and mistakes (?) that have adversely affected the moral climate among employees. The Kazakh SSR Gosplan and party and government organizations have taken measures (?) to rectify most of them."

For all its stifled, half-heard nature, at least it was an admission. The 7th (1986) plenum of the communist party central committee had already met, and the walls safeguarding the forbidden zones were being razed.

Comrade Tursunbayev, the deputy chairman of the republic's Gosplan, did not however fail to (also in a "carefully considered" fashion) remind her:

"For informational purposes we would like to inform you (S.G. Zhanabayeva—L.V.) that an anonymous (!) poll distributed among personnel showed the following: 56.7 percent of the 216 persons surveyed would not want to work with you; 35.1 percent have no opinion in the matter concerning you (?); and only 8.2 percent would want to work with you."

It is not very logical.

After all, Zhanabayev has written that nepotism and clan favoritism have led to the creation of a tightly knit group that will protect its interests in any situation at any cost, much like what we saw in 1986's dramatic December.

So don't not flatter yourself, Zhanabayeva; we can mount a good defense (a "carefully considered" one).

She continued to live in the same building with several of her superiors at the Institute. And every time her school-age son Yerken would see one of his mother's persecutors, he would position himself where they could see him and offer an elaborately polite greeting. Evidently he felt this would make them pity her and give her back her job.

Naive child.

Meanwhile, perestroyka was picking up steam.

No longer Nephew, but merely director of the Institute, E. Turkebayev took the liberty of issuing a reprimand. But in time, K. Abdullayev, chairman of the republic-level Gosplan, informed his superiors that: "Due to serious problems at the Institute...comrade Turkebayev has been removed from his position as director of the Institute."

In point of fact, E. Turkebayev removed himself, citing "health considerations," and became head of a section at the Institute. He lost nothing but the problems that perestroyka had finally created.

And the outsider, who had rejected the customs that the Institute cultivated under the Nephew of the Uncle, remained, as before, without a job.

Don't mess with us.

"Zhanabayeva, don't you realize the congress has re-elected Dimash Akhmedovich a member of the Politburo, and what that means for you."

Strange bedfellows: an unemployed junior scientific associate and a Politburo member.

"Nothing can stop us."

This was long after E. Turkebayev, director of the Institute, had become an ordinary retired Nephew of union-level proportions. They were not afraid. Not M. Naurzov, the secretary of the party organization, nor the other officials.

And nothing stopped them. There was a regrouping of forces, and nothing more. Nothing dramatic. But it was called perestroyka.

In her mind, the party conference, which was expected to start in a few days, was the highest moral authority. And her last hope.

She borrowed money—unemployed people can hardly be expected to have their own—and departed for Moscow.

"Are you really hoping to find some kind of justice? Here, at the same central committee you have asked for help so many times. They have never helped a single person. The partocracy is the same everywhere. It is strange that people fail to understand such simple things."

In the wake of perestroyka, Nina Petrovna Shumilkina had also lost her job. But she had tried to solve her problem using means other than those employed by Zhanabayeva. She had good friends at one of the consulates. So there was a chance. To what? "Leave for good. Go abroad. Nothing more can be done here. You too Sakhib Galiyevna. Why do you think they have been meeting more and more with the people? To indulge them during the party conference and prevent outbursts. That's it. And they end up right where they started from. You had a visit yesterday, right? They could have helped you easily; they had no reason to turn you down. Anyway, let's stick together. Both of us are strangers in this city."

But Zhanabayeva was no stranger to Moscow, where she had lived seven years. She got a room in the graduate students dormitory with little trouble (hotels are only a short term solution), and ended up having to take Nina Petrovna in with her. The consulates were one thing, but she was going to have to spend her nights somewhere in the USSR. And besides, she was from the same city.

Each of them tended to their own affairs, but they spent long hours together talking about life and fate. Nina Petrovna's background typified life in the "period of stagnation." Someone with connections had gotten her a virtually non-existent job on the board of the republic-level Znaniye society. "I had everything. Including access to scarce goods. People wine and dined me to reward themselves. People were afraid of me. It is a strange feeling to have people fear you. It's like they sense some presence."

When the board learned of Nina Petrovna's activities and pronounced her inexpedient, she launched her own campaign against her detractors. Upon her arrival in Moscow, she visited a certain embassy, which put her in touch with Demokratcheskii Soyuz and Glasnost and got her the telephone numbers of a foreign news agency. She gave this agency "materials" she had obtained from people who had been to every possible department in the search for a fair resolution to their problems. Sadly, there were more than enough cases for publishers and radio broadcasters, so Nina Petrovna did not have any particular difficulties. Her work was even easier than it had been at Znaniye. "I want to hurt them all—with all their ideology. I want to be the one who gets them. It is my chance to get out of here."

What did Nina Petrovna and her university colleague have in common? "I just don't understand you Zhanabayeva. I have something to fight for. I have a big office; I eat caviar; and I get to travel. What do you have?"

On one occasion Nina Petrovna had a very strange idea. She wanted the unemployed junior scientific associate to visit a certain Asian embassy and give them information she had collected during various meetings. "Help me get it through. I'm a Russian, so the guards will stop me. But you won't have any problem."

She was not rational.

Nina Petrovna did not hold back her emotions or her opinions, and would expound in great detail on the platforms of both Demokratcheskii Soyuz, which had embarked on a course of open confrontation with the KPOS [not further identified], and Glasnost, which was seeking to create a schism between the people and their republic. She was also conversant with the ideology of various associations which had a "membership" in name only. It gradually became clear why the former Znaniye

employee would spend entire days outside the prosecutors office and the meeting areas of the central committee, the Supreme Soviet, and the Peoples Control Committee. She was recruiting for her "fronts" and "alliances," creating a core membership in new places.

At the embassy to which Nina Petrovna could not "gain admission," Sakhib was supposed to deliver an appeal about...the campaign against red tape, as well as information on rallies, etc.

Zhanabayeva found this inappropriate. "We need to battle our red tape with our own resources, not enlist the aid of foreigners."

Nina Petrovna found this stance very discouraging. Sakhib was an unemployed idealist, and she still could not make any headway with her. "The communists have created an organization of black shirts and other punitive associations."

These revelations made things most unpleasant.

They met again, about three months later, although it was quite unintentional on Sakhib's part.

Her problems were gradually being solved; to start with, she had been reinstated in her job. "In light of the fact that the evaluation of her candidacy for membership in the Scholarly Council failed to fully consider her academic activity or extensive experience at the Institute, as well the fact that she has the appropriate specialization within the field of economics for the position, I instruct that: 1. Zhanabayeva S.G. be reinstated in the position of junior scientific associate in the Department of Human Resources Reproduction, and that her salary be paid in accordance with the law."

The job of making perestroyka work does not belong to foreign embassies. We have to fight for it ourselves, uncompromisingly.

Nina Petrovna arrived in Alma-Ata unexpectedly, and with her typical extravagance: she call Sakhib from the latter's apartment, explaining: "I found the key under the mat, where everyone puts it."

Nina Petrovna was more upset than delighted at the news that her "old friend's" arbitrary dismissal had been exposed for what it really was and that she had been reinstated in her job. "The communists don't have to work very hard to win authority among the Kazakhs; a little grovelling does the job."

The rules of hospitality mandated forbearance.

Nina Petrovna spoke about her own life with great excitement. "I have become a member of Demokratcheskii Soyuz's coordinating council, the equivalent of

a central committee. But I also kept my membership in Glasnost. You can do that if both parties have the same ideological platform. So now my decision not to work is based on principle."

Evidently, the former Znaniye employee had been given the utmost in authority as a leader of Demokratcheskii Soyuz, and had been entrusted with the job of organizing the Alma-Ata branch of DS, as well as its subordinate "fronts," and establishing direct ties between them, Karabakh, and like-minded movements in the Baltic area. In addition, her duties included finding "proof" of the failure of the CPSU's economic and nationality policies in Kazakhstan.

"You can see what our strategy is Sakhib. Using the Zeleniy Front [Green Front] as camouflage, we have to create a Narodniy Front [Popular Front], which will officially back the Gorbachev policy by announcing that it supports perestroyka. No problem. We will be able to draw the Front into the Demokratcheskii Soyuz later. And as you know, the Soyuz consists of opposition elements."

Clearly vested with the utmost in authority, Nina Petrovna was instructing Almas Yestekov, a rank-and-file member of Demokratcheskii Soyuz's coordinating council, to expand ties with Islamic activists, and, enjoining her to remember that the second anniversary of the December events was drawing close, to remind them that: "They had their revolution in October of 1917; now ours is due."

Nina Petrovna used Sakhib's hospitality for a considerable time. She would disappear at night, conspiring, visiting Kazakh families, and borrowing money (large sums that she would refuse to pay back) whenever one of her hosts was in trouble. At the same time, she was so obsessed with "politics" that Yerken, a very wise child, told his mother in strictest confidence that: "Aunt Nina is a spy."

These were difficult things to reflect on.

She had battled those who take everything and give nothing back; those whose "big offices and abundant caviar" are a function of their clan affiliation alone, and have nothing to do with their contribution on the job; those who divide people into us and them; those who prosper by manipulating shortages; those who foment hostility and animosity among people; and those who force others to fear them.

Though she had lost her job and been humiliated, she had not forsaken her principles of justice. Yet before her very eyes...

Nina Petrovna Shumilkina was refused a place to live.

Party Calls for New, More Appropriate Social Rituals

18300341 Alma-Ata AGITATOR KAZAKHSTANA in Russian No 23, Dec 88 pp 6-7

[Unsigned article: "New Traditions and Rituals—Into Life!"]

[Text] The necessity of rituals in our life is generally acknowledged. Full of genuine humanism and respect for the man of labor, Soviet rites, rituals and holidays must satisfy the demands for spiritual intercourse, to help bring up the Soviet people, and above all the young people, in the best traditions of the older generations, in the spirit of collectivism, Soviet patriotism, and internationalism. Their significance is also great in the consolidation of a sober way of life. As is indicated in the new edition of the Program of the CPSU, the broad dissemination of Soviet rites and customs is the most important component of atheist education.

Life itself has today set the task of the further restructuring of our rites—an important direction in the improvement of ideological-educational work and a decisive renewal of its forms and methods as this is required by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The growing significance of rites was pointed out during the examination, in the Commission for Nationality and Inter-Nationality Relations of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, of the question on the work of the party, Soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs of Kochetav Oblast in regard to the approval of new rites and the increase of their role in the international and patriotic upbringing of the population. There is no doubt that both the many positive aspects and the shortcomings that were exposed in the session of the Commission were also characteristic for the other oblasts of the republic. Thus, along with the state-wide and revolutionary rites, labor and professional, family and everyday rites were developed. The educational influence of labor rites and holidays—dedicated to workers, the celebration of leading workers and innovators, veterans of labor, "chaban-toi" [not further identified], days of animal husbandry workers, holidays of the "first furrow", the "first sheaf", and others.

A search is being conducted for non-standard approaches in the organization and conduct of holiday arrangements. Great interest in the republic, for example, was called forth by the days of the oblasts, which were held in Alma-Ata on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October, as well as days of the rayons in the oblasts, and by the evenings and meetings of competing collectives.

It is remarkable that the traditional national holidays "nauryz" [not further identified], diversions of winter, "altybakan" [not further identified], "kumysalu" [not further identified], and others are being revived.

At the same time, it is impossible not to see that in the work with respect to the introduction of new rites in many places there is no system and single-mindedness, and frequently old and uncreative approaches predominate. Frequently the holidays are prepared in a hurry, and therefore they are held in a boring and dull manner, leaving people untouched.

In overcoming these shortcomings, it is very important to raise the role of rites in international and patriotic education. This follows directly from the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Work of the Kazakh Republic Party Organization in Regard to the International and Patriotic Upbringing of Workers." There are many different aspects in this problem. Thus, in the conduct of ceremonial and ritual holidays, it is necessary to better take into consideration the national composition of the population, the special features of the culture and the spiritual needs of various national groups. However, if the Kazakh and the Russian national traditions and elements of rites are utilized in so doing to some extent, the best traditions of other nationality groups of the population are being poorly propagated, which by no means promotes the coming together of people.

One of the urgent tasks is to raise the role of social rites in overcoming the vestiges of the past and in the atheistic education of the population. What causes alarm is the fact that in a number of places the level of religious rites is not decreasing. In many respects, poor organization and the slow dissemination of Soviet rites to counterbalance religious rites are conducive to this. To take, for example, the ceremonial-mourning funeral rite. It is observed that even where the ceremonial registration of marriages and new-borns is conducted with success, funeral rites without religious elements do not take root. For this reason, self-styled mullahs and old women and masters of ceremonies at funerals, lining their pockets on the grief of people, feel free to do their thing.

Rites play a significant role in the confirmation of a sober way of life. You see, rather often, whether a wedding, the birth of a child, a funeral, or other events in the life of people, they were accompanied by the lavish libation of alcohol. This backward tradition is absolutely irreconcilable with the Soviet way of life, and for this reason weddings without alcohol were welcomed with such enthusiasm after the publication of the party and government decrees on overcoming drunkenness and alcoholism. But, unfortunately, this burst quickly died out.

What is the matter here? The organizers of the struggle for temperance have no objection to write off everything to the omnipotence of the old habits, but discussions with people indicate that those desiring to hold wedding festivities without alcohol do not always find an echo and understanding among those who are called upon to approve the new traditions. This is what the Alma-Ata citizeness S. Moldagarayeva wrote to the editors: "Not long ago, we gave in marriage our daughter, a student.

Our Galya has many girl friends and friends, and we wanted to put on a joyous wedding for young people. When we made application in the registration office of Oktyabrskiy Rayon, we asked where to obtain a script and find a leader. There they only shrugged their shoulders and advised us to turn to the rayispolkom. But in the ispolkom, too, they did not give us any clear explanations. And then my husband told me: "Let us do everything as among the people." But "as among people"—this means with alcohol."

The picture described by our author is not so rare. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Course of the Fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee Decrees on Questions of Intensifying the Struggle Against Drunkenness and Alcoholism", which was adopted not long ago, requires qualified analysis of the situation, the reason and condition that are conducive to the preservation of the drinking traditions. It is necessary to accelerate the development of scripts for non-alcoholic rites, the training of leaders and masters of ceremonies of family festivities, to attract more actively into service the cooperatives and the bureau of good offices which operate in parks of culture and rest.

The further consolidation of our rites is unthinkable without the daily participation in this of all interested organizations and institutions. For the time being, they act as the characters of the well-known fable of I. A. Krylov—the swan, the pike, and the crawfish, which blame each other endlessly. The participation of the republic scientific-method center for national creativity and cultural and educational work of the State Committee for Culture and the House of Amateur Creative Work of the Kazakh Trade Union Council in this very necessary work is poor. The creative unions and scientists and sociologists have not set forth to the end the measures of their participation in the creation of new rites and rituals. The workers of the housing and municipal services, consumer services and trade approach rites as something secondary and even tertiary.

The problem of the training of specialists is very acute. It is time to think over their training in the schools for culture and education, and in the courses for the improvement of qualifications. It is necessary to tirelessly search for the springs of national experience, as this is done by the teacher of the Karaganda Music School, Ivan Pavlovich Vigolts, who himself selected people, writes scripts, helping to arrange holidays adapted for the stage, acquainting people with the culture of the Soviet Germans. Sharipkhan Nurzhanovich Turkhanov, the collector of Kazakh and Uigurian rites from the Panfilovskiy Rayon of Taldy-Kurgan Oblast, and his countryman, the propagandist of Korean national holidays, Dmitriy Dmitriyevich Tsoy, deserve a good word.

And the coordination of the activity of the various organizations and institutions, and the solution of all urgent questions—all this to a decisive degree depends

on how the ispolkom commissions of the Council of People's Deputies for the propagation and introduction of new Soviet rituals operate. Many of them clearly lack activeness. In the same Kochetav Oblispolkom no one could say what questions had been discussed and when in its sessions. The Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is headed by V. V. Sidorova, the deputy chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, also does not show an example. Sessions are conducted rarely and control over the fulfillment of recommendations adopted has been poorly provided.

New traditions, rituals and rites—these are an effective means of communist education and the active restructuring of our way of life. And for this reason, concern

over their development must be in the foreground in the activity of the party organizations. You see, the old traditions are impossible to destroy by command. They must be displaced by a new tradition, a stronger and more useful one. It is impossible to eradicate the old traditions without opposing to them the traditions of the new society, without achieving that the new traditions enter firmly, in Lenin's words, "into the culture, into the way of life, and into habits" (PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 45, p 390), that they become transformed into a powerful social institution, regulating all aspects of the vital activity of socialist society.

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New Association Unites Union Estonians
18150010 Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian
17 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by Karl Murk: "A New Association Is Born"]

[Text] Last Thursday evening some 150 people gathered at the Cultural House in Nomme, most of them middle aged or older, but also some young people. At the registration desk information was recorded: most were residents of Tallinn, but some also came from other cities or regions; they were born and raised anywhere from the Archangelsk area to Crimea and Caucasus; from Leningrad and from the other side of Peipus to Siberia and the Far East; all people whose ancestors had emigrated from Viru, Voru, Saare or Sakala more than a century ago, or those whose families left later, before World War I, or in the swirl of the revolution. There were also those who took an interest, but whose roots have always been in the soil of the home country.

They had come to start their own cultural entity—The Association of Union Estonians. "This is to emphasize not our national differences—we are all Estonians, after all—but the differences in our fates," was the recurring thought. It was in search of land that these people left their home, with only a few necessary tools, utensils, some animals, industrious hands, sharp wits, and a brave enterprising spirit. Abroad they learned to cultivate soil under totally different conditions, to grow foreign fruits, to put up buildings suitable for local habitation, to hunt and to fish, and to craft items in demand at the surrounding markets. They learned from their own experiences, and also from the experiences of those around them, as some of their knowledge, experience and skills were imparted to their neighbors. Big, wealthy settlements of Estonians developed, sometimes whole regions consisting of several villages, where Estonian was spoken, Estonian customs and cultural traditions observed.

The talk at this initial meeting of the Association also included some painful memories of the days of Stalinist repression that started with the forced collectivization of farms and culminated in 1937, when Estonian schools were abolished, along with Estonian churches, newspapers, community houses; when a lot of families were destroyed or deported; and with other nationals being sent to the Estonian settlements, the economic decline continued and the mandatory massive transition to bilinguality began—all in the name of bringing people closer and melting them together. "There is nobody in this room, some of whose family members have not been victims of the Stalinist repression," said a man from Siberia, who had been in a death camp for 10 years, and whose father and two brothers had died there. A moment's silence was observed in memory of the victims of repression.

The ideological goals for The Association of Union Estonians were sketched in by Lembit Voime, Klara Hallik, Edvin Nugin, Kalju Saaber, Juri Viikberg, Igor

Tonurist, Ants Paju and others who spoke. Objectives include preserving the national culture in the Estonian settlements, making contact with Estonians still living there, and increasing their exposure to culture in their native language; also collecting, preserving and researching the distinct features of their culture and language. The Association will also attempt to record the historic fate of our nation's fragment that headed east, inasmuch as it is a part of our small nation's history and culture, as is the fate of the people who traveled west. There is a desire to get in touch with those who have returned to the land of their ancestors, and to help them adjust, so that they could be reconnected with the life of their people more effectively.

Greetings and best wishes for "wind-in-the wings" were extended to the new association by the Native Language Association, along with representatives from the history museum of the publication Looming (Creation) and the faculty of the Estonian Language and Literature at the Tallinn Institute of Pedagogy.

The Association adopted a constitution. It also elected a 21-member council of representatives, and a 15-member executive committee.

Estonian Intermovement Assails People's Front, ESSR CC

Extraordinary ESSR Party Congress Called For
Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian 4 Dec 88 p 1

[Article by Toomas Sildam: "Yesterday, in Front of Town Hall"]

[Text] A meeting of the International Movement for consolidation and solidarity was held in front of Town Hall at noon yesterday. Close to 1,500 people attended, according to trade unions participating in the event.

First, a word about the slogans that emotionally, yet very briefly and clearly, sum up the mood of those gathered...

—We demand an extraordinary congress of the Estonian Communist Party!

—Stop the wave of nationalism!

—People's Front is holding back perestroika!

—Union laws—for all!

—Down with timeservers in the Estonian Communist Party's Central Committee!

—Down with People's Front monopoly on press and radio!

—Ryuytel, Toome, Vyalyas—opposers of perestroika.

—Two state languages—a sure deterrent to nationalism and chauvinism.

—We have no confidence in the ECP Central Committee.

The speakers went on for close to 2 hours saying that the Estonian SSR has reached a dead end, and that the course set by the 11th plenum has not yet proven itself and thus, obviously cannot be right. New ways will have to be found. This cannot be done out of Moscow; it will have to be done by ourselves, since we are the masters here, and we have to find a solution to the situation. The official line at present is the line of the bureaucrats who have stayed in office until now. The Communist Party leadership in Estonia should get rid of those who have compromised themselves. This is why we need an extraordinary congress.

Repeated references were made to the 16 November session of the republic's Supreme Soviet and the resolutions passed there. Both speeches and resolutions made at the meeting included remarks such as: democratic forms were violated repeatedly; the opinions of the republic's hundreds of thousands of workers were not considered; delegates were pressured; pressure was also exerted in the course of gathering signatures for the letters of protest. Delegates to the Supreme Soviet received their drafts of the resolutions only a short time before the session opened...

Starting with the last, one could say that in Moscow, too, the delegates to the USSR Supreme Soviet did not receive their materials until 29 November. Despite all the talk lately about pressures exerted on the delegates to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet (involving, supposedly, part of our ECP Central Committee leadership), I have yet to read or hear one concrete example of it.

Obviously, there's no point in nit-picking here. We have to acknowledge that the rift between nationalities (manifested, above all, in the opposition between the People's Front and the Intermovement) has become catastrophic in Estonia. Resorting to name calling smacks of losing balance. The same is true of the proposal requesting that if the republic's laws are not acceptable to all, then part of the population would not have to abide by them.

I spoke to Valdur Timusk during the meeting. He thought we should go the way elections are held for the head of the church in the Vatican: just sit down around the table and stay there until a solution is found that is acceptable to both sides. The last session of the USSR Supreme Soviet also corroborated the possibility of reaching a compromise.

There is a grain of truth in what Valdur Timusk said since we can assume that most people will want to account for why an extraordinary session of the ECP

Central Committee was called for yesterday. We have to be honest, even in these appraisals, so as to project the future course of events more realistically.

Nevertheless, I'd like to quote Nil Gilevich, first secretary of the Belorussian SSR Writers' Union board of directors, who wrote in a recent issue of PRAVDA: "Can that feeling of respect toward others become the reason for forgetting one's own national awareness and origin, or for forsaking one's language and native culture?"

Yesterday's gathering also called for a thorough revision of the original version of the Language Law, and passed a resolution asking the ninth session of the Supreme Soviet to postpone discussions on the Language Law until the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on nationality relations. A point has been made at a recent press conference at the Foreign Ministry by none other than the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Secretary Medvedev that acute problems between nationalities should also be solved before the plenum since there is no need to wait for the problems to accumulate.

In the resolution passed at the meeting, a plea was made for coming to the defense of socialist perestroika, and of our constitutional rights; it also expressed dissatisfaction with the results of the eighth session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. The demand for an extraordinary congress of the Estonian Communist Party was supported. Readiness was also declared for starting negotiations with representatives of the republic's democratic movements at any time.

Meeting With Supsov Deputy Disrupted

18150014

[Editorial Report] Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian on 4 December 1988 carries on page 1 a 200-word article by Raivo Lott entitled "Sandbox Games in Politics." The article describes a meeting held for workers of the Tallinn Cellulose and Paper Combine called for the purpose of hearing their deputy to the ESSR Supreme Soviet, Ljubov Bezlepkin, report on the recent extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet. At the meeting, the plant's representative of the International Movement took the floor to read a prepared list of grievances and accusations against the People's Front and the ECP Central Committee, asking the audience not to endorse their proposals, including the language law. The reaction is described as being "like a storm breaking out in the auditorium." Order was eventually restored, but the Intermovement document was never voted on. The article concludes with a warning against attempts to dabble in "sandbox politics."

Reassessment of Latvians in the West

18080027 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian
29 Dec 1988 p 2

[Article by Alberts Liepa: "In Foreign Lands, Among Foreign Peoples"]

[Text]

I.

"Emigration (from the Latin word *emigrare*)—leaving the homeland with the aim of settling down for life for a long time, or completely, in a foreign country. Emigration is fostered by unfavorable economic conditions, as well as by political, national, and religious pressures.

The 1897 Copenhagen conference of the International Rights Institute theoretically recognized the free emigration rights of all nations' citizens, except in cases when national leadership, due to social or political reasons, is forced to limit them. However, in reality the freedom to emigrate has not been instituted in any nation." (Latvian Conversational Dictionary, Vol. IV, 1929-1930.)

Discussions on emigration have never been a forbidden topic, and writing in the press and broadcasts on television and the radio have not been "taboo." The same with lectures to Riga University students or discussions in workplace collectives about Latvians in other countries. However, it must be said that around this subject a strange scent still vibrates, like a rarely accessible fruit aroma, which with the mysteriousness of its contents and the attractiveness of its form intriguingly tempts our attention. Why? Is it not because it concerns an important process vital to our people? Or maybe because the very right to emigrate has been forbidden or limited? And the forbidden fruit, as we know, is always sweet.

We all know that, mildly speaking, just recently it was not easy to leave the Soviet Union in order to begin a permanent life elsewhere. Unfortunately there were cases when the reunification of family members was delayed. This was also experienced by women who, after beginning new families, wished to move abroad to live with their husbands.

Let us choose another example. There is, of course, a great difference between how ballet dancer M. Baryshnikov got onto the stage of the Metropolitan Opera several years ago, and how just recently Andris Liepa, star of the Moscow Bolshoi Ballet, was able to do that. Formerly, from time to time, seeing no other ways of broadening their artistic horizons or of gaining larger international popularity, and at the same time advancing along the steps of material well-being, noted musicians, ballet dancers, actors, and athletes, according to their temperaments, dramatically "jumped off" in Western countries. The majority of these people did not declare themselves "political refugees," although in their midst there was also no lack of those disappointed with our system and society. However, in the West they were received both as "victims" of the Soviet system and as "heroes," and the efforts of the mass media soon strengthened the idea there that all "normal people," especially the creative intelligentsia, is trying to leave the "evil empire."

I do not think that in the dawn of our nation's birth V.I. Lenin would have wanted to make the Soviet land a strongly defended fortress. That was thought up by those that came after him. Lenin wanted a state that would be a member of the large world, a positive example of creative socialism and an open society for other countries. If our nation's borders have long been kept "locked up," not without a certain basis, then this action has, of course, its historical explanation, but should this not be left in the past? Are unnecessarily heavily guarded borders with specially-designed closed transit zones, are exaggerated document checks, is a heightened suspicion, damaging to human dignity, of immigrants and emigrants not yesterday? On the background of coexistence and active cooperation of today's civilized world, when we so gladly speak of Europe as "our common home," do such ventures not resemble leftovers from that arsenal of tactics that were characteristic of Stalinism?

Now, when in various spheres of life the re-evaluation and restructuring of past activity is taking place, attitudes on the priority of emigration are also slowly gaining a more humane approach and recognition of the existing norms of civilized society. Luckily, it is now easier to organize a trip abroad or to achieve emigration for a permanent life in Western countries, but is has not become easier to return from emigration back home. In my opinion, exactly on this matter the tension between the interested private persons and our national agencies is still too great. The emigration and re-emigration process mechanism in our country is still far from a normal understanding of a human, social phenomenon. The leaders of restructuring are inviting us only now to a philosophically deeper and more serious vision of the world and evaluation of historical processes. In the order of the day there are finally appearing such concepts as "common human interests" and "common human values." So that these humane categories do not once again become deformed in the existing conditions, we should carefully develop and ratify laws both on freedom of conscience and on immigration and emigration. Our great nation should finally find the courage and sign the Elective Protocol, which would add the Soviet Union to the International Pact on Citizen and Political Rights, as well as to the European Convention on Human Rights. However, in order to do this, it is necessary to revise old views and simultaneously supplement the socialistic lifestyle with values of standard world civilization.

Our society has never not been divided in its evaluation of Latvians in foreign countries, who are now mainly composed of World War II refugees and their descendants. The majority has always strived to differentially understand the problem of why, for example, each tenth Latvian does not live in Soviet Latvia or elsewhere in the Soviet Union?

Of course, the Stalinist terror or the fear of it deserves a large part of the blame for this. However, many do not agree with the existence of the emigration, and even condemn it, because they consider that the majority of

today's emigrants should not have left the fatherland in the interests of preserving the living strength of the Latvian people. By leaving Latvia, World War II refugees have not only noticeably worsened the Latvian demographic situation for a long time, but, together with the other losses suffered in the war, have also dealt a heavy blow to the whole nation's tree of life. Similarly, one cannot quarrel with the fact that the strong young people, who after the end of the war ended up as cheap labor in Belgian or British coal mines, Australian sugarcane plantations, or Canadian forests, were a tremendous loss for the devastated national economy of Latvia. Their working hands and bright minds had been lost for Latvia. The same thing happened with the Latvian intelligentsia, whose majority, losing close contact with the people, lost its creative potential. People in education, culture and the arts, noted and outstanding in Latvia, in exile started earning their means of subsistence as dishwashers, maintenance workers, and furnace operators.

And yet another consequence that developed from the leaving of Latvia. The national economy destroyed in the war was crying out for working hands. Thousands of people from other parts of the Soviet Union started arriving in the republic, to settle for life in Riga and in the other larger cities. Nature and life, as we know, cannot stand emptiness!

WHAT CAUSED FLIGHT?

Today we can assert that the war's consequences would not have been so damaging to the Latvian people, had in the conditions of Stalinism there not taken place the illegal deportations of 1941, on whose hot trail, similarly to a chain reaction, arose new illegalities, this time—the wild revenge actions turned against humanity by the Hitlerian occupants and their Latvian collaborators. Because of this, when in the summer of 1944 the Soviet army, banishing the Hitlerites with battles, returned to Latvia, part of its population left their homes and fled to the West. Thousands of refugees perished in the Baltic Sea and Germany due to the activities of the war. A portion returned home, but until even our times this war has kept more than 100,000 people away from Latvia, who in the status of so-called "displaced persons" (from the English term) at first remained in the Western occupation zones of defeated Germany, but thereafter dispersed throughout the whole world. Unasked, the war sentenced them to separation from the homeland and to exile.

What caused a part of Latvians to flee their homeland? Not only to flee from, because others were deported with force and deception.

The reasons for this action were varied, but much was decided by requirements of an economic, political or moral nature.

A part left driven by fear. The rapid nearing of the front forced one to look for an escape to avoid direct involvement in the war zone. Worries of such a possibility strengthened even more the directive of the Hitlerian army leadership to forcibly evacuate the population.

Others, remembering the 1941 deportations, feared remaining to live in conditions of repression. A part of the population willingly decided to go into exile, accepting this resolution for personal reasons or wishing to live in such an economic environment and under such a political system as best met their interests.

October 1944 was the time when the occupants seized people on the streets of Riga and brought them directly onto ships that delivered them to Germany, further across the Baltic Sea. Concentration camp prisoners were also deported. Approximately 70,000 people were transported through the Riga harbor to Germany. From the harbors of Kurzeme—from Liepaja and Ventspils—90,000 people were brought to the "Reich."

For the most part, the flight must be understood as the result of collaboration, because escape was first sought by people who had fought on the side of Hitler's Germany or had collaborated with the occupation establishments. War criminals and mass murderers fled, whose hands were stained with human blood in Byelorussian villages and right here in Audrini, in the Bikernieks forest, in the Jelgava area, on the Liepaja beach, in Ventspils,...

Many were pulled into exile by service in military or pseudo-military occupant divisions. To the West retreated both Latvian SS legion divisions, suffering heavy losses. Up to even capitulation, the 19th Division was mired in the "Kettle of Kurzeme" [historical term describing the intense battle for Kurzeme, the last part of Latvia remaining in the hands of Germany, surrounded by the Soviets on all sides], while the 15th Division tried to reach the English and the Americans through Poland and Germany.

Several thousand Latvian boys and girls were sent to Germany already in 1942-1943 under the auspices of the so-called work service (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*). In 1943-1944 they were joined by youths called into the air force auxiliary service (*Luftwaffenhelferdienst*), who in Germany were partially converted to SS pupils (*SS Zöglinge*) and anti-tank shooters.

A part of the legionnaires' relatives tried to reach Germany, fearing that, as the Hitlerites departed, the front would separate them from husbands, sons, and fiancées.

Be that as it may, in the world today still lives an absent part of Latvians, separated from its people for decades. It is not possible to recall those lost for eternity, but what about those persons who are still living and in whose heart Latvia is still alive? And their descendants—ethnically belonging, but factually estranged? What is

happening to those cut off due to socially political and historical collisions, who for many years have found themselves in desired or un-desired isolation from the nation's life processes?

We have habitually forgotten them, although it would behoove us to always remember. Now and then in the press or in radio broadcasts there flash names of foreign Latvians, whose owners have gained acclaim with their accomplishments, or whose talents shine brighter than others on a world scale. Then we rejoice along with them that one year Marite Ozere was recognized as the most beautiful girl in the USA, and we are proud of the outstanding swimmers Janis and Ilze Konrads in Australia. We are constantly captivated by "Canadians'" talents: the brilliant piano-playing of Arturs Ozolins, the poetry of Velta Toma, or the music of Talivaldis Kenins. Similarly we are interested in and elated by Gunars Birkerts' accomplishments in architecture and Kristaps Kegis' successes in medicine (both live and work in the USA).

More often, however, we have ended up remembering those who have harmed us. With an unrelenting interest escaped SS men, ex-policemen, and murderers of various ranks are constantly sought for punishment. It is strange, but normal Latvians—skilled economists, good engineers or intelligent educators, who are constantly growing deeper into the environment of foreign countries—we somehow supposedly have not known how to closer involve with Latvia. Does that not seem paradoxical? One would not want to believe that the few Hitlerian man-haters and war criminals, whose tracks are hunted nonstop, it seems, by society and juridical institutions in the whole world, are more important to our homeland than honorable craft practitioners, who are ready to join in the fatherland's restructuring. It is probably not thus, but it still occurs that a few people, spitefully hunting "enemies of the people," want to roast all foreign Latvians over the same fire. For their part, others strive to idealize all, without distinction.

Should we not be able to distinguish loyal analysts and supporters of the current national awakening and restructuring process from Soviet Latvia's enemies eager for revenge? I do not want to believe that our juridical socialist state, to be newly built, would have any need for former Hitlerites or their ideological descendants, and likewise for Stalinists and their followers. But that is exactly why we should not wait and hope that foreign anti-Communists will come to our assistance in the socialistic restructuring.

Latvians in other countries are very varied. Their social situation is varied, and their political views are different. The majority of foreign Latvians does not take part in anti-Communist activity, but concerns itself mainly with economical and cultural prosperity. They strive to preserve the Latvian language and to ward off the specter of assimilation, which threatens the descendants of Latvian emigres unmercifully.

Varied is also the approach of foreign Latvians on the question of relations with Soviet Latvia. The emigration was quite long dominated by the concept of an unavoidable military confrontation between the West and the USSR, regarding which, hopes of soon returning to a "freed" Latvia were cherished. At the same time, all action was expected from the Western powers, mainly from the United States. Interest was limited about the development of events in Latvia. That clearly manifested itself in the realm of cultural relations, which started to develop only in the sixties. Since that time a great investment in the development of cultural relations has been made not only by Latvia's, but also by the Latvian intelligentsia living in foreign countries. The majority hails and supports relations between Latvians in Latvia and foreign countries, but certain circles categorically reject them, requesting the maintenance of "fighting without compromise" against Latvia's establishments. The republic's cultural relation initiatives have attempted to depict them as "the play of political interests to divide foreign Latvians."

Now we can meet Latvians in all parts of the world. How are they faring, they who already so long know distances, foreign lands, other peoples, but are separated from their father's home, from their country of birth? How do young Latvians in Australia, the United States, and Canada live? Maybe they are no longer Latvians? What do those scattered in Europe and Latin America think and do?

Life in exile, for the individual personality, as well as for the psychological viewpoint, is not easy and can become an especially difficult situation. It can sometimes turn into a tragedy, creating a certain deformation of the personality. The more foreign was the environment into which Latvians arrived, the more painfully did the loss of the homeland and the separation from the nation let itself be felt. Difficulties were caused by ignorance of foreign languages, and it was not easy for many to become accustomed to the different mentality of the surrounding people, to the heightened doses of rationalism and mercantilism, to the conceited attitude of employers or neighbors to the arrivals—"the demon foreigners."

Latvia's image was also a victim of deformation. In it were often interwoven both love and hate. On one hand, nostalgia—longing for home, birthplaces, loved ones; on the other—hate for power, on whose account they had had to leave it all. On one hand, national pride and a sense of belonging to the people in the homeland; on the other—hostility against those who take the road of socialist development and the desire to avenge what is lost.

In other words, the total picture of foreign Latvians is now unimaginable without the characteristics of complexity and paradox. Let us try to become more familiar

with this picture and maybe understand it, at the same time looking for some answers to and explanations of earlier hushed-up or cautiously averted questions.

LPF Response to Interfront Open Letter, Readers' Opinions on Interfront Congress Published

18000540 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian

20 Jan 89 p 3

[Open response from Daynis Ivans, Latvian Popular Front chairman, and letters to the editors: "Interfront After the Congress. Opinions, Judgments, Responses"]

[Text]

Let Unity Win

For 2 days we watched and heard the direct television translation of the constituent congress of the International Front of Working People of Latvia. We approve of the great work done by the organizational group which prepared this congress.

A.K. Belaychuk's report and the delegates' speeches contained appeals for the unification of all forces in support of restructuring, for improving the life of our republic's population, for solving ecological problems, and mainly, so that there will be no interethnic strife and hostility.

We hope that the members of the LPF and Interfront will find a common language, will join efforts and will struggle jointly for the flourishing of Soviet Latvia, for friendship among the peoples of our country. Let unity win!

[Signed] Vetrova, Miroshnichenko, Malysheva, Neyvarte, and others

Riga

More Specific Work

I consider the creation of the International Front of Working People of the Latvian SSR to be correct. The drafts of its declaration and statutes, which were discussed and passed at the constituent congress, conform to the USSR and LaSSR Constitutions and to the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, aimed at solving the problems of restructuring, implemented on the initiative and under the guidance of the party.

The constituent congress took place in an interesting and basically proper manner. The documents which were adopted are acceptable to most of the republic's population, contain no ultimatums whatsoever, and take the interests of the Latvian people into account.

After the congress, the republic council of the Interfront sent an open letter to the LPF Duma, proposing the creation of a conciliatory committee for coordinating

joint activities in the interests of the republic's entire population. This is an appeal for the consolidation of all healthy forces and the further development of the principles proclaimed at the Forum of Peoples of Latvia. Furthermore, it is also an appeal for specific work to develop proposals for regulating migration, interethnic relations, and other imminent problems.

The CPSU Central Committee Address to the party and the Soviet people emphasized: "Friendship and cooperation among peoples, cohesion, internationalism, and solidarity are great discoveries. We will treasure and multiply them."

We must reject superfluous emotions and the use of the mass information media to harm the alleviation of the interethnic tension which has appeared. Unfortunately, there are many such negative examples, but I will not list them here. We need more specific, useful work! There are no alternatives to the consolidation of healthy forces.

[Signed] N. Protopopov, war and labor veteran, CPSU member.

What We Speak Out Against

The feeling of bitterness and shame after the Interfront constituent congress was held does not leave. This event seems particularly ominous against the background of the constructive efforts made at the Forum of Peoples of Latvia. Many Latvians, alarmed and indignant, are now asking themselves and us: were the views and intentions of their Russian fellow citizens really expressed sincerely at the congress?

It is regrettable that the Russian residents of Latvia were also victims of that which occurred. Today, it is our duty and responsibility to speak out for the honor of thousands and thousands of people, in whose names the self-styled representatives of fairly narrow groups, defending only their own egotistical interests, are speaking.

How is one supposed to take the fact that these residents of Latvia could not find, it seems, a single good word for Latvians, that even direct insults aimed at the native, customary inhabitants of this land were met with applause, with a rumble of approval? One of the most absurd moments was the demand for two state languages in the republic, which would imply intensifying the actual language inequality and a threat to the existence of the Latvian language itself. The Russian language, one could say, turned out to be yet another victim: it was so disfigured not only by the wretched, unkind content of many speeches, but also by conventionalism, clichés, obvious hatred, and by the speakers' indifference even to their own native tongue! Disrespect for culture and almost a scorn for the intellectual and spiritual were characteristic features of the congress. As though life had not shown repeatedly that any activity, not proved through the vital work of the spirit, not correlated with

the principles of humanity and ethical norms, leads to a deadlock, destructive for everybody. Immoral narrow-mindedness, not taking either the wills or the interests and needs of entire peoples into consideration, has cost the country dearly and is inflicting more new misfortunes and the threat of further, increasingly catastrophic, irrevocable consequences. Economics and politics, when they become a purpose in themselves and work only for themselves, overlooking the individual, are destructive and extremely dangerous. Only the revival of conscience and humanity in all spheres of life, only an understanding of the fact that any immoral means also makes the goal questionable, and only respect for a person's reason and dignity, for his freedom, can lead society out of the crisis.

We not only wish to disassociate ourselves from views with which we had nothing in common before. We state with full certainty: these forces, although somewhat hostile to the Latvian people, are also hostile to the absolute majority of Russians and representatives of other ethnic groups residing in Latvia. Without the Latvian people there is not and cannot be a future for this land. The near-sightedness of those who do not want to understand this simple truth is staggering.

Let us turn to the best in each of us. Anyone who sincerely loves his people and his language, will evaluate another people's love for its native language, history, and culture as being equally natural. This is grounds for mutual understanding and friendship, not for opposition. Egotism and envy alienate, and we should not and will not reconcile ourselves to envy and egotism.

Having many years of experience in interacting and working with Russian audiences here in Latvia, we cannot help but see how the impatience and aggressiveness of certain strata are building up to the extent of forcing the policy of mandatory assimilation and the artificial displacement of ethnic groups, to the extent of worsening living conditions on account of the ugly crowding of the population. One way or another, this was all made clear at the congress. Possibly, the organizers of Interfront have achieved something which they themselves did not want.

The congress, with rare exception, was marked by solidarity and a well-known kind of conformity of opinions. Some especially wanted to express respect for people, having made so bold as to utter the word Culture from the rostrum in this unhealthy, heated atmosphere, having had the courage to go against the flow. Unfortunately, the exceptions only confirmed the rule. Whereas individual speeches could still have been classified as the speeches of misinformed, complex-ridden people or as philistine consumers' pretensions, the entire congress as such comprised a serious political action, which can never be erased from the minds of the people, no matter how much its inspirers dodge.

We are sure that the Latvian people will understand who is who quite well. However, the appearance of the shameful myth that all of the republic's Russian population is automatically included in Interfront must not be allowed. We are also speaking out against this new, false stereotype. We assert: the Russians of Latvia, all the bright forces, everyone who is honest and talented; the conscience, intellect, and finally, simple common sense, are all on the side of democratization, renovation, and revival of the republic.

[Signed] Lyudmila Azarova, Roald Dobrovenskiy, and Marina Kostenetskaya, members of the USSR Union of Writers, board members of the Latvian Union of Writers.

If One is to be Objective

Now, when, in addition to the LPF, the Interfront has been formed and has held its constituent congress, the newspapers, both Russian and Latvian, are printing so many opposing opinions about that which took place, that I would like to express my own point of view.

I will try to be objective. A bit about myself, so that the labels "stagnant," "migrant," "opponent of restructuring," etc., are not pinned on me: I was born in Riga and my daughter was born here. I am 36 years old. I speak Latvian, although I write it, it is true, worse. I live in a communal apartment. Consequently, I am a native of Riga. I think that I know the Latvian culture and history fairly well.

I will not touch on either the programs or the resolutions—everything in them is basically acceptable to all residents of the republic. I would like to talk about something else: as everyone knows, the programs of both fronts coincide by 80 percent. Is the remaining 20 percent really enough for the Latvian and Russian peoples to oppose each other? This is not in the programs: everyone is for consolidation there. We should strive for this. However, many things are otherwise in real life.

That which I dislike most of all is the fact that a "game with only one goal post" is being played. What delight the articles against Interfront arouse in part of the population! Characteristically, nobody can explain specifically just what is bad about it. A sort of chain reaction is operating. A person needs only to say or write something negative about it, and everyone repeats it. The actions of the IF are practically being examined under a microscope, and a "criminal" is being sought.

For example, at the constituent congress it was announced that Interfront is made up of 80 percent Russians. Immediately, the conclusion is made that it is not international. It is possible to think that the LPF does not consist of 90 percent Latvians. However, it is nonetheless called popular.

It is noteworthy that even a Latvian, having permitted himself to criticize the LPF, is immediately declared a stagnant, bad person. However, to make up for this, anyone can be considered a best friend, if he sings the praises of the LPF or, mainly, curses the IF.

Of course, the Interfront also has shortcomings of its own. These were displayed at the constituent congress. It is a large minus that very little attention was given to agriculture. Given this position, it seems, the peasants will not follow it. Perhaps the IF simply has no experience with such work? For example, the shortage of lawyers in the Interfront is noticeable.

I would also like to comment on the language problem. I have always thought that knowing the language of the native people of the republic where you live is vitally necessary for everyone. However there is no need to put in an equal sign: if you do not know a language, then you do not respect the people. I think that those who assert this do not believe in it themselves. It is simply easier thus to pass as a fighter for the Latvian people.

Schools and preschool institutions should not be segregated by language: after all, children learn a language more rapidly by interacting with each other. In this regard, I agree with some of the speeches at the congress. Sometimes, it is terrible to see how these problems extend almost into the absurd. Maybe maternity homes should also be segregated: after all, infants are learning to cry in two languages while still in swaddling clothes.

Forgive me for the sharpness of my opinions but, to be sure, it sometimes seems like god has taken peoples' reason away—suddenly human tact, inner culture, and restraint have collapsed. Only one desire prevails, it seems: to sting more painfully, leaving questions unanswered with the significant addition: "no comments are needed." Yet, they exactly are needed. Innuendoes and hints during this difficult time only harm the common concern.

[Signed] L. Lopunova

Open Response

To the republic council of the International Front of Working People of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in connection with its open letter to the LPF Duma.

Comrade fellow citizens!

You have called on us for cooperation. Judging by the very unanimous and very constructive Interfront congress, it seems to me that, in your opinion, such cooperation is especially desirable in order to justify the assimilation of a small people, to assist immigration, to strengthen centralization, to intensively develop extensive production and to protect the Russian language from the extraordinary threat of Latvian nationalism.

One must assume that, in the name of internationalism, we ought jointly to solve the problem of the gradual and voluntary rejection of Latvians from national schools, VUZs, Latvian publications, and radio and television broadcasts. We should be able to find a common language in the struggle against establishing the status of a republic citizen. In our turn, we would probably be able to develop the ideas of the Forum of Peoples of Latvia via loud condemnations and neglect, as occurred, in my opinion, at your gathering of respectable internationalists.

We would probably be able to endlessly discuss the progressive role of Stalinism in the events of 1940, 1941, 1949, and 1959 in Latvia, as well as express indignation from the bottoms of our hearts concerning the malicious desire of the Latvian people to preserve themselves and their right to national self-determination. We would be able amicably, without the aid of simultaneous translation, to solve the problem of introducing the Russian language as the second state language in the Soviet republics, and then throughout the world as well, so that finally the shameful "nationality" column could be erased from the passports of the planet's citizens, so that finally a profoundly international mono-lingualism and mono-culture would prevail. We will probably find a common language in the desire to voice our own dissatisfaction with the creative intelligentsia, the press and spiritual culture. Indeed, we would be able to cooperate closely and sincerely, if only the goals of the Latvian Popular Front were not completely opposed (not coinciding by 80 percent) to the ideas and appeals of the Interfronters in this respect. Of course, opportunities for common activity still remain for us in constructing purification installations in Riga, snow removal, and celebrating the City Holiday. However, it is easier for the Riga City Soviet of People's Deputies to coordinate this work. Moreover, I am forced to explain with regret that the Latvian Popular Front was not formed in order to create special conciliatory committees with the Interfront, DOSAAF, societies of philatelists or book fans, and other public organizations. All residents of the republic, regardless of their nationality, religious convictions, profession, or international maturity, are allowed to **support** the program and actions of the LPF. We also do not forbid this for you.

[Signed] Daynis Ivans, LPF chairman (PADOMJU JAU-NATNE, 18 January)

Creators of Controversial Latvian TV Program 'Labvakar' Interviewed

*18000539 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
18 Jan 89 p 3*

[Interview with those in charge of the 'Labvakar!' television program, Edvin Inkens, Oyar Rubenis, Yuris Vaychun, one of its directors, and Aldis Neymanis, chief editor of the TV Main Editorial Board for Propaganda, by A. Kraulinsh: "Good Evening, Television and Radio Audiences!"]

[Text] [LITERATURA UN MAKSLA] Good evening, we are beginning 1989 in Latvia! Time really does go quickly. Five months have already passed since our last

meeting, which was held at a fairly difficult time for us—fears that the program would be shut down (LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, 29 July 1988) were well-founded. Probably, you will modestly observe your anniversary soon. In the words of a famous TV commentator: With what thoughts and what mood did you arrive today? How do you feel about it?

[Yu.Vaychun] In fact, as of 31 January it will be 1 year since we began the show. So to speak, last year went fantastically swiftly. We could have been considered babies, since a year is an infant's age. The fact that we do not babble, but speak rather loudly, sometimes even shouting, causes many people's misunderstanding. However, this should not be attributed to child-like directness—this took place organically and naturally. Yet, after all, we are not the only ones who have started hollering. The entire Latvian mass communications media—the radio, press, film studios and, of course, the creative intelligentsia—are doing this. At times, our cries seem to put us through sheer hell. With our program, we regularly create a certain atmosphere in part of society. To continue the crying child analogy, this is an atmosphere in which our neighbors above, below, and next door bang on the walls with brushes and yell: "Can't you quiet down!" However, I think that it is no longer possible to be quieter; there will be no quiet.

[E.Inkens] On the Christmas broadcast we performed a small melodrama, as though we were ending the program and had only intended to work on it for a year, and in a tragic voice I said that this was the last broadcast for... the current year. Afterwards, Oyar should have said that, of course, we were not ending our work and we would continue it, since it is needed both by the viewers, as well as by us ourselves. Oyar had the opportunity at that moment, and mainly, he wanted to say that...

[O.Rubens] I badly wanted to say that it really was our last broadcast, because it seems to me and it seemed at the time, while I was sitting in the chair, that a certain stage had been passed and it was not clear to me, and is not clear even now, what we should do next. One thing is entirely clear: it is impossible to go on like this any more. How could it be possible?

[E.Inkens] We really feel like some sort of creative crisis has started, and we were particularly dissatisfied with the Christmas broadcast. It was fairly good, and we do see our mistakes, but there is this feeling that we do not know what step to take next.

[LITERATURA UN MAKSLA] How do you feel in dinner jackets? To be honest, you look fairly tolerable.

[O.Rubens] I, for one, felt awful, and the others probably did too. In all likelihood, the problem was that we are not the players that we wanted to pass ourselves off as. We wanted to be Christmas "Santa-Clauses," but we essentially remained something like center forwards.

[Yu.Vaychun] Good idea—we are trying to be forwards. Unfortunately, a team that has only forwards, but no good defense, cannot be successful. It appears that for us, precise, thoroughly worked-out topics are this defense.

[O.Rubens] That is why articles, like the one by Comrade Glants in SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA on 27 December 1988, are appearing.

[E.Inkens] Yet, there is another problem with the interrelation between attack and defense. Before meeting in your office tonight for this interview, we have been developing a large discussion as of this morning, since there is an entire group of people in our collective who essentially think that there is no need to answer to insult, that it is unnecessary to pay it attention, and necessary to go on further.

[O.Rubens] In fact, most of us were against this interview.

[E.Inkens] Some saw an unnecessary element of self-advertisement in it, others wondered if it was worth being petty and picking quarrels, and there was also an opinion to the effect that SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA is advertising itself to some extent as well.

[O.Rubens] For me, the sensation surrounding us, to be honest, is interfering with our work.

[Yu.Vaychun] This interview should not be considered a defense. Earlier, I mentioned defense in the sense that we need to prepare our materials so as to score high. This is the main thing. If you scored a ten, then no defense whatsoever, no arguments whatsoever are needed.

[E.Inkens] I disagree. We can prepare material that scores a ten with one audience, but with another, objections are always found.

[O.Rubens] Edvin, just today we said: when you are walking down the street, you do not start throwing rocks at every dog that barks at you.

[E.Inkens] There is something else—underestimating the opponent. We have not reacted to the wave of previous insults aimed at our broadcast, which were printed in SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA. Just what are we seeing now? These assertions, which were not revealed publicly at the time, were already used in that article by Comrade Glants as axioms, as conclusive, as something that did not need any argument whatsoever. It was the same way with Yuris Kazha.

[O.Rubens] The finger did not point there directly, but it was possible to understand. Indeed, as journalists we were connected to Yuris Kazha. We talked together at the constituent congress of the Popular Front: this is elementary interest.

[E.Inkens] I also met with him at the congress of the Lithuanian "Sayudis" Movement. However, everything was tied together in this article—Yuris Kazha, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Popular Front, "Helsinki-86," and "Labvakar!," all in one pot, which is really completely absurd. The cassette tape that they took from Yuris Kazha at customs contained an interview by Uldis Germanis with Bruno Klnyn. At that time, Kazha referred to us and, in all likelihood, was sure that this material would be of interest to us. Moreover, we made no agreement with him that he would bring this tape, and we did not order it for the simple reason that we already had such a tape. But what if we had? Moreover, I had planned to go to Sweden and also intended to meet with Bruno Klnyn, in order to interview him. Therefore, we had not even thought of using Kazha's tape. There was nothing criminal on the cassette.

[O.Rubens] Furthermore, I did not even know about all this, when they called me to customs and sat us behind a table with Yuris Kazha for a confrontation. Everything was respectable. They even took pictures.

[E.Inkens] An unnecessary show was put on specially. Essentially, a film about spies is being made, in which we are given one of the main roles. However, this is simply absurd, this is not real life.

[LITERATURA UN MAKSLA] Why is this show being put on?

[E.Inkens] I ask myself the same question. I propose approximately the following answer. For many years, we have been raised on well-know stereotypes. Every visitor from the West is a spy, and so forth. In this case, it was in order to compromise not so much as "Labvakar!" or me personally, which is too petty, but in order to compromise the Popular Front, to prove its suspicious connections at any price. Therefore, they lumped everything together. Unquestionably, there is a large part of the audience—firstly, people of the old thinking, secondly, those who accept everything without critical analysis, and thirdly, those Russian-speaking people who have lived for a long time under unnatural conditions of spy-mania and are susceptible to such propaganda. It seems to me that this is a game, and "Labvakar!" is just one of the victims.

[LITERATURA UN MAKSLA] One of the moves in this game, apparently, is the notorious article by a "radio listener" in TSINYA on 15 December 1988.

[E.Inkens] Of course, there are no such "radio listeners" whatsoever. This was a made-to-order article, written by one of the, so to speak, responsible officials, and I do not know how he himself feels at the present moment.

[LITERATURA UN MAKSLA] You speak as though you already know who it was.

[E.Inkens] I am guessing. I will ask him about it when we meet. Knowing him, it seems to me, this was not so easy for him. What had to be proven? It was necessary to prove something suspicious, it was necessary to raise a cloud of dust, and afterwards it will be obvious whether or not anything stands behind it. It is no accident that SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA reprinted this article so rapidly. I want to see if SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA will reprint this interview with us just as rapidly. They ought to, for the sake of decency.

Now, an absurd situation has taken shape. The event itself can only be welcomed—the Popular Front is trying to find forces among the Latvians in the West which would support the changes in Latvia and would offer us a different kind of assistance. Now, of course, the authors of this little article are in an awkward position, since the our country's leaders at the highest level have declared that the attitude towards emigration should change.

[LITERATURA UN MAKSLA] The latest example was the speech by our Minister of Foreign Affairs, E. Shevardnadze, at the conference of USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs consulate workers held in Moscow at the end of the year.

[E.Inkens] Of course. Why shouldn't we seek allies among the Latvians who live in the West, who are specialists, and who have capital and access to finances. Why should we pretend that there are no Latvians there? They do exist and, mainly, they have preserved themselves as Latvians under extraordinarily difficult conditions. These people have survived under far more difficult conditions than we could imagine. Of course, I am not speaking about material conditions here. It is far easier to settle in a strange society and lose your national identity, than it is to maintain it. Suddenly this slanderous article appears, and I am forced to justify myself. What should I justify myself for? Because the Popular Front is performing its duty? We did nothing to be ashamed of there with Sandra Kalniyte, and I myself do not plan to justify it.

[LITERATURA UN MAKSLA] Are both of these associations—the OLA (Association of Latvians of America) and the OSLM (Association of Free Latvians of the World)—really as reactionary, as it would follow from the article referred to in TSINYA?

[E.Inkens] Indeed, they have always been considered extraordinarily reactionary here. I cannot say what they were like 5 years ago, although the "radio listeners" emphasize that we all know what kind of people they are. After all, nobody knows much of anything about them. We have no information. We really cannot start convincing ourselves that the whole life of Latvians in America is subordinated to only one purpose—spying on the Soviet Union. That would be absurd. In their opinion, their main task is to maintain themselves as Latvians in America, and they are struggling to do this. Yes, they also

have professional politicians who absolutely dislike the Soviet Union. This is true. However, for a long time they have criticized the Soviet Union for the same things that we are now criticize ourselves for as well. We should think about this. Of course, there are also people whose families were repressed here and, on hearing the terrible stories of their lives, it is obvious why these people will never reconsider their attitudes toward the Soviet Union. It is impossible from an emotional viewpoint. There are also people with firm positions, and finally, there are elementary Ulmanists. There are some who do not understand anything. Yes, now we are building a new, sovereign Latvia. Yes, it will not be at all like it once was, and this is not our goal. However, this is unacceptable for them: if it is not Ulmanis's Latvia, then they need no other Latvia. However, there are few such people and they are becoming even fewer. In my opinion, the attitude has essentially changed. I felt this at the OLA Congress. A middle-aged, but young in terms of politics, generation represents this direction. They are saying: "Something is happening in Latvia, something is changing. We in foreign lands have dreamed for years that something might change in Latvia. True, it is not taking place quite as we had imagined, but you, in Latvia, know better which path to take, and now we should help you." I see no reason why we should not be able to cooperate with these people and, moreover, they have not set any political conditions for us at all. Why should we refuse the assistance of our compatriots?

[LITERATURA UN MAKSLA] They really did not set any conditions?

[E.Inkens] I, at least, heard none.

[O.Rubens] The article in TSINYA was either intended for absolute idiots, or for abstruse people. Only extraordinarily abstruse people would know and be informed about what the OLA or OSLM are. Or rather, a person would have to be an utter idiot, in order, knowing that such great transformations are taking place in our country, to think that the Latvians who belong to these associations are all, without exception, just as conservative as they were a year or year and a half ago. Let me quote: "Anyone at all interested in this knows what the OLA and OSLM are." This should have been explained, if even a little, but what did the newspaper do? Pardon me, but it was in the spirit of Stalin's day. Another thing: why did the "radio listeners" have to pretend to be fools and not know who the third representative was? After all, everyone knows which group went to Canada and that the third person was our operator, who, moreover, is not even a member of the Popular Front. From this comment, it follows that both comrades all but participated in developing the resolution. This already seems like the gradual elimination of Soviet power in Soviet Latvia and its secession from the USSR. However, one must not add that which did not occur!

[E.Inkens] Let me immediately elaborate on the resolutions. After we and Sandra Kalniyte had informed everyone about what is happening here, a ready-made

resolution on OLA support for the Popular Front was read. This resolution was acceptable for us. Later, this resolution was rewritten and certain standard phrases, corresponding to the traditional political thinking of the people living in foreign countries, were introduced and now we can no longer accept this resolution as easily. However, I know full well that during its discussion there were sharp debates surrounding the words "sovereignty" and "independence," and this alone attests to the fact that the thinking of the association's members is changing. I am quite sure that the OLA Congress which will be held in the spring will bring even greater changes, and that if we continue the positive process here, we will find many people who will want to help their Homeland with all their hearts, without any ulterior motives, without any concealed meaning whatsoever.

[LITERATURA UN MAKSLA] The "radio listeners" already asked my next question at the end of their article: "Finally, it would be interesting to find out how the party organization of the Latvian Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting evaluates the activity of its employee, communist Edvin Inkens, on the other side of the Atlantic?"

[O.Rubens] This request from the "radio listeners" seems extremely improper to me. If the party organization really had to evaluate this "activity," after lumping the speeches by Sandra Kalniyte and Edvin Inkens, which were published in this newspaper, together with a commentary that does not at all correspond to what was said in their speeches, then I doubt that the party organization would be able to make the conclusions that these "radio listeners" had in mind.

[Yu.Vaychun] I would still just like to note that one cannot speak anonymously on television, as opposed to the press. Anonymity has already been condemned and ought to be avoided.

[LITERATURA UN MAKSLA] In this regard, we should also remember the resolution of the first Congress of Latvian Lawyers concerning the publication of anonymous articles in the press, which precisely reflects our overall position (LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, 23 December 88).

[E.Inkens] Let us return again to the article by Comrade Glants, mentioned at the beginning of this conversation, which, of course, also contains good and proper thoughts. However, the basic tendency of the article—that effects interfere with causes—is radically unacceptable to me. "Labvakar!" is only an effect, a reflection of processes occurring in society, but this newspaper's articles attempt to emphasize that our broadcast engenders these processes. This attempt turns everything upside-down. We prepare materials that we consider topical and significant for society. We can only focus on a real situation, and cannot create it artificially.

[O.Rubens] Comrade Glants reproaches us for wanting to see events the way we need to see them, but he does this himself. For example, the episode with the discharge of sewage into the Daugava. The author of the article is not worried about the pollution of the Daugava, but only about the fact that the driver guilty of this was Russian. Maybe it would be interesting to know how many of the "gold-workers" are Latvians, Russians, or representatives of other nationalities. So much as was possible to imagine, that during the filming we did not specially seek a person of Russian nationality there. The problem interested us, not what kind of person was standing there. Indeed, Comrade Glants is right that "gold" was poured into the sewer shaft, but this shaft does not purify, or rather, as Comrade Derkach, deputy minister of health care, put it more precisely at the television press conference, "Labvakar!'"s" mistake was the fact that there really is just barely one purification collector at this site, but it only purifies by 20 percent. After this report, it would no longer be worthwhile for Comrade Glants to write about it. He would still have to count up how many Russians and how many Latvians we criticized.

[E.Inkens] About the architect Nina Veselaya—she appeals to Russians to remember the homeland, to be patriots, but what does the author of the article do? She does not address the essence of the problem, but starts an examination of who she is, where she is from, where she worked, and who says what about her. Indeed, we acknowledge our inaccuracy and even a mistake, in that until the end we did not verify the address of "Prometeya" which she indicated, in that we were too trusting. However, this does not change the essence of the matter.

[A. Neymanis] One can only wonder why the author of the article and those who think like him do not voice displeasure regarding Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to return to the non-black earth zone and other neglected rural regions. You have not happened to hear about anyone being worried about an appeal to return to the rural district here, in our republic. Yet when N. Veselaya does this, they immediately begin to judge her. In my opinion, feelings like love for one's homeland ought to be respected, even when called for by law-breakers.

[O.Rubens] How come Comrade Glants does not see the positive? For example, he does not remember the tekhnikum student or the Popular Front representative from the Institute of Civil Aviation, who both appealed for mutual understanding. They sought us out themselves and wanted to participate in a broadcast.

[Yu.Vaychun] During the broadcast, we can be called at the indicated telephone numbers. It is too bad that there are no girls to handle the phone system here. They would tell about the swinishness they have to listen to on the phone for 2 hours, from people speaking in Russian. It is terrible. They call us fascists, and that is only the mildest definition. Maybe it should be recorded on tape and published? At least, Comrade Glants should be able to

come and listen. Secondly, people call the editorial office and criticize us. Maybe there is some truth in what they say. Therefore, we invite them to meet with us and speak on the broadcast, but they refuse to do this.

[E.Inkens] We have an unwritten rule in the editorial office—to avoid negative topics with people who speak in Russian. However, there are times when this cannot be avoided, such as the example of the "gold-workers" or the chief engineer of "Sarkanays Metalurgsa" from Liye-paya. By nationality he is Russian, but he nonetheless happened to speak before our camera, since the director, a representative of the same race, was unable to speak to us.

Really, we ought to count up how many bureaucrats of Latvian nationality, people who oppose the current restructuring, we have criticized, and how much we have worked with them. They tell us that we are kindling ethnic feelings, and I will admit that for part of the population of Latvia, and specifically for non-Latvians, this national upsurge is unpleasant, but throughout the postwar years Latvians were humiliated in all spheres. Their national pride was driven deep underground. Only now are we returning slightly to a normal ethnic self-awareness, and this really disturbs some people, as you see. However, it should not be disturbing. Of course, it would be more convenient not to teach the Latvian language. Of course, it is convenient for them to speak only in Russian. Yes, it is more convenient, but it is not humane. Now, we are only returning to ethnic self-awareness under normal conditions. Of course, we will promote this return, since we are patriots of this land. We are not at all trying to conceal this. However, are we really strengthening ethnic contradictions, are we really kindling nationalism? Let us recall the case of the vandalized kindergarten in Yurmala. They accuse of hinting at something. However, speaking plainly, there were really no hints there whatsoever, except one: at the time, we concealed from the viewers the fact that the little bird in the mouse-trap was painted in the red-white-red colors. We intentionally stayed quiet about this, and it was impossible to see this on the screen because of the poor quality videotape.

[O.Rubens] We were unable to interview the Latvian boy who participated in the vandalism, because he was in prison. However, we clearly and understandably stated that one of them was Russian and the other was Latvian. We did not put all the blame on the Russian alone. If it would have been possible, we would have talked to the Latvian as well. That would have been twice as interesting.

[E.Inkens] Only the premises of the Latvian groups were vandalized, yet all the Russian groups remained untouched. Comrade Glants invites us to interpret this event from positions advantageous for himself—those areas located closer to the exit were vandalized. And that is it!

[LITERATURA UN MAKSĻA] Did Yuriy Glants meet with any of you, except chief editor Aldis Neymanis?

[A. Neymanis] There was no one else there at the time. However, he did not display any particular desire to meet them.

[Yu. Vaychun] A professional journalist would have met with us and tried to find a common language, an overall positive program, but he is making an illegal strike below the belt. It would be interesting to know if Comrade Glants believes that his publications promoted mutual understanding among people? What did these articles give the residents of the republic?

[O. Rubens] Why did these articles have to be published now? How come SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA did not reprint, for example, the article by Roald Dobrovenskiy, "Keepers of the Flame are Needed" (LITERATURA UN MAKSĻA, 30 September 1988), and other similar materials that contribute to mutual understanding?

[E. Inkenis] I would also like to talk about some important things in Comrade Glants' article. Ya. Shtraukhmanis himself will write in SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA about the geographic atlas he mentioned. About the Russian-Latvian phrase book, which the military publishing house put out for the Soviet troop units that have been in Latvia since 1939: it seems that Comrade Glants drew his lexicon precisely from this dictionary. He thinks there is nothing wrong with soldiers speaking to Latvians in Latvian. Of course, he does not mention one important thing. The vocabulary in the dictionary is of only one type. It is the lexicon of conquerors: "Hand over the provisions! Surrender the horses! What is the enemy doing? Hands up!" This lexicon does not contribute to normal relations between peoples.

It is also striking that the article's author attempts to illuminate the events of 1939 simplistically, questioning the view that the "Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact" should be interpreted as a conspiracy to divide spheres of influence in Europe. In his main counter-argument, he refers to the fact that this idea was first expressed by the Association of Latvians of America and by American congressmen. However, this does not at all mean that it is incorrect. Let him read the Soviet press, let him read SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH of 23 August 1988. The maps and history indicate that there were secret protocols, since the military units were placed precisely as indicated on the map, and finally, it is not really that important whether or not these protocols existed. It is far more important to realize how this really occurred in life. Perhaps Comrade Glants really did not notice that, throughout the postwar years, Latvians have not really believed the version of history presented to them. Much like folk songs, there is an ethnic memory of historical events, an ethnic interpretation and understanding of them. Why do the people accept Mavrika Vulfson's concept so rapidly? Because she met the people's image of history. If she had not, the people would never in their

lives have accepted the concept. Comrade Glants looks at this matter so absurdly simplistically, like the time when TSINYA claimed that all the demonstrations by the Freedom Monument were the work of "Voice of America." The "Voice of America" could only act as a communicator, yet the radio station could have agitated continuously for 3 years running, telling everyone to put flowers on the monument to Pelshe and nobody would have done it. It is also exactly this way with the understanding of history, after all, since the people felt and knew that the history they were taught in school is not real, and nobody was able to extirpate this idea. The author of the article cannot see the forest for the individual trees. He sees some individual topics of our program, but he does not see the main point itself. The reason for the tension in interethnic relations is not the fact that the little Latvian race wants to blame somebody, but the fact that for years, with full reason, it has felt humiliated in its own land, and now it is trying to return to the feeling of mastery and its own self-awareness. It is unknown why this seems abnormal to some people, but it is, after all, normal. There is an "endearing passage" in Glants' article about what nationalism is. Yes, we do have a right to demand special privilege for the Latvian people, and this special privilege is **to survive**. I think that not one of us intends to refuse this "privilege." This land was given our name, and if Comrade Glants can name some other race that has a greater right to feel like the master here, I would be pleased to hear who he names.

[Yu. Vaychun] After all, on our program we have repeatedly stated that Lithuanians and Moldavians, as well as Armenians, Georgians, Poles, Jews, Russians, and so forth, have a right to live on our land. This displays our attitude toward the other nationalities that are settling in our republic. We never put the stress on the Latvian people alone. Everyone has a right to live here and to preserve his national identity.

[O. Rubens] Relying on quotes from Lenin, the article's author makes it understood that some of us should be expelled from the party.

[A. Neymanis] I agree with him entirely. Some of the communists really ought to be expelled. After all, it is a paradox that Peters and Voss are in the same party.

[Yu. Vaychun] Today it is very important not to permit schism in the Latvian people. We should not separate ourselves from our friends and supporters among other nationalities. This is important. We should have a joint plan of action and proper tactics, without the appeals of "vanguard leaders," the Independence Movement, "Greens," or others. You may have noticed that the new logo for the "Labvakar!" broadcast shows hands, clasped in a handshake. This is a constructive orientation, a feeling of comradeship. In a year, we have sprinted down the length of the stadium track and have reached certain

boundaries. However, one cannot run at high speed for long. Perhaps, our future path should be compared to running cross-country for an indeterminate distance.

[A. Neymanis] Really, we must cover some distance, but spread our efforts out properly for the whole length.

[O.Rubens] The time for courage is past. The time for reason has begun!

[A. Neymanis] Let us be more precise—along with courage, which has always been necessary, now reason in particular is needed.

[O.Rubens] At the beginning of this talk, we recalled that at the end of the last broadcast I was greatly tempted to say that this was really the last broadcast, and to finish this all with the words of Imant Ziyedonis—stop, when you are still hot. We really were tired. We had no time to stop, rest, study and think about everything that had been done and not done. This may sound pathetic, but nonetheless in conclusion I would like to say that we have no right to stop, in the name of those, hoary with age, who after many years of darkness once again took faith, and we have no right to stop, in the name of the young men and women who follow us. Therefore, we once again say: "Good evening, Latvia! Good evening in Latvia!"

P.S. Our conversation was held on 2 January. On 4 January, a conference of the LaSSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting party committee was held. The adopted resolution says: "We consider the article 'From the of America Broadcast' in TSINYA, 15 December 1988, to be opposed to the current policy of new thinking and to the basic concepts of restructuring, which require a change in the attitude toward the stereotypes from the period of Stalinism and stagnation, in evaluating people's activities. The party committee deems communist E. Inkens's activity in Canada and the United States to be politically correct, conforming to the course determined by the CPSU for developing political, cultural, economic and other ties with the capitalist world, including with emigrant organizations." (LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, 7 January).

From the Editors: The interview with the creators of the "Labvakar!" television broadcast, presented for the readers' attention today, is not being printed "for the sake of decency," but at the request of those who were interested in our "Discussion Rostrum" of 27 December 1988. We do not feel it necessary to comment on the reprint. The editors have already received abundant mail, containing diverse judgments of both our material, as well as the "Labvakar!" broadcast. The readers' responses to this interview will also be reflected in the newspaper.

Jurist Disputes Assertion That LPF Program Is Constitutional

*18000561a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
13 Jan 89 p 4*

[Article by Ye. Tishchenko, Honored Jurist of the Latvian SSR, under the rubric "A Topical Theme": "What Is Behind a 'Protest' After a Protest"]

[Text] On 21 December, 1988, the Interdepartmental Commission for the Registration of Charters of Newly Established Public Associations made a decision regarding the registration of the charter for the Latvian People's Front [LPF]. This registration meant that the LPF has been recognized as established, i.e., it was transformed from an informal public organization into an officially recognized legal entity with all the consequences which are derived therefrom, including securing a guarantee from the state ensuring the successful fulfillment of its own charter tasks and the right of participation in the election campaign and so on.

However, on 28 December, the Latvian SSR's procurator, after recognizing that the LPF charter did not conform to the constitution's requirements, filed a protest with the republic's Council of Ministers regarding the decision of the interdepartmental commission and suspended its activities until the protest could be considered. A copy of the protest was sent to the commission chairman, I. Kauzhen, so steps could be taken. A brief report regarding the lodging of the protest was sent by the republic's procuracy for publication in the press.

But, in the newspaper PADOMJU JAUNATNE (the procuracy did not send the document to its editorial staff), suddenly, its complete text appeared. Such a hurried publication prior to the consideration by the republic's Council of Ministers made it clear that a campaign had begun against this protest and was aimed at shaping the corresponding "public opinion."

The first sign was the article by I. Bishers, doctor of juridical sciences, "In Connection With the Procurator's Protest," which was published in this same young people's paper. It is well known that the author is a member of the LPF and, therefore, a completely logical conclusion is: the goal of his article in PADOMJU JAUNATNE is not to express his own personal opinion, but rather, to defend the LPF positions. However, similarly, this could not be done without the desire to defend the honor of his own regiment, inasmuch as it is well known that I. Bishers participated actively in the elaboration of the LPF charter and program.

Thus, what is the essence of his arguments about the groundlessness of the protest by the republic's procurator?

The author of the article in PADOMJU JAUNATNE considers as groundless the assertion in the protest that the LPF's registration as a socio-political organization

contradicts the Latvian SSR's Constitution. In support of this, it is pointed out that the All-Union Leninist Komsomol in the Komsomol's charter is proclaimed as a socio-political organization, and, so he says, it follows from this that the activities of socio-political organizations are permitted by the constitution.

Moreover, it is precisely because the All-Union Leninist Komsomol is an organization of a socio-political nature, by which it differs from other public organizations, that it has been given special mention in Article 7 of the Latvian SSR's Constitution and it is through this that the status of the Komsomol as a socio-political organization in contrast to other public formations has been consolidated.

If we follow I. Bishers' logic, then, in Article 49 of the Latvian SSR's Constitution, it should be stated that citizens have the right to join together in social, socio-political and political organizations. But in this article, of the named types of organizations, only one is mentioned—**social**. Here it is stipulated that the goal of social organizations is to facilitate the development of the citizens' political activism and independent actions, while it has been established by Article 7 of the Constitution that social organizations participate in the solution of political, economic, social and cultural questions. But this does not in the least mean that they are socio-political or political organizations.

In the jurist's article, it is asserted that the LPF is not opposing the CPSU's leading role and, in support of this, a reference is made to Paragraph 7 of the LPF's charter. Well, then, we will cite this paragraph: **"The Communist Party and other social organization cooperate with the LPF basically through the mediation of their own members—participants in the LPF"**. To put it more intelligibly, the LPF makes no provision for cooperation with the Communist Party, but feels that, if the latter needs such cooperation with the LPF, then, in order to have this, it is necessary for the communists to join its ranks and, as I Bishers explains, to act in conformity with the CPSU's Charter.

Moreover, according to Article 6 of the Latvian SSR's Constitution, the Communist Party is the core of social organizations and, consequently, the question is not one of the party's cooperation with the LPF, but rather, of its leading and guiding role in the activities of the People's Front, which is not mentioned in either the charter or the program of the LPF.

As one of the factors which allegedly confirm the fact that the LPF recognizes the Communist Party's leading role and does not place itself above it, I. Bishers cites the participation of communists as delegates in the work of the LPF Constituent Congress and the election of many of them to the front's leading organ—the Duma. Indeed, many communists, because of poor legal training, have not examined the many juridical and

politically veiled positions of the charter and program of the LPF and its goals and tasks and continue to remain in the People's Front together with members of the self-proclaimed political (pay attention—not social and not socio-political) organization—the so-called Latvian National Independence Movement and the Helsinki-86 group, which, using the membership of the LPF, are openly conducting anti-Soviet, separatist propaganda among the populace, including at meetings organized by the People's Front. And the leaders of these organizations, Berklay and Vidinsh, have been elected to the LPF Duma.

If the communists who are in the LPF and are members of the Duma recognize, as I. Bishers asserts, the CPSU's leading role in the activities of social organization, then why is this role not being implemented by them in practice and why, within the People's Front, is such an incomprehensible tolerance flourishing towards extremists, which discredits the entire organization and those of its members who are devoted to Soviet power? If the article's author is to be believed, in that the LPF, in acting within the framework of the Constitution, acknowledges the requirements of Article 6 of the Latvian SSR's Constitution, then I, a party member, have a number of questions for Bishers, the communist, and the other communists who are in the People's Front.

Why have they been diluted among the non-party members of the LPF and are not fulfilling Paragraph 61 of the CPSU Charter, in conformity with which the communists are obligated to establish, within the Duma and within all the lower-level organizations of the front, party groups, which, as the core of the party, would pursue its policies within the LPF, would exert the influence of the communists on the state of affairs in this social formation and would check on the implementation of party and soviet directives? They would have to adopt measures for purging the ranks of the People's Front and its Duma of groups and persons engaging in anti-Soviet and nationalistic activities. It would also be necessary to inform all the members of the LPF in the ATMODA bulletin about the results of the activities of these groups.

But, for the time being, the communists have not performed any specific acts in the LPF and you will not fit the words of I. Bishers into the PF's charter and program.

However, let us go on.

It is pointed out in the front's program: "the LPF will see to it that they (the people's deputies) do not deviate from the voters' mandate and from their own pre-election platform" (paragraph 1, section II of the program). The article's author asserts that the right of the People's Front to to keep tabs on the activities of the people's elected representatives conforms to Article 6 of the USSR Law on the Status of People's Deputies in the USSR. To put it mildly, I. Bishers has misled the readers.

The indicated article of the law, on the contrary, provides that a deputy maintain contact with social organizations which have nominated him as a deputy candidate and that he is responsible only to the voters and accountable to them. According to Article 84 of the Latvian SSR Law on the Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, only a social organization which has nominated someone as a deputy candidate can demand a report from the deputy about his work. According to Article 20 of the USSR Law on the Status of People's Deputies in the USSR, he is obligated to account for his work to the voters and his report about the fulfillment of his own obligations can be heard by the Soviet of People's Deputies (Article 8 of the indicated law). Thus, the LPF, as a social organization, has not been granted the right by the law to keep tabs on the activities of deputies.

I. Bishers correctly notes that the People's Front has a right to express one or another opinion about the introduction of changes to the existing constitution and other laws. But it is not asserted in the protest that all the LPF's suggestions about changes to the existing legislation are unconstitutional. The question has been put completely differently. There is a universally recognized axiom that, as long as a law is in effect, it is subject to implementation.

Moreover, in the LPF program, the discussion on many questions concerns not the submission of suggestions regarding a change in legislation, but rather, demands are put forth for the implementation of measures which are regulated by the existing legislation. For example, in paragraph 5, section VIII of the program, it is stated: "the LPF demands a change in the all-union subordination of enterprises and banks" and so on, despite the fact that this contradicts Paragraph 7, Article 73 of the USSR's Constitution. And the expression "the LPF demands" permeates the entire program.

What draws attention to itself is the fact that I. Bishers silently bypassed the essential question contained in the protest—about the non-conformity of the LPF's program with the requirements of Article 34 of the Latvian SSR's Constitution, which guarantees equal rights to all of the republic's citizens, regardless of their nationality, and prohibits any kind of either direct or indirect limitation on the rights and direct or indirect advantages based on race or nationality. Moreover, contrary to the requirements of the constitution, in paragraph 3, section IV of its own program, the LPF proposes the establishment of such an election system as under which, for representatives of the Lettish nationality, there would be assured a permanent and unreducible majority of the mandates in the soviets of all levels.

This, basically, is how matters stand with regard to the material "In Connection With the Procurator's Protest" in the newspaper PADOMJU JAUNATNE. But, after I had finished my own analysis, in another newspaper—RIGAS BALSS—an article appeared by Yu. Boyars, "A

Protest Against the 'Protest'". Thus, the assumption that the LPF is organizing a campaign against the procurator's protest has been proven to be correct. This is why I do not feel it is possible to disregard the article of the Riga city newspaper as well.

First, I can not agree with the assertion of another learned jurist that a division based on "class affiliation" has occurred in the republic. There is no division between the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry. It would be more accurate to say that, after the establishment of the LPF, there occurred, perhaps externally and not always noticeably, an isolation of the Lettish people from the Russian-speaking population. But this is a special theme and is not the essence of the article.

It is well known that Yu. Boyars is one of the chief theoreticians of the People's Front and has a significant amount of authority in it, although he claims to be a modest member of a group of experts who do not have any kinds of leadership positions in the LPF. Many of Yu. Boyars' arguments are identical to those expressed by I. Bishers and this is completely understandable and explainable: both of them are active members of the People's Front and defenders of its positions.

But there is also something new in the second article.

First of all, its author discloses details not known to everyone about the preparing of the LPF's charter and program. It turns out that, during the working out of these documents, the members of the experts' group, i.e., Yu. Boyars as well, discussed the question of the inclusion in them of a statement recognizing the CPSU's leading role. There took place, as we will find out, a complete "theoretical discussion," but this question was not resolved positively only because the members of the experts' group "could not agree among themselves about its formulation."

Here you have it! It turns out that these are the "serious" reasons which hindered including in the LPF's charter and program one of the central questions which determine the position of the established organization. If the experts were divided in their opinions, then why was this question not submitted for discussion and resolution to the constituent congress at which Yu. Boyars himself oversaw the discussion and adoption of the new organization's charter and program?

As the basis for his own, or more accurately, the LPF's, "protest" against the procurator's protest, the author cites the maxim of all legal systems: "everything is permitted which is not prohibited." But this maxim is resolved in the constitution and it is clearly stated that, in addition to the CPSU, the trade unions, the All-Union Leninist Komsomol and cooperative organizations, "other social organizations" are also valid. I would emphasize: it states only "social" ones. However, Yu. Boyars is exerting a maximum of efforts to contend: the list established by the constitution can be expanded.

In the article, it is pointed out repeatedly that the republic's procurator, Ya. Dzenitis, is speaking "from the position of Interfront," "like Interfront" and "similar to Interfront," yet, here he is "prosecuting" the LPF. It is understandable that, for the People's Front, which is claiming sole leadership in the republic, the establishment of Interfront is a serious hindrance to the accomplishment of such goals. Interfront has become a "bone in the throat" and, therefore, the LPF's leaders, its theoreticians and its functionaries in the mass media are doing all they can to smear Interfront. But is it reputable for a doctor of sciences to be so engaged in juridical polemics with the republic's procurator and, what is more, to hang labels on Ya. Dzenitis? He devoted nearly half the article not to the juridical basis of why he considers the procurator's protest to be wrong, but rather, to a discussion of Ya. Dzenitis' political position.

Yu. Boyars (just like I. Bishers) attributes to the procurator the statement that he, allegedly, feels that jurists should be non-party members. I personally talked with Ya. Dzenitis about this matter and he stated that the speech to which Yu. Boyars alludes, has been distorted. This is confirmed by the fact that the phrase taken out of the context of the speech by Ya. Dzenitis has been cited differently in articles by three other authors. Indeed, when there is no counter-argument, they attack the person. These methods are well known, but it is a cause for regret when they are used by such reputable and learned jurists.

As is well known from the report of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the interdepartmental commission of the republic's Ministry of Justice has been eliminated and its decree on the registration of the charter of the LPF, just like other social organizations, has been recognized as invalid. But the question has not been conclusively solved by this and the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, in conformity with Articles 3 and 21 of the Latvian SSR Law on the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, is still faced with adopting measures on bringing the charter and program of the LPF into conformity with the republic's Constitution and existing legislation.

Proceedings of Interfront Constituent Congress Detailed

*18000560a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
8 Jan 89 pp 1, 4*

[Latinform report: "Constituent Congress of LaSSR Workers' International Front"]

[Text] On 7 January, in the Latvian CP Central Committee's House of Political Education, the LaSSR International Front's Constituent Congress began its work. The 657 delegates of this new public organization represent various social layers of the republic's population—the workers and the peasants, the intelligentsia and youth. Their national make-up is also diverse. Among

the congress' guests are activists from Latvia's party, trade union, public and informal organizations. Around 200 Soviet and foreign journalists are illuminating its work.

I. Machiyauskus, one of the co-chairmen of Interfront's organizing committee and senior scientific associate of the Riga Red Banner Civil Aviation Engineers Institute [RRBCAEI], opened the congress.

Those assembled elected credentials, accounting and drafting committees.

A. Belaychuk, co-chairman of Interfront's organizing committee and prorector of RRBCAEI, gave a speech. He characterized the goals and tasks of the new mass public organization, which was established for the further extension and development of the processes of perestroika. The most important of them are the consolidation of all the republic's robust forces which are truly acting on behalf of society's renewal, the normalization of international relations and the harmonious development of all spheres of life in Latvia. In establishing Interfront, said the speaker, we started with the fact that, basically, the interests of the workers of the different nationalities coincide and the differences between them are not of an antagonistic nature. Thus, through our combined efforts, we can struggle for the ideas of perestroika, which was begun by our Communist Party. But, while acknowledging the CPSU's leading role, we reserve to ourselves the right to criticize individual party leaders. All of our activities will be directed at making the people happy in this day and time and providing them with confidence in the future for themselves, their children and their grandchildren. We will be tolerant in our mutual relations with one another, for we ourselves are frequently the enemies of perestroika when we lack a sense of tact and self-control and do not take responsibility for the consequences of our own words and deeds. Latvia is our common home! Let us not forget this, concluded the speaker. (A. Belaychuk's speech will be published in full in future editions of the newspapers).

I. Lopatin and A. Alekseyev, co-chairmen of the organizing committee, presented reports on the progress of the discussion of the previously published drafts of Interfront's charter and declaration—all told, around 2,000 comments and suggestions have been received. These documents have been adopted as the basic principles. Their revision will continue in the drafting committees in accordance with the course of the congress' work.

During the first half of the day, delegates and guests, such as T. Zhdanok, docent of the Latvian State University imeni P. Stuchka, V. Perevezentsev, professor of the USSR Academy of Sciences' International Workers' Movement Institute, V. Lerkh, department chief of the Latgiproprom Institute, G. Popov, professor of the Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov, K. Stroganov, a worker from the Riga Dzintars Production Association, O. Shchiptsov, deputy secretary of the

RRBCAEI's party committee, V. Popov, member of the Balto-Slavic Society, and Yu. Lisment, senior instructor for the Ogrskiy Rayon's professional fire department team, presented co-reports on the problems of international relations, economic development, ecology and human rights and spoke in the debates.

V. Nechiporenko, chairman of the credentials committee, reported on the results of its work.

A. V. Gorbunov, chairman of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and member of the Latvian CP Central Committee Buro, addressed the congress.

Time and again, he said, from large and small rostrums, it has been declared: perestroyka is a revolution. Peering into the history of human civilization, we see that the struggle for social justice and freedom formed the basis of all revolutions. The present-day revolutionary transformations, called perestroyka, are also no exception. The concepts of social justice and freedom are taking on a more profound meaning with each new revolutionary transformation.

Thus, regarding social justice today in the republic. If we make a superficial judgment, then we have achieved large successes, basically in eliminating the privileges of the nomenklatura workers in the area of the distribution of consumer goods. Practically everything which begins with the prefix "spets" [special] has been eliminated for the nomenklatura. What still remains, for example, the hospital, will also be used by the other strata of society. The gain is moral and material. But, as you well understand, this alone, by far, does not settle the matter of social justice. Indeed, the basic sense of social justice is included in the main principle of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." Unfortunately, the realization of this has proven to be a not so simple matter. Wage-leveling, which permeated the entire economic mechanism, was prevalent. There were attempts to get rid of it, however, the lack of radical measures led to a general lack of incentive and even to irresponsibility.

The revolutionary restructuring exposes fully and poses ever newer problems in the main sphere, the economic sphere. For example, the problem of property and its ownership causes quite a few arguments and differences of opinion. G. Popov addressed this problem in an interesting manner, but, in practice, all this is much more complicated. According to Dal's dictionary, an owner is one who is the sole master. However, when it comes to practice, then everything turns out to be otherwise.

The residents of Olayne, for example, are asking, to no avail, who is the master in Olayne—the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Riga Rayon, the republic's government or the USSR Ministry of Medical Preparations? In what matter? In a mundane matter, but one that is fundamentally important for the residents. The people of

Olayne are producing quite a bit of profit through their labor for the state and have long deserved to have normal working and living conditions for themselves. The ecological situation is abnormal and there is an acute need for housing, polyclinics and trade and domestic services sites. The people of Olayne are also requesting that this construction work proceed in place of the expansion of industry and that the construction of new industrial facilities be put off for a couple of years, inasmuch as there are not enough construction resources available for everything. But the ministry is insisting on its own way, reminding them of the state interests and medical preparations which are urgently needed by the country. But we will never ensure the state interests if we do not establish as the basis for our own activities the interests of the territory, i.e., the interests of the person who lives and works in this territory.

For many long years, we have been accustomed to the fact that we are all the owners in general, but of nothing specifically. Indeed, it has come to the point that the concept of "public" has become a synonym for "no one's." The transition to cost accounting will not tolerate such an approach. Everyone should be an actual owner. At the level of the enterprises, in connection with the adoption of the Law on State Enterprises, this problem has been solved. But what is to be done with such public property as the ground, the waters and the minerals... The results of the unrestrained exercise of power by the departments are well known—they can be listed alphabetically, starting with the Aral Sea to our city of Yurmala.

And it is not likely that incompetent people are leading the local soviets throughout the entire Soviet Union. We acknowledge honestly that the reason is more profound—the local soviets are not the masters in their own territories and do not have the last word in everything which concerns life, work and everyday events in their territories. The party's course here is consistent—the freeing of the soviets' sovereignty and the harmonizing of international relations require that allotments be made to the union republics and the local soviets according to new, specific rights for the use of the socialist public property and natural resources placed at their disposal. And the meaning of these new rights is for them to be the authorized agent for the public property in the jurisdictional territory. And, if we want to realize the principle of "distribution according to labor," under which each republic itself will have full control in its own territory of all resources, then regional cost accounting is the basic prerequisite for the true embodiment of the slogan "All Power to the Soviets! ". We are also striving for this.

Recently, there has been frequent discussion of the question: will not cost accounting lead the republics from the dictates of the departments to the dictates of the local organizations? I want to emphasize: the course of the republic's government is in the direction of the expansion of the enterprises' independence, their gradual exit

out from under any administrative subordination and the creation of an economic situation in which the law is the higher authority for the enterprises.

Let us also consider such a problem as the protection of the economic interests of the republic's populace in the matters of the consumption of those goods resources which remain at their disposal after the inter-republic commodity exchange. According to the data from the All-Union Marketing and Demand Institute, as a result of the unorganized exporting of goods, an imbalance is being created in the amount of more than 400 million rubles, i.e., some people are earning money, but the goods they planned to buy are being abducted by others. In a number of regions, they are introducing a system of coupons, various certificates, visiting cards and the like. Is this solution better? Of course not. But I know that others are not yet forthcoming. However, the problems need to be solved today. Therefore, during the preparations for the transition to cost accounting, the concept of "republic money" is sometimes being debated and, of course, this concept is extremely conditional.

I noticed that, in your documents, concern has been expressed about certain separatist sentiments in the realization of the republic's economic and political independence. Indeed, if one were to judge by the views expressed at certain meetings, it would be necessary to say something even more sharply. But, with regards to the actions of the government and its economic plans and of the Supreme Soviet and its proposed amendments to the USSR's Constitution, nothing of the sort is in the works.

Thus, what does the republic's government mean by independence? The independence and responsibility of the republic and its regions and the availability to them of broad authority in solving the problems of the economic and social development of the territories assume the revelation and realization of the interests of all the national groups and social strata. And self-financing means that the expenditures of the republic and its regions are covered by earned income and their financial resources depend directly on the efficiency and final results of the work of all the enterprises and organizations located on its territory.

All of the "hullabaloo" about sovereignty and independence is because of the fact that the soviets have no mechanism for appealing the decisions of the central departments. For example, with regards to the fate of Olayne, in this instance, I appealed in the name of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet through a letter to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev as Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The letter is being considered at this time. But, really, is this a matter with which Mikhail Sergeyevich should have to deal? Without an appeals mechanism, sovereignty and independence are

empty words. The document being worked out on the discrimination of functions between the Union and the republics should make things clear here and we will insist on this.

Perhaps, the most heated discussions in recent times raged around those suggestions which the government intends to adopt in order to limit the mechanical increase in the republic's population. In all likelihood, there are no differences of opinion regarding the evaluation of the situation and the necessity of limiting the mechanical increase in the republic's population. Although the stresses sometimes vary. This problem must not be connected solely with the survival of the Lettish people. The permanent inhabitants of Latvia, regardless of their nationality, are asserting ever more firmly their natural rights to housing, to domestic services and to food products and consumer goods. Maintaining the necessary living standard of the republic's population with a constant, uncontrolled mechanical population increase is not possible. This is a unique type of vicious circle, out of which it is impossible to break by the traditional means of extensive growth. This circle can only be broken by new economic techniques and intensive management methods.

But, all the same, where are the reasons for such a large and undiminishing mechanical population increase? It is impossible to give a simple answer to this question. It would be far from the truth if the blame were placed only on industry. In fact, the number of people working in industry is diminishing and the production volumes are increasing and this means that there is no basis for reproaching extensiveness. I think it is necessary to consider also the fact that there are a lot of job openings in the various sectors. Some industrial enterprises, construction organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhoses act, as it were, like pumps, pumping into open reservoirs formed as a consequence of the fluctuation of personnel and job openings. The one and the other depend on the labor organization conditions.

As you yourselves understand, the situation has become extraordinarily complicated. The measures should also be, perhaps, temporary, but extraordinary.

The first version of the draft of the decree on stopping the mechanical population increase has been discussed by the government in front of the managers of large enterprises and organizations. No one said anything against the necessity of such a decree. However, it was suggested that the economic measures be intensified. Numerous suggestions were expressed regarding this. In conformity with the adopted resolution, the departments of the Council of Ministers, over the course of a month, are working on the completion of this draft and, at the same time, preparing a draft of the corresponding changes in legislation.

You ask if I myself believe that this document will work and the irrational migration will cease. Of course, there will always be natural migration. Perhaps it is even necessary to put up with some temporary expenses. On the whole, these measures should push the enterprises and organizations, by economic methods, to reduce the number of workers and increase labor output using the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

You will say that the draft of the decree will contain certain elements of a command-and-administrative nature, which can be subjected to criticism. Yes, but in any transition period, nothing new appears is a pure form without something of the old. Thus, any transition period is impossible without administrative and legal measures, the necessity for

which decreases according to the degree of assertion of the economic control methods.

Under the conditions of a transition period, the legislative activities become especially intense. Indeed, over brief periods of time, economic and political reforms are carried out, which can be done only on a legal basis. If we really want to form a legal state, then it is necessary to redo the existing legislative acts and work out many new ones. We in the republic should significantly strengthen the legal services. It should become the rule that work be organized in such a fashion that lawyers would work, together with the economists, as administrators over the drawing up of drafts of laws, ukases, decrees, regulations and programs.

Obviously, we can tolerate no delay of the practical realization in the republic of the provisions of the 19th Party Conference's resolution regarding general compulsory legal education. The legal and juridical literacy of the populace and of the specialists and leaders, in addition, will not permit tolerating the free discussion in the mass media and at the various meetings certain concepts, including those which clearly differ with the requirements of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the constitutions of the USSR and the Latvian SSR and other legislative acts. This will also facilitate the lessening of tensions in international relations.

A no less acute problem also is the status of public organizations. Today, the backwardness and even the deficiencies in the legislation on this matter are evident to everyone.

But, perhaps, the largest and most responsible work this year, and again, over the briefest periods of time, is associated with the working out of the new wording of the Latvian SSR Constitution and the Election Law. Indeed, elections for the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet will take place in the fall of this year. The enumeration of our concerns and plans for this year could go on and on. Indeed, all the revolutionary transformations should have a solid foundation. This is exactly what we are striving for, i.e., for a legal state.

We do not have a very high level of professionalism among the members of the parliament. But they will not become professionals overnight. Therefore, it is necessary that the republic's best specialists participate in the drawing up of bills. And we think it is necessary that there be more frequent consultation with the republic's labor collectives and the public. All this needs to be done without haste, but rapidly. Right now, things do not always turn out that way for us.

The question of a state language evokes many pointed and ambiguous opinions. In particular, claims are being made that the republic's Supreme Soviet adopted the resolution on the Lettish language as the state language in haste and it is being proposed that the same status be established for the Russian language as well.

Let me remind you of what has been done and what kind of plans the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has in this area. At the end of January, at a presidium session, a draft of the Law on Languages will be examined and this draft will probably be adopted as the basis for a broad general discussion.

I want to say something more regarding the essence of the suggestions which are being expressed by certain representatives of the non-Lettish segment of the population. It is indeed bad when, in a multinational republic, any language is given preference. But it is indeed a fact that, currently, the sphere of activities of the Lettish language has patently narrowed in party, state and economic organs. If this is approached from the principle internationalist standpoint, then the full question which arises is not about establishing any kinds of preferences, but rather, about assisting and protecting the Lettish language. In having given the Lettish language the status of a state language, we are only striving to assert practical bilingualism, especially in the work of the party, soviet and economic organizations and the services sphere. Mastery of both languages should become a normal professional duty of the workers of these institutions and departments. For example, each visitor himself should have the right to choose the Lettish or Russian language. This is the right of the person asking for information and not of the person giving it. All this will be stipulated in the Law on Languages. Of course, the transition will require more than a year or two and this should be accomplished gradually. Also needed are a material and technical base and proper organization of the study of the Lettish language. And, finally, desire, patience and tact are needed and not administration or discrimination according to a language principle.

In gradually introducing the functioning of the Lettish language into business correspondence, it is precisely the administration of the enterprises and institutions which is obligated at the same time to create the conditions for language study at the expense of the specific enterprise or organization. Otherwise, we can unwittingly push

toward discriminatory actions. This is intolerable. It is impossible not to agree also with those who propose the establishment of classes and schools with intensive study of the Lettish language.

The necessity of adopting another resolution as well can not be put off—on the satisfaction of the needs of the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Belorussians, the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Jews and other national groups.

It seems to me that there is a very telling effect on the natural development of certain nationalities living in the republic due to the fact that there is a very thick stratum of humanitarian intelligentsia in their midst. This is an intelligentsia which is capable of expressing the interests of all the representative of this nation and of leading them. No one can replace in this role the writers, artists, journalists, philosophers, political specialists, political economists, lawyers, and historians. Without the constructive activities of the intelligentsia, any national movement threatens to develop into a nationalistic and chauvinistic one.

The way out of the situation can be seen in the expansion of the training of cadres of creative and scientific intelligentsia from among persons not of the basic nationality.

I fully support the suggestions heard here and those currently coming in on these matters. I feel it is worthwhile to discuss the suggestion

that a special humanities-type institute be established, in which instruction would be conducted in the Russian language. This institute could become an important center of scientific research and cultural development and could serve as a center for promoting the culture of the various peoples of Latvia. Finally, it would further the development of the Lettish people's culture.

I feel it is necessary, without putting it off, to examine other specific suggestions as well. For example, in my opinion, the initiatives of the Balto-Slavic Society for cultural development and cooperation deserve support. For example, this spring, the world community, on the initiative of UNESCO will widely observe the 175th Anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko. The Balto-Slavic Society, together with the Dnipro Ukrainian Cultural Society, came out with their own initiative to observe this anniversary widely in our republic as well.

One of the unquestionable achievements of perestroyka is the fact that it roused the people to active political activities. But, whereas several years ago, our progress forward at times was delayed by the dismal monotony of the thinking or, to put it more correctly, the monopolistic attitude of a solely true opinion and the notorious monopoly on truth, then now, conversely, the palette of opinions is so variegated that it seems impossible to agree about joint actions. The other day, there was a

plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee. The Central Committee Buro presented a report with a principle evaluation of the various displays of political activism in the republic, which defined the tasks of the party organizations. The Central Committee members regarded this document approvingly. It has been made public and there is no need to comment on it.

Now in political affairs, in my opinion, there is no more important task than cultivating the habits for the adoption of mutually acceptable solutions. It is understandable that we can not get by without sensible compromises. We have been convinced of this once again during the preparations for and the conducting of the Forum of the Peoples of Latvia. Both the preparations themselves and the adoption of a resolution were a complicated and difficult matter. But today, these resolutions are a platform upon which all the republic's inhabitants can and should stand. I am grateful to Interfront for participating in the preparations for the Forum of the Peoples of the Latvian SSR. I am hoping for the same kind of cooperation in the future as well in the name of the well-being of all of us and our common home—Soviet Latvia.

On behalf of the congress, the delegations' representatives placed flowers at the memorials to V. I. Lenin and P. Stuchka.

The speeches by congress participants continued into the late evening. At the center of attention were the problems of economic and political reforms, public education and health care, the questions of social justice and the special features of the development of interfronts in Lithuania and Estonia.

Deputy Premier Ignotas on Lithuanian Language Decree

*18000631 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
11 Feb 89 p 3*

[Interview with Pyatras Ignotas, deputy chairman, LiSSR Council of Ministers, by ELTA correspondent: "Language and the State"; date and place not given]

[Text] [ELTA correspondent] Why was it necessary to prepare and adopt the Ukase of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, entitled "On the Use of the LiSSR State Language"?

[P. Ignotas] At the 10th Session of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, this republic's Constitution was amended by a statute concerning the state status of the Lithuanian language. In juridical practice the most important constitutional statutes are frequently detailed and regulated by legislative acts. Therefore, together with the amendment to the Constitution, an appropriate Draft Ukase of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was prepared, which, after the Supreme Soviet's session, was submitted for nationwide discussion.

Approximately 2500 letters were received, with suggestions and remarks pertaining to the published draft. The commission which had prepared the Draft Ukase studied these letters very carefully. A new variant of the Draft Ukase was examined at a joint session of the four standing commissions of this republic's Supreme Soviet, at which time a number of changes were proposed. On 25 January the LiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted the Ukase entitled "On the Use of the LiSSR State Language."

[ELTA correspondent] What were the basic principles and positions employed by the commission in preparing this legislative act?

[P. Ignotas] First of all, we proceeded from the fact that Lithuanian has been legitimized in the LiSSR Constitution as the state language. Therefore, it is accorded priority throughout the entire territory of this republic. Opportunities must be created for all citizens to conduct business and obtain an education at all levels in Lithuanian. Of course, the status of the state language is legitimized and protected by the legislative act in question.

In legitimizing Lithuanian as the state language, we have simultaneously observed the constitutional right of a citizen of any nationality to speak his or her own, native language, create various, national institutions, educational and cultural organizations, and to publish materials in the press.

The Ukase treats the Russian language as a means of federative communication and provides conditions whereby every citizen, in case of necessity, may be accommodated in this language in official institutions.

The resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference which provide for improvements in inter-ethnic relations state the following:

"An extremely important principle of our inter-ethnic state is the free development and use with equal rights by all citizens of the USSR of their native languages, as well as the mastery of the Russian language, accepted voluntarily by Soviet persons as the means of inter-ethnic communication. We must create all conditions whereby national-Russian bilingualism may develop harmoniously and naturally, taking into account the characteristics of each region, and that it may be free of formalism. We must manifest greater concern for the active functioning of the national languages in various spheres of state, public, and cultural life. We must encourage study of the language of that people for whom the particular republic is named by citizens of other nationalities living on its territory, particularly by children and young persons."

[ELTA correspondent] Why was the name of the Ukase changed, as compared to the name published in the draft?

[P. Ignotas] In preparing this Ukase, the commission proceeded on the basis that this legislative act must regulate the functioning only of Lithuanian, i.e., the state language.

The Ukase regulates only the official spheres of state and public life. Matters of everyday communication among persons are their own, private affair. This refutes the quite widespread opinion in certain circles to the effect that we must legally reinforce the language of communication among persons when their native languages are different. These circumstances likewise have had a definite influence on a new version of the name of the Ukase and certain of its individual articles.

[ELTA correspondent] What requirements with regard to language does the Ukase make on a specific person?

[P. Ignotas] The basic statutes of the Ukase have been formulated with a view to the state authorities, public organizations, enterprises, and institutions. The direct requirement to know the state language is provided for in Part 1, Article 6 of the Ukase and pertains solely to leading [supervisory] officials. Certain persons have misunderstood the two-year deadline provided for by the Ukase. It specifies not the time for thoroughly studying the language, but rather the deadline by which institutions and organizations must make the transition to conducting office procedures and paperwork in the Lithuanian language. Furthermore, the Ukase does not regulate the language of technical documentation. When turning for help to an official institution, a citizen himself chooses the language to be used for communication, and he must be served in the same language in which he addressed the institution. He may choose in which language he wishes to speak at the time certain measures are being carried out, while also organizing for translation to be made into the state language [Lithuanian].

There should be no difficulties in using forms in office procedures: the forms designated for All-Union, inter-republic postal and banking purposes, as well as those for other enterprises and organizations must be in Lithuanian, while, at the same time, the text must be accompanied by a translation into Russian, whereas for international communication it must have a translation into whatever foreign language is appropriate.

But it must be clear that a citizen who desires to take an active part in all areas of this republic's life must thoroughly study the Lithuanian language. The Ukase requires that the necessary conditions be created for this purpose. Attention must also be drawn to the fact that Article 8 provides for the creation of conditions for study in their native language by inhabitants of this republic who use other languages, that pedagogical personnel be trained for these educational institutions, that we create societies of language and culture, cultural institutions, etc.

There are many unclear points with regard to VUZ's. The Ukase is not specific on this matter. The higher schools receive broader rights, and, therefore, it was assumed that they, in conjunction with the Ministry of Public Education, must provide sufficient opportunities for young persons who have graduated from school with a non-Lithuanian language as the language of instruction to enroll in VUZ's and obtain a higher education. At the initial stage, until the study of Lithuanian shall have been adequately organized at schools where other languages as used in instruction, we must retain a number of groups where Russian or Polish is used as the language of instruction at VUZ's, while, at the same time, teaching them the Lithuanian language as well.

[ELTA correspondent] What specific measures does this republic's government intend to carry out so that obstacles may not arise to block implementation of this Ukase?

[P. Ignatas] I'd like to be optimistic, but I suppose that we won't be able to avoid some difficulties. Above all, there are subjective causes for this: inertia, a conservative attitude, and sometimes simply ambition or an incorrect understanding—a phenomenon which is quite noticeable.

This republic's government has prepared a decree by which it intends to resolve the entire complex of organizational, material-technical, financial, and other problems.

Lithuanian Readers Respond to Newspaper's Survey on Press Coverage

18000665 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
19 Feb 89 p 2

[Article under the "Our Questionnaire' Mail" rubric: "Readers Express Their Opinions, Evaluate, and Suggest"]

[Text] Before proceeding to analyze the letters with questionnaires which have arrived here in response to our publication dated 27 January of this year, we would like to share a number of critical remarks aimed at the text of the questionnaire; these remarks were made by G. Pochuyev from Snechkus. In particular, he draws attention to the complexity of certain formulations of the questions and the very way in which they are posed; he also pointed to the lack of all possible variants for the opinions to be expressed on the enclosed questions, etc. It is undoubtedly true that such an imperfection in our instrumentation influenced, to a certain extent, the scope of the readership response.

Now about that scope: as of 10 February, we had received 68 responses. Of course, by sociological criteria, such a representative sample is insufficient to make rigorous generalizations; however, we think that even this mail allows us to gain a sense of the interests and moods of our readers. And its geography is very widespread: in addition

to the capital, letters have come from Kaunas, Panevezhis, Klaypeda, Shyaulay, Kayshydoris, Alitus, etc.—in all, from 14 populated points in Lithuania. An unexpected surprise was receiving letters from outside our republic. For example, Yu. Lukanin from Saratov informed us that he spends all his vacations in Lithuanian and is even learning to speak some Lithuanian. He writes that he would like to obtain a textbook but cannot get one. Like K. Bolotov from the city of Vladmir and I. Morozova from Sverdlovsk, he became a subscriber to SOVETSKAYA LITVA this year, whereas N. Kurmanov from Balakovo (Saratov Oblast) has been receiving all three party newspapers from the Baltic republics since 1981. Letters like these attest the great interest shown throughout the country in the life and events which are taking place nowadays here in our republic.

Among those who responded, there is a clear preponderance of middle-aged and elderly persons (65 percent are over 40 years old), about half of them were born in Lithuania or have been living here for more than 20 years, virtually all of them are Russian by nationality, of which about 40 percent are fluent speakers of Lithuanian, and only 20 percent do not speak it at all.

And what "grades" did our readers give the newspaper? In reply to the first, general question, the responses were distributed as follows: the newspaper's published items, in general, correspond to those urgent matters which are concern to readers,—70 percent; correspond to a certain extent, 20 percent; do not correspond,—10 percent. The specific components of the "mark" are broken down by the questionnaire's second question, which suggests using a three-point scale to characterize the specific topical trends elucidated in this newspaper. The next three questions fill out the picture.

Here are the statistics which have been compiled from opinions of the respondents. If we begin with the favorable sections, the most unambiguously positive mark (at least 70 percent "plus" marks) were received by the following: ecological issues (+80), sports news (+70), social-everyday matters (+70), as well as the illustrated format of the newspaper (+76). The remaining categories received plus marks ranging from 40 to 67 percent.

Economic problems (+62, -20). In commenting on them, one reader draws attention to the insufficiently popular approach in setting forth the material and to the need to make greater use of statistics. Among the published items which attracted interest, the following may be singled out: E. Brazis's article entitled "How Is the Country To Be Fed," S. Magnus's article, "The Middle Peasants," S. Yagzhiyant's and G. Kekus's item, "The Mazheyskiy NPZ [Oil Refinery]: Information Must Be Objective."

Many remarks and wishes were directed at the treatment of political problems in the pages of our newspaper (+63, -17) and, in particular, about the activities of informal

associations (+43, -53). At the center of attention, naturally, are questions of inter-ethnic relations. Here one senses great concern among the readers over the situation which has evolved today in this republic. Some readers scold the editors for their lack of a sufficiently principled approach and lack of assertiveness in criticizing "nationalistic aspirations," "protecting the rights of national minorities," etc. Hostility is expressed by a number of polemical presentations by readers concerning the nationality question (in particular, by A. Visotskas, I. Remeykene). Readers want to know more about the movements named "Sajudis" and "Yedinstvo"; they request us to provide political portraits of the leaders and to publish interviews with them. A great deal of unrest was caused by the Law on Using the Lithuanian Language; many persons would like comments on it by responsible party officials, as well as by linguistic specialists. There are suggestions that the newspaper inaugurate a regular column under the rubric "A Nook for Studying Lithuanian." P. Khizhnyak from Druskininkay writes: "Why doesn't the newspaper print the words of folk songs—in Lithuanian and in translation; it would be a better way to learn Lithuanian."

Among the mail from readers there are quite a few questions which convince us that we print more juridical advice on how to decipher the basic concepts used in various legislative documents. For example, they inquire what distinguishes the union from the federative set-up, what "statehood" [gosudarstvennost] means within a union state, or how we should understand the "principle of prohibiting 'majorization' [mayorizatsiya] in voting," etc.

Quite a bit of advice arrived regarding the nature of waging a polemic. The spectrum of opinions here is rather broad: ranging from calls for "decisively rebuffing" or not printing "provocatory letters" to a desire for a calm, balanced, and well-argued tone. "Let the newspaper print everything, even including hooliganistic assertions. Of course, every attack can be responded to correctly, honestly, and with scholarly argumentation," writes one of our respondents. And, as an example, he cites the responsive polemic of V. Bikulich's published item ("On the Monument..." and the interview with Kh. Vilkopen ("A Time for Balanced Desions"). Mentioned most frequently along the materials are the articles by P. Gelbak ("A Complex of Guilt and National Dignity"), G. Afanasyeva ("Not Only Black and White"), V. Yasnov ("Who Profits by This?"), and S. Baltite ("I Want To Believe").

The readers' responses also attest to the hunger for historical topics (+46, -48). In many of their letters readers request that the newspaper write more about Lithuania's old history as well as about its most recent past. Moreover, they want us to compare the evaluations of events pertaining to the "blank spaces" with the opinions of prominent specialists. "I would like the newspaper to present materials about Vilnius Kray, about the city, and even individual buildings of the

capital," one reader writes. "So that we could get a picture of the everyday life and mores of inhabitants in the past. For example, why not utilize for this purpose the very interesting memoirs by the artist M. Dobuzhinskiy about Vilno prior to World War I?" "We need to talk truthfully about how people used to live in bourgeois Lithuania: about prices, wages, housing conditions, services, etc," he is seconded by another letter-writer. "Then we could convincingly compare the bourgeois and Soviet periods in our republic's history." Emphasis is also placed on such a subject as the life of the Russian-speaking population at various stages of Lithuania's past and about its historical ties with the neighboring regions. There are quite a few letters in which the readers suggest that more be written about the victims of Stalinism, but, in this connection, we should be guided solely by meticulously verified facts. Demands are also made for a balanced and principled evaluation of the dramatic postwar period. "Can we really agree with the idea," writes I. Partolin from Ukmerga, "that, in criticizing Stalinism, certain leaders have publicly called for the 'rehabilitation' of executioners who are hiding abroad and recidivists who have been sent to prison?" History must be restored in the entire fullness of its palette, along with all the shades of black and white—such is the leitmotif of many readers' wishes.

Quite a few censorious remarks have been directed at school problems (+50, -30), in particular, the shortage of materials on the educational reform is noted, on the problems of creating a national school, and on young persons' problems in general. Some 23 percent of those surveyed were not satisfied with the amount of information about innovations in science: in particular, in the fields of medicine, cybernetics, and information science. They state an interest in survey materials on the activities of individual institutes of the Academy of Sciences and on the system of administering science. Readers likewise want to see more materials on the protection of human rights and the struggle against anti-social phenomena such as drug addiction, banditism, bribery, prostitution, rackets, etc. They think that this newspaper should write not merely about successes in uncovering crimes, but also concern itself with analyzing the activities of the law-enforcement organs themselves: the police, OBKhSS [section for Combatting Theft of Socialist Property and Specialization], GAI [State Motor-Vehicle Inspectorate], etc.

There is a whole range of wishes directed at making our newspaper more engaging, "cozy," and "family-oriented." For example, G. Pochuyev suggests that we organize in its pages something like a club for those who have quit smoking (print letters with an exchange of experiences on this topic). Women complain that our newspaper lacks a nook for housewives where it could print recipes for various dishes, advice on needlework, care for house-plants, etc. Many persons would like to find prose fiction, detective novels (with continuations), or something along these lines in the Sunday issue. They write that the newspaper should smile a bit more often (with a section devoted to satire and humor).

Such in brief are the results of our survey. As to the specific suggestions and wishes which have arrived at the editorial offices, they will certainly exert an influence on guiding the newspaper's course this year, and we are extremely grateful to the readers for their criticism and support.

Use of Belorussian Language Debated

Readers Discuss Issue

18000708 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 3

[Readers' letters: "The Language Problem: Deliberation Rather Than Emotions"]

[Text] Every day the editorial office receives anxious letters what pertain to the linguistic problem that has developed in our republic. People are not indifferent to how these questions will be resolved, and they express their opinions, which frequently contradict one another. All this attests to the fact that the press and the public must discuss broadly the problem and the scientific approach to it, and must propagandize the practical steps that are to be taken and the positive experience that has been gained. We invite the readers to take part in the discussion.

Discovering Wondrous Beauty...

In 1973 I moved, as a Russian according to my internal passport and my education, to Minsk. During that years I studied practically all the accessible literature on the history of Belorussian culture and folklore and read Belorussian fiction from Dunin-Martsinkevich to Korotkevich and Bykov, and, for the most part, I never read them in translations into Russian. From those books I learned the Belorussian language and discovered for myself its wondrous beauty and richness. But one thing that I was unable to master during those years was live conversational Belorussian, since I had come to this land—which I already consider to be my home—during a period of complete and "completely developed bilingualism." What actually stood behind that optimistic term is completely apparent to everyone, and for the past two years the mind, honor, and conscience of the nation—the Belorussian intelligentsia—has been sounding the alarm about this. "Developed bilingualism" in reality "developed" to what is supposed to be the Russian language, but what I have heard all around me for these 15 years is not Russian, and you can believe my Russian ear! At times you will hear a person constructing out of Russian words phrases that are obviously Belorussian, and you think: "God, how pretty that would sound in his own native language!" But don't be ridiculous! After all, he's an "urbanite"—and he has, so to speak, "shaken the dust off his feet." And what if that dust is his native language? That takes care of the "first of all." And now for the "secondly." The children who come to my classroom are teenagers who have graduated from the eight-year school—they come from various schools in

Minsk and other cities and settlements in the republic. All of them have practically a zero knowledge of their own history and culture! And so I begin to tell 16- and 17-year old Belorussians—yes, Belorussians!—about things that Lithuanian, Georgian, and Estonian children have already been aware of since the youngest group in kindergarten—the beauty of their native songs and the thousand-year treasure trove of Belorussian folklore, which for them is *terra incognita*. As I tell them about the history of Belorussian musical culture, from year to year I detect among the children a practically complete lack of knowledge of Belorussian history—from the Polotskiy Principality to the Kalinovskiy uprising, and then on. And yet are students are not just taken off the street. They are serious children who are striving toward the profession of musicians and teachers. What exists in the heads of these children on this topic—that is, in the heads of 17-year-old tenth-grade students or "free sons of the PTU [vocational-technical school]"?

The human dignity of the individual and the national dignity of the nation are concepts that are inseparably linked and equally great. When dignity is beaten out of a person, what results is a "Stalinist cog." When a nation is not imbued with patriotism and national dignity, what results is the "mass." The events of the past three years can be called, with complete justification, a Renaissance—a renaissance of the ability to see reality, rather than myths, a rebirth of the ability to evaluate soberly the true process of "spiritual flourishing" and to understand the essence of events and their result.

It seems to me that I—as a Russian who considered it to be her first duty, after arriving in the land of the Belorussian nation, to study its language and culture—have the right to say: Belorussians who have forgotten their native language, whose heart does not ache for its cultural and historical memory, ought to be ashamed!

Only governmental measures of the broadest, most comprehensive nature, that are undertaken by the republic leadership can gradually correct the situation that has developed with the national language.

[Signed] L. Rashchinskaya

Is This Justified?

The article by L. Lych, "Bilingualism: Problems, Prospects" (SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, No 120) caught my interest. I would like to share my thoughts concerning the question that was touched upon.

The author of the article proposes, for example, increasing the number of Belorussian-language instruction in all educational institutions.

But who needs that, and why? Are we really to believe that that measure will sharply raise the level of proficiency of the specialists being graduated? In addition, it

is also necessary to take into consideration the circumstance that the students in Belorussian educational institutions include many representatives of other republics and foreign countries. In order for them to perform their everyday job and live an everyday life, they do not need the Belorussian language.

One must also consider the fact that many "mixed" families live in Belorussia. One cannot agree with the proposal to create children's institutions in which only Belorussian is spoken. In order to execute this proposal, it will be necessary to fill up buildings with Belorussians only, with Georgians only, with Ukrainians only, etc., and to open up children's institutions on the basis of nationality.

All this will inevitably lead to the appearance of animosity and hatred among people. Do the people who are making this recommendation want this to happen? And why is it necessary to force "mixed" families and their children to study the Belorussian language?

During the entire postwar period, closer fraternal interrelations between the local population and the newcomers were established in Belorussia than in any other republic. Many families were formed and the questions with respect to the choice of a language have never arisen.

One must also take into consideration the fact that a large number of Belorussians live and work in other parts of the USSR where the Belorussian language is not taught.

It seems to me that normal, friendly, and calm life in Belorussia is not to the liking of some people, who want to introduce confusion and discord among the inhabitants while hiding behind high-sounding phrases and "concern" for the Belorussian language.

Neonationalists have begun to surface. And nationalism has always been accompanied by chauvinism—they are Siamese twins.

Today people are proposing the opening of more Belorussian schools, kindergartens, and day-care centers that use the Belorussian language only, and even converting Belorussian State University to that language, thus cutting off access to that university by the inhabitants of other republics. Tomorrow those people will propose the replacement of specialists of various nationalities by Belorussians, and this will inevitably undermine the economy and introduce chaos.

I want to note that the linguistic problem will never be raised by the plant and factory collectives, the representatives of state institutions, party or soviet agencies, physicians, workers in the procuracy, the court, and the militia, workers in ministries or in communications, rural residents or other groups of the population...

We are all confronted by a problem that is more acute and more urgent than the linguistic problem. It is the problem of the personal culture of the population, the quality of the "human material."

That is a vast field of activity for everyone, including the creative intellectuals.

[Signed] V. Skavinskiy, war veteran, Belorussian, equipment operator

Alarming Symptom

The linguistic question is currently being discussed intensively in the republic press. Various points of view are being expressed. I would like to share mine. Certain people represent the Belorussian language as something that has been persecuted, while the Russian language is presented by them as a kind of alien element that has practically been brought in forcibly from without. Moreover, one frequently hears proclaimed as the goal the exclusion of the Russian language from radio and television broadcasts, from state institutions, and, finally, from everyday life in general. What we have here is a program of persecuting the Russian word. This posing of the question, in particular, by cultural figures cannot fail to alarm one, because it is onesided and prejudiced.

According to official data, 80 percent of the population in the republic consider Russian to be their second native language. That is, for Belorussians both languages—both Belorussian and Russian—are identically dear.

And this is understandable, since our land is absolutely unique, its culture is the closest kind of intertwining, a fusion of the Belorussian and Russian cultures, which are inseparable components of a single whole. And there is no contradiction in this, since one cannot precisely draw a boundary between Great Russia and White Russia (I have in mind, of course, not boundaries that separate republics, but cultural and linguistic ones).

Because the linguistic uniqueness of Belorussia, as compared with the country's other republics, consists in the fact that at the present time we have two national languages for Belorussians: Belorussian and Russian.

In our country there are possibly no similar situations, but similar situations do exist in the world. For example, Switzerland, where there are not even two national languages, but several. I feel that the division of the two streams (Russian and Belorussian) of Belorussian culture, including languages, and especially the opposing of them to one another, is, to put it mildly, shortsightedness.

Yes, during the period of stagnation the bureaucratic steamroller ran over the Belorussian language, and what do we see now? The proponents of the "purity" of Belorussian cultures are now planning to act, or, rather,

they have already begun acting, with the use of those methods of bureaucratic fiat that are remote from the free and completely equal development of both principles of national culture.

The resolution of the linguistic and national question in Belorussia is possible, in my opinion, as follows. First of all, the path of issuing commands is completely unsuitable. Because, as has been demonstrated by experience, the contradictions will not be eliminated, but driven down deeper.

In addition, it is time for the historians and linguists to analyze the theory of the question. In my opinion, there currently exist in the real situation two principles in the culture of Belorussia: both the Belorussian principle and the Russian. And both these principles have very deep roots in our land. As a consequence of this premise, it is necessary to give the status of national languages in our republic to the languages that exist at the present time, irrespective of our awareness. This removes the contradiction between the languages, or, rather, between those who speak those languages, since both languages officially become national languages and, consequently, are completely equal under the law.

Properly speaking, they will always be such, that is, national languages, and have always been such for the nation, but that was not officially recognized and was not taken into consideration when carrying out a national policy, and that, of course, was a mistake.

It is from a consideration of these facts that one develops the principles of conducting a linguistic policy, and in generally the national policy, in the republic: the operation of the agencies of state authority, culture, education, and the republic radio and television. The work of the local agencies must be bilingual, but in this regard one of the languages can be chosen as the basic one, depending upon the conditions. Moreover, the basic language of the work performed, for example, by the rural soviet, must be determined not by instructions from above, but by a free choice made by the local residents, that is, in the most democratic method.

Furthermore, it is necessary to provide legislative guarantees of the free choice of the language of education, instruction, and creativity, and of the inadmissibility of any coercion in this matter.

That is how I view the path for resolving the linguistic and national question in the republic.

[Signed] N. Sergeyev, engineer, Granat NPO

Getting Closer to the Roots

In the articles written by Candidate of Historical Sciences L. M. Lych, which were published in MALADOSTS magazine and ZVYAZDA and SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA newspapers, the author raises an

important question: the need to study the Belorussian language in our republic's educational institutions. This problem at the present time is worrying not only philologists, writers, and historians, but also school teachers, instructors in preschool institutions, and everyone who cherishes the sense of national pride, who is truly a patriot, and who is making his or her best contribution to preserving the Belorussian language as one of the nation's attributes.

The author attempts to analyze the reasons for the loss of the prestige of the Belorussian language in the school system and in the higher educational institutions, and offers certain paths for resolving this problem.

In our opinion, it is necessary to teach the native Belorussian language when the child is in the kindergarten—the first link in the public education system. An important place in bringing children into closer contact with Belorussian culture must be occupied by works in the oral folk tradition. Folklore is one of the most brilliant forms by which a nation expresses its deep sense of love and devotion to its native land and culture. The simple, precise, and figurative language of fairy tales is an excellent means for developing and improving a child's linguistic culture.

Unfortunately, in the practical life of the kindergarten, Belorussian folklore is used little. It is also represented to an insignificant extent in the Instructional and Educational Curriculum in Kindergarten. There are no methodological recommendations for using it, and the available experience is not illumined on the pages of the press or in the special literature. Therefore the instructors at preschool institutions experience great difficulties in using Belorussian literary material when working with children.

Therefore the scientists of our republic owe a great debt to the preschool workers, whom they should be assisting by developing the content and methodology for bringing children of preschool age in closer contact with the Belorussian language, and through it with Belorussian culture and national traditions.—G. Petrochenko, professor at MGPI [Moscow State Pedagogical Institute] imeni A. M. Gorkiy, and T. Gornostay, postgraduate student, Department of General and Preschool Pedagogics, MGPI imeni A. M. Gorkiy.

Commentary by Historian L. Lych

18000708 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by L. Lych, senior scientific associate, Institute of History, BSSR Academy of Sciences, candidate of historical sciences: "The Language Problem: "Deliberation Instead of Emotions"]

[Text] The complexity of the linguistic situation in Belorussian gives no justification for assuming that any author, within the confines of a single article, will

succeed in untying all the knots in the problem, or in expressing the only true and exhaustive judgments concerning the reasons for the decline of the Belorussian language or the ways to resurrect it. Although, by the logic of things, those who responded to my article, that was published in issue No 120 of SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, should be disturbed most of all by the present-day state and prospects of the Belorussian language, I find that in their letters they have devoted too much space to the historical aspect of the problem. The authors want to dig down to the roots of the decline in the social role of the Belorussian language.

A number of readers blame me for allegedly interpreting the broad introduction of the Russian language in the Belorussia that was liberated from the German fascist usurpers as being a voluntary act on the part of its indigenous population. I consider it necessary to object. What I said was: "The wide spread of the Russian language during the first period after the liberation of Belorussia occurred not despite the will of the Belorussians," and that is by no means equivalent to voluntary action or initiative on the part of the latter. They did not display such volitional acts, just as, I repeat, they did not display in any form whatsoever any opposition to the introduction of the Russian language. The nation was straining all its efforts in the fight against starvation and cold. And the least thing that they were thinking about was what language it was being explained in... In addition, I have not discovered any document prohibiting the use of the Belorussian language in official correspondence, in the higher or secondary special school system, or in any other institutions or organizations. Failing to find such a document, I decided, as a researcher and historian, not to give the introduction of the Russian language into the life of postwar Belorussia the uncategorical name of Russification.

I cannot agree entirely with the opinions of authors who sent responses to my articles, and who see practically the sole reason for the sharp limitation of the social functions of the Belorussian language in the consequences of the Stalin personality cult and in the bureaucratic methods of administering spiritual processes. But these factors were present in the life of the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian nations. And are we really to believe that their linguistic losses cannot be compared with ours? Because why, then, in this instance, do we not seek other serious reasons and why do we not assume the blame? It is, after all, a fact that our nation has not produced any talented or perspicacious politicians, or any talented scientists, who, within the confines of that truncated democracy could exert an influence on the linguistic processes in the republic. On the eve of the publication in 1950 of I. V. Stalin's pamphlet "Marksizm i voprosy yazykoznaniya" [Marxism and Questions of Linguistics] in the press, there were lively discussions at various scientific forums, and the most contradictory ideas—as was completely natural—were expressed concerning the prospects of the national languages. We might recall that those who defended the native language were not repressed.

I am aware that the only person who made constant visits to the Central Committee of the Belorussian KP(b) [Communist Party (Bolsheviks)] and later to the Belorussian CP Central Committee on this question that is so vitally important to the life of every nation was Yakub Kolas. But where was the position of his fellow writers in this matter? If they had demonstrated Kolas' persistence, the bureaucratic apparatus might have been shaken somewhere and the process of the linguistic assimilation of the Belorussians might have come to a stop. Failing to fight because of fear is no justification. We shall be stricter and more demanding—both to the previous generations and to ourselves—if we do not hope for some kind of forgiveness for indifference toward language from those who will understand better than we do the importance of language and will certainly return its civil rights to it.

There is something else to which I would like to direct attention when speaking about the years when Stalin was alive—the rather broad use of the Belorussian language in the general educational school system in rural localities, including rayon centers. During that period none of the parents lifted a hand to write a collective statement concerning the changeover of the rural school system to the Russian language of instruction. The worst times for the Belorussian language lay ahead. And it is surprising that those times came when, in the social and political life of the country, including Belorussia, a definite democratization had occurred, when the first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee was K. T. Mazurov, the chairman of the Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet was V. I. Kozlov, and the chairman of BSSR Council of Ministers was T. Ya. Kiselev—Belorussians in origin. By that time each of them had life experience and their practical background in party and state activities was quite sufficient for them to foresee the very serious consequences that could result from the anarchy in questions of linguistic development. To everyone's regret, they and the agencies that were subordinate to them, the scientific institutions, and broad circles of the creative intelligentsia took too simplified a view of the "mass struggle" being waged by parents for the Russian general educational school system, identifying this as the completely natural striving to have the Belorussian nation fuse with the nation that was the largest in the country with regard to its size—the Russian nation—although, in all linguistic processes in the schools the decisive role was played by the simple practicality of the fathers and mothers: by means of the Russian-language general educational school system they would be able, by the shortest route, to put their children in the higher and secondary special educational institutions in the republic, absolutely all of which were operating by using the Russian language. It is precisely for that reason that the agencies of public education in our time are receiving energetic demands for the fundamental restructuring of the instruction and education of the upcoming generation in order to make that generation capable of participating actively in the most diverse spheres of the spiritual life of the Belorussian nation. For

these purposes, all kinds of alternatives are being tested. We have already seen the first successes and a rather large number of disappointments.

Now, when we have finally lived long enough to see the appearance in the press of a party document which, I am not afraid of saying, is of historic importance for the spiritual flourishing of the Belorussian nation—the document entitled “Basic Measures to Achieve the Further Development of Popular Education in Belorussian SSR,” which contains a section that is completely unprecedented in the past 50 years, “The Further Development of Belorussian-Russian Bilingualism, The Intensification of Patriotic and International Education”—it is the duty of absolutely everyone to become an active participant in implementing that document. If I had my way, I would put under every paragraph of the Basic Measures as the entities responsible for carrying them out, in first place the nation, and only then the Ministry of Public Education, BSSR Academy of Sciences, Belsovprof [Belorussian Council of Trade Unions], and other ministries and departments, since it is only with the participation of the broadest segments of the nation that it will prove possible to achieve a fundamental turning point in the views concerning the native language or to instill in the young generation a love of that native language.

I assume that the most difficult time in the fate of the Belorussian language is behind us, inasmuch as at the present time no one is banning the discussion of this problem truthfully and openly.

The favorable prospects for resurrecting the Belorussian language which have appeared as a result of the processes of perestroika require the most serious and most decisive actions not only in the public education system, but also in other spheres. The resurrection will not happen by itself. It can become a reality only under conditions of people's deeply conscious, purposeful activity. The first thing, in my opinion, that has to be done is to make a fundamental improvement in organizing explanatory work among the masses concerning the cultivating of linguistic communication.

In addition it is necessary to have an official statement in the press and over the radio concerning the position of the directive agencies concerning the Belorussian language. This is similar to what we have already done on a solid basis with respect to the public education system. At a time when, in the other republics, this problem has been discussed for a long time in a broad and systematic manner, with the participation of responsible party and soviet workers, and specific steps have been taken and measures are being carried out to bring the masses closer to a discussion of the problem, we have been talking about this problem in our own home republic until recently with excessive caution, and at the major all-union forums we have been keeping completely silent about it, although the representatives of other national regions where the situation with the native language is

incomparably better than in our republic have sounded the alarm, and are continuing to sound the alarm, about the fate of the native language.

The fact that, among the overwhelming majority of the population of the republic, there is a lack of the elementary concepts of the role of the Belorussian language in the fates of the nation has been restraining the movement ahead.

An erroneous opinion that has not been overcome, but, rather, is even broadening, is the one that the parallel coexistence of the two closely related Belorussian and Russian languages contributes to the illiteracy of the young schoolchildren, although practical life has confirmed long ago that, when there is a correct, comparative study of both languages, the schoolchildren in Belorussia have an ability to spell and speak Russian that is in no way inferior to the ability of schoolchildren of the same age in RSFSR. I would like to give an example. Soviet cosmonauts P. Klimuk and V. Kovalenok, who graduated from the general educational school system in which Belorussian was the language of instruction and who became the first persons from our nation to be sent into space, are identically fluent in two languages.

The closeness of the Belorussian language to Russian is our good fortune, and we must take complete advantage of it, so that the amount of time required for a Belorussian to learn how to write, read, and speak Russian, or, conversely, for a Russian to master these skills with respect to Belorussian, is one-tenth or less the time required for the population in the Baltic, trans-Caucasian, and Central Asian republics to become bilingual.

It is becoming painful for me as a Belorussian that many people see in the loss of their own language some kind of progress in spiritual development, some kind of regularity in the process of improving the interethnic relations in the USSR at the present-day stage. Many nationalities on the earth are guided by rule: the number of languages I know determines how many people I am. But we, under the influence of harmful philosophical principles that scientific literature previously did not skimp on, have drilled into our heads the idea that the fewer languages we know, the richer we are spiritually. And so we followed blindly toward that “progress,” by way of the denial of our native language. In recent years a number of small nations in our country have created a writing system for their native language, and schools are in operation, but we have put under a real threat the existence of the most ancient writing system among the Slavic nations—the Belorussian writing system.

In our republic it doesn't cost a person anything to assume the complete responsibility of suggesting to the competent agencies, the press, or the radio that they abolish the Belorussian language, since it allegedly inhibits the spiritual development of the Belorussian nation, undermines the international unity of the Soviet nations and nationalities, requires tremendous monetary

expenses to print parallel texts in Belorussian and Russian, etc. If such persons had even the minimum knowledge concerning the role of the national language in the life of those who speak it, they would never have decided to take upon themselves the thankless initiative of declaring a struggle against it.

In certain letters from readers, the authors assert that, with the changeover to Belorussian in the urban general educational schools, the vocational-technical schools, and the higher and secondary special school system, we will develop young people who will prove, on the basis of their linguistic potential, to be completely incapable of working or living outside the confines of their own republic. Such fears are unfounded.

I assume the full responsibility for asserting that the nationally-minded segment of the Belorussian nation does not set as its goal, by means of the resurrection of the native language, separation from the Russian nation.

It is simply that what manifests itself is the elementary striving to preserve a mighty branch of the great Slavic tree of culture. We hope that the future generations of Belorussians will read Ynka Kupala and Ykub Kolas in the original, rather than in translation.

In resurrecting their native language, Belorussians must not forget the lawful yearnings of others who are living jointly with them—the Poles, Ukrainians, Jews, Lithuanians, Latvians, and representatives of other nations. This is not only in the interests of their national development, but is also a guarantee that they will all be favorably inclined toward the concerns of the Belorussians for their language.

The nation is the sole creator and preserver of language. Only a nation is capable of resurrecting its native language. It is always ready to demonstrate that desire if the favorable conditions arise.

By way of an example one can cite the historical experience of other nations. One of the most widespread languages in India—Hindi—is being completely resurrected.

National languages are being resurrected in Sri Lanka, Malaysia, and Tunisia. In Pakistan, Bengali and Urdu have been declared official languages, alongside of English. National languages are the planet's wealth.

It is not accidental that at a recent meeting with scientific and cultural figures M. S. Gorbachev stated that we cannot allow the loss of a language spoken by even the smallest nation. But there are 10 million of us Belorussians.

The positive example of these nations cannot fail to be an incentive also for us Belorussians, in our completely natural striving to resurrect our native language.

The resurrection of the Belorussian language must not be of a spontaneous nature, but, rather, it must be a job for some kind of initiative group of people in our society, where everything is subordinated to the will of consciously active persons, beginning with the lowest stages of administration and ending with the highest.

In this regard it is necessary for us first of all to develop thoroughly and to approve a long-term comprehensive "Belaruskaya mova" [Belorussian Language] program, the participants in the practical implementation of which must include competent individuals with a good knowledge of the essence of present-day interethnic relations and the place of the native language in the life of a nation. For that purpose, on a republic-wide scale, there must be formed a republic interdepartmental agency to deal with the linguistic problem, which agency must be required to make recommendations and supervise the rate of establishment in the republic of the optimal correlations in the social functions of the Belorussian and Russian languages in the various spheres of social life. In its work, this agency must rely on a broad network of linguistic commissions that have been created locally, thus facilitating the management of the explanatory work among the masses.

Unless this kind of agency to deal with the linguistic problem is created in the republic, it will scarcely prove to be possible to resolve that problem simply by the efforts of the linguistic commission of the Belorussian Cultural Foundation. It is very important to include in this type of activity the largest possible number of young people with initiative, who sense their ethnic bond with their nation. It is generally known that, because of shortcomings and miscalculations in ideological and mass cultural work, a rather large segment of the upcoming generations do not understand the essence of the interethnic processes in the sphere of spiritual life, and are developing into national nihilists or going to the opposite extreme. The intelligent introduction of historical memory into the hearts and souls of young people and the inculcation in them of a sense of responsibility for the future of the nation, its culture and language, and internationalism will help the young people in their spiritual search. It is necessary to involve young people in the resolution of tasks that confront the entire nation, to make them highly aware participants in determining the fates of their nation, and to educate in them the correct understanding of their personal responsibility for the fate of the nation to which they belong.

Despite the existence of major problems in the economy and the striving, in the final analysis, to provide people with food products, we do not have the right to shift into the background the national and cultural development of the Belorussian nation. The resurrection of the Belorussian language is prestige in today's perestroika, and it is the hope that we shall earn the respect of the future generations. We must do everything in our power to assure that the linguistic carpet of world civilization that gleams in a large number of colors is also woven from the lexicon of the Belorussians.

Komi Obkom First Secretary on Self-Financing in Komi ASSR

18000582 Moscow *SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA* in Russian 22 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with V. Melnikov, first secretary of the Komi ASSR Obkom by SI correspondent V. Krukovskiy, Syktyvkar: "I Would Like to Live on My Own"]

[Text] At the 19th All-Union Party Conference the First Secretary of the Komi CPSU Obkom Vladimir Ivanovich Melnikov, among other speakers, posed the question of the need for moving the republic to regional cost accounting. After this the party obkom assigned the development of the corresponding concepts to the Komi affiliate of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A special coordinating council attached to the government was created made up of directors of planning and financial organs. In April of this year the problem will be examined at a scientific-practical conference. But there are still numerous unclear problems. The topic under discussion is the contours of the economic mechanism of self-financing in the region.

[Correspondent] I would like to ask you a question which you addressed in a speech at a conference of USSR Goskomstat [State Statistics Committee]—what is the Komi ASSR's economic potential today and is it an advantage to the state?

[Melnikov] We feel that it is an advantage. Last year the output of commercial products equalled 4 billion rubles. Profits were 712 million. Growth in production effectiveness was noted although under our conditions this matter has its own specific features. Decisively affecting the size of profits is the structure that has developed within our branches of industry, which is oriented toward extracting and delivering the most important types of raw materials and fuels to other economic regions of the country. We in turn are forced to import almost all food and industrial goods, building materials and equipment. In addition, under our northern conditions standard capital investments are significantly higher than in other regions. This is why we have the striving of central departments to economize on them at the cost of developing the social sphere. For example, in available housing we are in 44th place in the RSFSR, in number of hospital beds and educational institutions—even lower.

But even under all of these circumstances the republic's economy can work efficiently. And we always have to have the indicators available and use them to evaluate work results. Up until now we have not done this. As far as I know, USSR Goskomstat is planning to introduce, beginning this year, an index of national income throughout the republics, krays and oblasts. This will open our eyes with regard to processes taking place in the region's economy.

[Correspondent] What are seen as the basic economic principles of cost accounting for the republic, and from your point of view within what period of time can we put them into effect?

[Melnikov] First of all, until prices for raw materials are reexamined it is very difficult to speak of any real regional cost accounting under our conditions. Further, at first it will be necessary to delineate the functions of the center and local organs in our region. Large national investment programs—the Yamal-Center pipeline, the building of mines and powerful GRES [State regional electric power plant] and others—will not be able to fit into the framework of cost accounting today no matter how much we would like that. They must be placed outside the "parentheses" of cost accounting agreements.

Finally, there is planning. Its current system contradicts new methods for regional management. Today the five-year plans of economic and social development of the republic are nothing more than a summary of branch plans which reflect regional interests poorly. We need a comprehensive plan which could be written into the general system of the country's economy. Within this framework we will evidently need our own regional state orders for enterprises, with the use for this of a portion of production capacities regardless of their departmental subordination. In my opinion we should begin to implement regional cost accounting during the 13th Five-Year Plan.

[Correspondent] The possibility of an enterprise selling products above the product order according to direct contracts and contract prices already today could become one of the beginnings of self-financing in the territory. What did last year's practical experience demonstrate—has this become a reality?

[Melnikov] Alas, it is premature to feel satisfied here. Not only were last year's state order for the most important types of products—coal, petroleum, gas, paper, timber and timber products—tied up, but beyond that departments have established additional goals for enterprises. This is why our possibilities were extremely limited. It is true that even with such a grip I was able to arouse interest in some places. Knyazhpogostskiy Plant for Wood Fiber Panels, Vorkutinskiy Cement Plant, Ukhtinskiy Petroleum Processing Plant and a number of production associations within the forestry complex were able to sell a portion of their above-plan products. By means of this the collectives were able to acquire building materials, spare parts and feed for their private plots that were in short supply. Direct contracts have also been concluded for this year. We are also entering the international market. We have begun to sell coal, timber waste products and reindeer skins abroad.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Ivanovich, it is said that exporting raw materials means exporting profits. Won't regional cost accounting place the region in the role of raw materials subordinate for many years to come?

[Melnikov] In developing the ideas of regional cost accounting we are using as a springboard the fact that for a region with such rich natural resources the cost accounting mechanism does not exclude centralized financing and material-technical supply of larger programs. In addition, according to the predictions of our scientists our production structure must also change considerably. In the future 70 percent of production output must come from processing branches.

We hope that regional cost accounting will help eliminate the idea that has come to be that natural resources here are free and unlimited. Taking into account their regional and national source it is logical to transfer the right and responsibility for their efficient utilization to local organs. Also, the means for renewal and preservation must be located in regional budgets. Today, however, departments earmark only 1 percent of their allocations for ecological needs. This has put the northern environment into very difficult circumstances. This is why the draft of the USSR Law on Local Self-Government and Local Economy must foresee the right of soviets to limit or halt the work of enterprises which are damaging the environment or are hindering the implementation of priority directions in regional development.

[Correspondent] In my opinion, writer Aleksandr Rekemchuk, who worked in the republic for many years, in the course of the Komi Days of Literature in Moscow expressed an interesting thought. He proposes creating an affiliate of the publishing house "Khudozhestvennaya literatura" in Syktyvkar on the base of large paper resources of the local LPK [Lumber industry complexes], i.e. to make the republic a large supplier of books in the country. What do you think about this idea?

[Melnikov] We are for this with two hands. I wrote about this in your newspaper before there was even any talk about regional cost accounting. Truly, with the introduction into operation of the second and then the third stage of the LPK paper production will increase to 800,000 tons annually. Thus here we have all the prerequisites for developing a large center for the production of belles-lettres. Even today we have a reserve of available printing capacities. We made our proposals to Goskomizdat [State Publishing Committee] but at that time the publishers did not want to talk to us. Even today they are convinced that with the help of state orders they will be able to take as much paper from us as they want. But times are changing quickly. Things are moving toward the fact that the republic will become the master at least of a portion of its paper resources. Then we will choose whom to do business with.

[Correspondent] Regional cost accounting will unavoidably result in a differentiation in the income of the population and will strengthen the movement of people and goods. There are already voices saying that it is

almost essential to protect regional and national interests somehow. How do you feel about this? Is there a problem here and in your opinion what is it?

[Melnikov] While improving management of local affairs on the principles of self-government and self-support we cannot have as our goal any sort of economic isolation of union, let alone autonomous, republics. After all, the main task is to more fully and completely utilize the possibilities of regions for accelerating development in the entire country as well as in the region.

However, I must admit that for subjective and objective reasons the level of social development is not at all equal in all oblasts and autonomous republics. Worse than that, it does not always depend on the diligence of the people, on the skilful or poor utilization of natural resources or on the efficiency of the local administration. Here in our republic people ask with justification: Why doesn't our well-being always depend on our desire and skill in working and in utilizing our resources better? The questions are justified, and perestroika should answer them.

As for some kinds of artificial measures to limit the movement and sale of goods and other "tug and pull" measures we, thank goodness, have had enough of that. And if the economic relations among regions develop normally there will be no need for similar artificial measures.

[Correspondent] And one last question, Vladimir Ivanovich. On whom does the implementation of the important economic and social beginning depend to a greater degree—on the decisions of the center or on readiness locally?

[Melnikov] To an equal extent from one and the other. If the decisions of local organs are reasonable and do not contradict the USSR Constitution, then the center should not reject them, as occurred before. But the initiative of the center is an important factor in organizing regional cost accounting. For example, we are already now prepared to change the order for developing and distributing budget resources. But after all this touches the entire financial system of the country. It is this that must be brought into line with our goals. We could already deal with a number of other questions, as for example, more boldly curtailing the management apparatus and eliminating extra and parallel departmental structures. But things will move all the more successfully the more rapidly we give regions the right to keep and utilize the freed wage fund for, let us say, increasing the production of consumer goods. We must more boldly expand the rights of republics to sell above-plan products.

The interrelationship between the center and us should be such that within a certain framework it will be possible to independently implement any useful innovation. I am placing great hopes in the fact that other regions have already begun to implement individual directions in regional cost accounting and self-financing.

Armenian CP Official G. S. Kotandzhyan Profiled
18300368a Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with Gayk Sargisovich Kotandzhyan, candidate of philosophical sciences and Armenian CP Central Committee inspector: "I Acknowledge No Variants When It Comes to the Motherland, Our Banner and Honor"]

[Text] A quarter of a century separates two newspaper articles about the same person. I clearly remember the first one, in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: it was when the column "Scarlet Sail" was getting its start and we were looking for heroes of our generation. We wrote about a schoolboy from Leningrad, the uncompromising Komsomol organizer Gayk. I read the second article not so long ago in PRAVDA; it told about Gayk Sargisovich Kotandzhyan, Armenian CP Central Committee member. Here is what our newspaper wrote so long ago: "Some of the children worship him (and they comprise almost the whole school) while others hate him (there are that kind, too). He is loved because even though he may be brusque he is always fair. He is respected because he is a great student. He can do a report on the structure of the atomic nucleus (and there will not be one superfluous word in the whole 40-minute speech) or give a lecture on Saryan (Gayk graduated from an art school). He can spend two whole weeks searching for a collection of old coins stolen from the school and find it in the end. He can get into a fight with seven boys who have in some way insulted in his presence another kid that he does not know very well but who is obviously weaker. And he can, without concealing his disdain, liberally ridicule a person who has demonstrated a lack of conscience." PRAVDA, followed by other central newspapers, told about how boldly this former school boy spoke at his republic Central Committee plenum 25 years later, and about how harshly he was later condemned by that plenum.

In 25 years new buildings, cities and states have come into existence. New generations have grown up and new concepts have become a part of our lives. But a great deal has also been destroyed. Earthquakes do not just affect the Earth's crust, they also strike at the depths of the human mind. By destroying ideals and breaking the fastenings of convictions they often undermine the foundation without which neither a building nor a human being can exist. Yet why did we see after this terrible earthquake that some buildings—both tall ones and not-so-tall ones—were destroyed while others were left standing?

That was what I was thinking the whole time I was interviewing the hero of our newspaper story of 25 years ago and the people who know him well, while I was posing questions to Gayk Sargisovich Kotandzhyan, candidate of philosophical sciences and Armenian CP Central Committee inspector.

[Rudenko] Gayk—may I call you Gayk? Though we are meeting today for the first time we have been acquainted for a long time. S. Soloveychik's article on you was titled "I Acknowledge No Variants." To all appearances, you are still following the rule of "I acknowledge no variants" today, true?

[Kotandzhyan] No.

[Rudenko] No?

[Kotandzhyan] It is good to be a maximalist when one is young, so that on the threshold of life one can dissociate oneself from everything that is unworthy. In adult life the maxim "I acknowledge no variants" leads to fanaticism. Fanaticism is always bad; it signifies the Inquisition, genocide, pogroms, the Stalin terror, fascism. No, I do not see myself in a position of fanatical opposition to people or concepts.

[Rudenko] Yet there are the people we call opponents of restructuring. We have used and continue to use the words "struggle" and "fight."

[Kotandzhyan] I think that today, even though we should keep on addressing criticism at specific individuals, the emphasis should be on struggle against phenomena rather than against people. New values are being proclaimed, yet they are being set in motion by the old system of party-state power. People can be replaced, but the system will keep on replicating itself.

I also do not believe in fighting for peace.

[Rudenko] It is surprising that you would say that, the boy who defended his principles and fought alone against seven... Are there no traces of that Gayk left?

[Kotandzhyan] Of course there are traces. Don't you see these scars...?

[Rudenko] Now, Gayk, I'm serious. Do you mean to tell me that the scars of life have changed you beyond recognition? Was not your speech to the Central Committee plenum the same kind of fight? Except this time you were not fighting against seven others: 24 people gave speeches against you! What made you take the risk this time?

[Kotandzhyan] The distortion and exploitation of socialism which are typical of the stagnant system of power as a whole, not just typical of our republic. I had to say something about the danger that the people's faith in a restructuring directed in our republic by corrupt bureaucrats will be destroyed. Here is a quote from my speech at the July 1989 Plenum: "Expanded reproduction of the social, political and economic basis of protectionism and corruption is connected with the fact that by skillfully

arming themselves with connections and buying educational and official bases of operation not only degenerate administrative workers but also the numerous procurers of their mafia income are promoting their own people."

R. Navasardyan, senior scientific associate at the republic Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy: "After Gayk's speech at the plenum our institute had a thoroughly scientific debate on the question of who he was. Was Kotandzhyan a national hero or simply an outstanding apparatchik? The people were yearning for a personality like his. I have known Gayk for a long time; I was his teacher at the Polytechnical Institute. Even then he was a personality. He did not utter banalities like "the work must be enlivened" or "a higher level..."; as soon as he became the Cybernetics Department's Komsomol organizer he started a tradition which is followed to this day. When he chaired a meeting there was scarcely space to breathe in the room. This was not on account of his oratorical ability, because that is not really his strong suit. He simply spoke seriously and honestly. He is not simply and "I"; he is an "I am a concept." Many people are not able to hang on to their youthful ideals. As a result they fall into a state of inertia. Gayk moves. But his is not the motion of a caterpillar, which can only feel the roughness of the bark as it crawls over a tree but is not able to see the fluttering leaves, which way the trunk leans or whether the foliage is green. Gayk is one of those leaders—quite frankly, those rare leaders—who are characterized by their ability to ponder the material presented to them by life or that they have obtained themselves by plunging into life."

"But I do not want you to make an icon out of him. I must tell you that I think the current talk about him being a national hero is wrong. When Gayk rocked Armenia all he would have had to do was go out onto the square and the people would have followed him. But he did not do that. I was also displeased by that telegram to the Central Committee in which Kotandzhyan warned against certain individuals who might turn the Karabakh movement in the wrong direction. Does he think that those pieces of statuary can influence us?"

"Why did Kotandzhyan not head up the Karabakh movement? I realize it was not out of cowardice. Some principle was involved. Generally speaking he is the embodiment of principle. I have known him for many years but I do not feel comfortable around him; that principle can wound as well."

[Rudenko] You know, Gayk, you talk about the plenum as if all they did there was philosophize... But you were demanding that the republic's leaders be replaced!

[Kotandzhyan] I tried to prove the need for leaders who were not compatible with restructuring to resign. I did not insult anyone's dignity. My appeal to our republic's so-called leading individuals of the time was this: "I have the honor to request that you transfer to a different position."

[Rudenko] Did the people who objected to your suggestion use the same parliamentary phraseology?

[Kotandzhyan] The plenum chairman called my speech "a knife in the back of restructuring." People demanded that I be fired, expelled from the party and thrown off the Central Committee. I think it was no coincidence that I signed up to participate in the debate as chairman of the State Committee on Vocation and Technical Education yet when I gave my speech a few days later I was secretary of Razdanskiy Party Raykom. Then the former second secretary of the Central Committee aired his scathing impressions of conversations with me in my rayon—even though he had not been there...

[Rudenko] What was going through your mind during speeches like that?

[Kotandzhyan] It is very hard to force oneself to listen to abuse that has been arranged on instructions from higher up and spiced up out of servility to the leaders running the presidium at that time. It is painful to look at people who have been forced to betray the truth and many years of mutual respect.

[Rudenko] Then you went home...

[Kotandzhyan] And went to bed.

[Rudenko] Went to bed?

[Kotandzhyan] Up until then I had been troubled by insomnia; aware of both the possible consequences of my speech and of concealing the truth, I did not feel free. A duty done gives one harmony with oneself, and that kind of harmony is one of the hypostases of freedom.

Ara Arutyunyan, docent at the Polytechnical Institute: "Gayk is a very manly person. He is not afraid of bandits on the street at night, or on the podium in the daytime. As soon as he signed up to speak—giving the Central Committee leadership two weeks' notice of his criticism—his home phone started ringing. Mostly anonymous calls, threatening calls. When he left in the morning to go to work in Razdan no one knew whether he would come back. Anything could happen en route; there have been cases like that. Yet he still undertook a demonstrative effort to expose Demirchyan's attempt to repeat the massive disturbances that had once been organized in Alma-Ata. Sending a telegram like that at a time like that! He could have been drawn and quartered! Because it was not members of the Karabakh Committee, it was apparatchiks, I heard it myself, who were telling people: 'Go to Theater Square and defend Demirchyan!' The situation was very serious. People like Mandalyan, former chief of the Organizational Party Work Department were studying ways of manipulating the people's minds. And they were capable of staging provocations. It was for one such provocation that Mandalyan was expelled from the party—by the new

leadership, of course. The Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department chief also tried to provoke Gayk. While still fully in charge of his position he summoned Gayk to his office and there in the presence of another staff member used crude, vile words to insult the most sacred of all things: his father's grave. Can you imagine that? He was counting on Gayk getting into a fistfight in reaction to the provocation so that he could be shipped off to a mental hospital. But Gayk controlled himself and said through clenched teeth: 'I will pay you back for those words.' As he was leaving the office he ran into some militia officers; they had already been called and were standing by. It was not coincidence that following this provocation one of the yes-men was able to call Gayk 'abnormal' and 'schizophrenic' without hindrance from an official podium."

"He did not yield to his emotions, but the pain of those insulting words is still with him to this day—I know that for a fact. Incidentally, the article 'I Acknowledge No Variants' also mentions my name. We have been friends since we were in school together. And I know that that very night after his father was insulted Gayk drove to Leninakan, to his father's grave. He is a very integral person who combines in a unique way a keen sense of the present with an attraction to the traditions of Gyumri, which is the old name for Leninakan."

[Rudenko] And now you are trying to tell me that you have come a long way from that other Gayk, the one in "Scarlet Sail"?

[Kotandzhyan] I would like to avoid oversimplification. Life is complicated and contradictory and holds many alternatives: I have to get away from making categorical assessments of things.

[Rudenko] For example?

[Kotandzhyan] Take for example an acute and previously ignored problem like the Karabakh issue. There are people who are attempting to ascribe the whole situation to extremism. That is crude, an oversimplification. Furthermore, extremism describes a form for expressing a certain content. And I think you will agree that it is the content which needs to be interpreted. The heart of the problem is that during the period of stagnation following the Stalinist period it became possible to assert flagrant nationalism with overtones of religious intolerance while proclaiming internationalism all the while. It was blasphemous, but from time to time groups of people were brought to the Nagorno-Karabakh AO from various parts of the Union and even from other socialist countries to study "internationalism" in action! The Azerbaijani Aliyev, the Armenian Kevorkov and others like them who were responsible for this fraud elevated inter-ethnic hostility—disguised by political fireworks—to the level of party and state policy. In order to prevent the pathological reproduction of these deformations of ethnic relations in the future we must be very honest about revealing their causes. The sin of oversimplification has

long been our bane. Ashby, one of the authors of our administrative theory, said: "The diversity of the system being administered can only be successfully coped with by an administrative structure which itself possesses a sufficient degree of diversity."

[Rudenko] Something which is very difficult...

[Kotandzhyan] Stalin's barracks-like regimentation of the way in which absolutely everything was administered for decades subordinated our society and kept it pruned down to the size of the administrative uniformity of indiscriminate power. In my opinion the creative renewal of socialism assumes the mutual development of pluralism between the people's power and socialism.

The pluralism which has landed like a white swan on our lakes must be made a reality by pluralistic individuals.

[Rudenko] But even a pluralistic individual probably has some aspect which is dominant. Which of your character traits do you regard as primary?

[Kotandzhyan] Please don't try to dissect me...

Seda Araratovna, Gayk's mother: "When Gayk was in the first grade his teacher once asked each of the children: 'Who do you nominate as class leader?' 'I nominate Aram.' 'I nominate Zorik.' 'I nominate...' And so on it went until she came to Gayk: 'Well, Gayk, who do you nominate for class leader?' 'Myself,' he replied. And he was elected. He took his classes seriously, actually to the point of fanaticism. I remember how he would make up exams for himself, noting the time it took him to do them, how he always had his nose in his VUZ textbooks. He won a medal when he graduated from school. He decided to become a Navy cybernetics officer. He studied enthusiastically and we took pride in his successes. But he came back from the North with a damaged spine and arm... Then he started working out again furiously, underwent therapy and managed to recover completely. At the institute he received a Lenin Stipend. He was not allowed to graduate from graduate school so he went out and became head of the city Komsomol's Organizational Party Work Department. He was also turned down when he defended his thesis at the Academy of Social Sciences. He gave it up and rushed home to Armenia. Then he went to Afghanistan... He is a natural-born leader."

[Rudenko] You have been accused of being overly ambitious.

[Kotandzhyan] Don't you want to ask me whether or not I am a careerist?

[Rudenko] Well, if I did ask you, what would be your reply?

[Kotandzhyan] I think that after my second critical speech at the latest plenum the majority realized that that was no way to build a career. A careerist is someone who at the very least does not say "no" to his superiors.

[Rudenko] Gayk, why was it that at a time when your name was on many people's lips you did not, as someone put it, "go out onto the square"? Considering your desire to be a leader...

[Kotandzhyan] We had our own Theater Square in our rayon. Anyway, being a leader is not an end in itself. I am not a weather vane, I am a party member.

[Rudenko] Unfortunately a great many people have successfully combined the two...

[Kotandzhyan] You are not talking about party members; you are talking about the petty bourgeoisie among the party nobility.

[Rudenko] Are you satisfied with yourself?

[Kotandzhyan] I am extremely dissatisfied with myself. Over the past year to year-and-a-half I have done less than I could have done. I mean in the post of raykom secretary.

[Rudenko] What did you do first when you became raykom secretary?

[Kotandzhyan] I started looking for links between the "Augean stables" at the rayon and republic levels. And, to my great regret, I was forced to counter continual subversive acts launched by the "underground" raykom buro literally as soon as I made my speech. The candidate who was supposed to replace me was chosen "personally," as people used to say. The selection then made was completely correct—from the old Central Committee's point of view, of course. If I had not gotten a mobilizing call from one of my experienced friends then I, who was lying sick in bed at the time, would have been removed from my position on day five... Steps aimed at fostering renewal were either cut off or skillfully distorted by higher-ups. People were openly incited to create all sorts of roadblocks. I was not confirmed for one year and three months. People who are knowledgeable about such matters cannot recall a similar case since the Stalinist era.

I must admit that, for someone of my age I went through an amazing school, where people did not lead you or the organization in order to create success, they merely coopted you by destroying you...

[Rudenko] And what conclusion have you drawn from that school?

[Kotandzhyan] The deeper the distortions the slower and more tormented will be the progress of restructuring, the more real will be the threat of the conservatives and reactionary forces having a chance to regroup. I feel that today there is a quite real danger of a creeping restoration of stagnation.

[Rudenko] In what post have you felt the greatest satisfaction?

[Kotandzhyan] As a political adviser in Afghanistan.

Of course I do not want to make some kind of touchstone out of Afghanistan, but it was there that there was a real mutual, human, manly sense of responsibility between us Soviets. I was very lucky to have the comrades that I did: Armenians, Georgians, Russians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Kurds, Tajiks—we lived like in a commune and we will remember that forever... That was in Andropov's time, and I am proud to say that I played a modest role in the first consultations on a political settlement of the armed conflict.

[Rudenko] Was there nothing about the job of raykom secretary in which you can take pride?

[Kotandzhyan] I think I can be proud of the fact that in contrast to other rayons with a mixed ethnic composition we did not have to have soldiers patrolling our rayon or moreover degrading themselves by using force against a peaceable populace. No blood was spilled. I have very positive memories of many, many people...

Dzhim Abramyan, general director of the Armavto PO in Charentsavan: "I must admit that during the election I was a bundle of nerves. Three candidates, and everyone voting instead of just the conference—and on a secret ballot at that! I felt like I was naked in front of thousands of people. What was the usual procedure? It was known in advance who was favored by the party raykom. But this time no one knew. I don't know what the other candidates thought, but Kotandzhyan did not immediately approach me. Yet the election was held at his initiative, and at the peak of the demonstrations at that! He also proposed a dialogue instead of demonstrations. We would sit down and talk everything over reasonably. Kotandzhyan, who speaks both Armenian and Russian equally well—I myself am a bit weak in Armenian—said, well, try it and see what kind of sensible things we can agree on. But that came later. At the time I did not think that he was on my side. Yet when they announced the results I was director! And suddenly Gayk Sargisovich absolutely pounced on me. Aha, I thought, that means that I was his candidate after all. You would have to know Kotandzhyan to understand why I thought that: sometimes he seems somewhat distant. But now he was coming to our enterprise and we were touring the shops together, him with his hand on my shoulder; well, I thought, I am his man. I am the old boy on the block, not new to this rayon, I've been around a bit... Then came a

summons to the raykom buro and he quickly took some of the wind out of my sails—I realized that I was not 'his' man! He does not have his own people, in the obscene sense of the term."

[Rudenko] What does socialism mean to you most of all?

[Kotandzhyan] Advancement of democracy, humanism and civilization.

[Rudenko] And what is democracy?

[Kotandzhyan] Democratic lawmaking and democratic application of the law. Plus a culture of political elections and the ability to utilize the possibilities that it offers.

[Rudenko] How about some more details on that?

[Kotandzhyan] There are two courses: the first is to create laws and make party decisions which reflect the aspirations of the people, and the second is to promulgate laws and make decisions on the higher levels, only afterwards attempting to convince the people that they are good laws. The decisions made concerning Karabakh or concerning the nuclear power plant are examples of the first course. Now our task is to explain that to the people so that they can properly evaluate who it was that heeded them as well their own lawmaking ability. True, this is hard to do while the tanks remain deployed... All the problems which exist in our multiethnic country should be solved by methods worthy of a civilized society. Arson, robbery, murder and other acts of vandalism should be resolutely condemned and eliminated as a means of solving those problems, and all the people who commit them punished regardless of the motivations which prompted them to do so. Of course, we must not put the initiators of a pogrom and its victims on a par with each other. The course of events has shown that the protracted nature of a solution to the Karabakh problem, information in the propaganda media which had not always been verified and the lack of timely condemnation of the carnage in Sumgait resulted in a heightening of the region's social agitation. In my opinion the Soviet Constitution should more fully reflect the Leninist approach to people's right to self-determination within the framework of the Soviet commonwealth in any future mechanism for regulating this sort of crisis. An open and aboveboard plebiscite among the populace which has requested self-determination of a national-territorial formation could, I feel, be the most acceptable form for expression of new political thinking.

[Rudenko] Whom do you regard as your ideological enemies? Judging by the article we mentioned before, when you were young that was anyone who did not think the way you did.

[Kotandzhyan] Today I consider someone who continues to manipulate the Marxist-Leninist lexicon without any remorse, all the while hiding behind a simplified view of the theory and practice of socialism, as my

ideological enemy. Lamaism has these prayer wheels: people put the texts of prayers in little cylinders and believe that if they spin them a thousand times they have come in contact with divine truth a thousand times. Our high priests of the Marxist confession are like that.

[Rudenko] In your opinion, what is most important in a party worker?

[Kotandzhyan] Supporting innovation, creativity and talent, and supporting them in such a way that after a while they can become self-sustaining.

Ara Yerndzhakyan, artistic director of the Chamber Theater imeni Armenian Komsomol: "If it were not for Gayk our theater would not exist. And the chamber theater or the mime theater? Or the children's aesthetics center? Or the Armenian-language children's encyclopedia? These things are all tied in with his arrival in the post of first secretary of our republic Komsomol Central Committee. Actions, not a resolution-induced euphoria. At the time everyone shied away from the idea of a theater like ours; it was born of the 'Club for Happy and Witty People,' when the club was closed. Can you imagine, in the 1970's we managed to put on the political show/pamphlet entitled "Vsye rushitsya, no yeshchye mozno pet i veselitsya" [Everything Is Crumbling, But We Can Still Sing and Be Merry]! He pushed our idea through, and he got us this basement, and he conducted construction planning meetings here himself, and I remember how he dragged in some pipe, and how he turned somersaults with us on the stage. You know, someone like that I... Not at all Komsomol-like. But now, years later, I am proud of the fact that I had the honor to be a member of the buro. Just like that: 'I had the honor.' He infected all of us with his beloved 'Brigantina,' that was the sort of atmosphere that prevailed! We started living according to concepts of the 1920's, which were long forgotten and had not existed for us before."

"Gayk kept dumbbells under his desk in his Central Committee office. He once damaged his spine and they had said he would always remain an invalid, but he recovered through constant exercise. A few years later he used his physical training to convince a commission to reinstate his fitness for military service. As a matter of principle. For all his youthful boldness he had in him something of a weight lifter's steadfastness. A solidness. I remember a performance of our 'Hamlet'; naturally we staged it our own way. The cultural officials and the Shakespeare authorities all got together to lambast us: it was wrong, it was not Shakespeare. Then suddenly Gayk stood up and made a speech, a long, detailed one. Our jaws dropped, and so did the Shakespeare experts'. But he told us straight out when he did not like a play. You know, nowadays it is common to hear people talk about 'our people' or 'not our people', 'our clan' or 'their clan.' Now as then he was outside that sort of clan. I think that will be his undoing..."

"I admit that I do not like leaders. But Gayk, a leader like that... By no means everyone can use the informal mode of address with him. But we were all under his spell."

[Rudenko] The name Kotandzhyan was mentioned in our newspaper again 25 years later. In a report entitled "Armenia: Black December" I read: "All the buildings built within the last 15 years fell. All the new schools fell. School #13 in Leninakan, built before the war, remained standing. All the children in it escaped unharmed. It was built by the late Sergey Osipovich Kotandzhyan."

[Kotandzhyan] That was my father. Not just that school was spared, but other buildings built by him as well.

[Rudenko] But was he not also a teacher?

[Kotandzhyan] He became a teacher. And he was a builder. My father left the construction trade when he saw that he could not put a stop to theft and account-padding.

[Rudenko] You say that... Are you, too, capable of quitting?

[Kotandzhyan] That is one possible option.

[Rudenko] Why?

[Kotandzhyan] Many of the people whom I criticized have remained in their posts. They are backed up by people from the old team. Sometimes it seems to me that these "godfathers" still have control of the political helm even though they have been removed from power.

[Rudenko] So what can be done about them?

[Kotandzhyan] That is a universal problem for our country... I can only reiterate what I said before: I do not believe in a war for peace. That is bloody nonsense. 1937. We must realize that today we are the authors of and characters in a very serious drama.

Galina Sukhoruchenkova, AUCCTU secretary: "Many people have a somewhat stereotypical perception of party workers, as well as of trade union workers. There is a reason for that, of course, but like all stereotypes this one keeps people from seeing other people as they really are. In an extreme situation people are stripped of pretense and it becomes immediately obvious who is who."

"I was introduced to Gayk Kotandzhyan in Leninakan by Boris Yevdokimovich Shcherbina. I had gone to Leninakan immediately after the earthquake in order to head up the evacuation. He said: 'That's the Armenian CP Central Committee representative at your headquarters.' I introduced myself as Galina. I thought that Kotandzhyan was older than me; he was pensive, restrained and taciturn. Invaluable qualities in what you

might call a frontline situation... People on the brink of hysteria, no electricity, no water (we even washed with mineral water) and no heat, yet people still did not want to leave. We could not force them to, all we could do was try to persuade them that if they thought only about the dead they would also lose those who were still alive. In this regard Kotandzhyan, whose very appearance evoked people's involuntary respect, was extremely useful to us."

"Each evening he always left and went somewhere, and just as regularly appeared early in the morning and said: 'What assignment do you have for me today?' Only later did we find out where he had been going, what grief was concealed under his calm demeanor: he was going to help his brother look for his 16-year-old daughter under the rubble..."

"One time a young man burst into our headquarters and began speaking in an imperious tone of voice the moment he entered. I should note that the depression of the first days was in some cases followed by a certain aggressivity. He was immediately set upon by Gayk: 'What sort of way is that to talk to a woman?' I must admit, the situation did little to dispose people toward making that kind of remark... Sociologists arrived and Gayk helped them; it turned out that he had studied that field of science. He requested help from the Americans and spoke with them in English."

"Later I learned that Kotandzhyan was younger than I was. But we still went on addressing each other by our first names. In an emergency situation weeks are like months."

[Rudenko] Where were you on 7 December, the day of the earthquake?

[Kotandzhyan] In the morning I was in Yerevan, and in the evening I was in Leninakan. I was deeply shaken by the 18 days I spent there.

[Rudenko] Did you lose loved ones?

[Kotandzhyan] Yes. On the tenth day they found my mother's sister, and on the twelfth they found my brother's daughter; two other children in our family also died... Golgotha. But also a lit candle. Not in the liturgy, in real life. Darkness, moaning, coffins, weeping—and a worldwide response to them. My belief that man is the highest, most merciful creature, that he carries a temple within himself, was reinforced.

[Rudenko] What holds a person together when it is not the walls of his home, but rather his plans, desires and perceptions of life that are destroyed?

[Kotandzhyan] Above all people who think as he does. Little islands of hope like that... He is held together by the faith that those islands will become an archipelago.

[Rudenko] The city where you were born was destroyed...

[Kotandzhyan] I believe it will be rebuilt completely. I am only concerned by the technocratic approach to interpreting the disaster and means of overcoming it. We must avoid a piecemeal approach. Otherwise we will turn Leninakan into an exhibition of the achievements of various departments and regions. The inimitable spirit of Gyumri must live on in the new Leninakan. Homogenization is a devastating process.

Viktor Fanardzhyan, vice-president of the ArSSR Academy of Sciences: "We all have a great lack of culture. Naturally we are not talking about those who can carry away a string bag from the bazaar holding goods worth more than my whole salary—and it is not a small salary, as you know. I am talking about normal people. And an honest person, an educated one, and... No, it was put very precisely by Academician Likhachev: everything can be imitated except for culture. Now take Gayk Sargisovich. I have known him for a long time, ever since he had jurisdiction over our academy in his position in the Central Committee's Science Department. He is a cultured individual. And his plenum speeches, which are being discussed not only by our entire republic but by the central newspapers as well, are the protest of an intelligent, cultured individual. A cultured fighter: our society needs a figure like that very much today."

[Rudenko] Gayk, does it not seem to you that your "I have the honor to request that you..." is a little bit... You know...

[Kotandzhyan] I understand. At the next plenum I said: "Not having received satisfaction..." thereby raising the ire of some members of officialdom.

[Rudenko] A duel in the offing, maybe?

[Kotandzhyan] Why not? I still have my great-grandfather's rapier.

[Rudenko] "Rapier," "I have the honor," "satisfaction": truly anachronisms in the speech of a party worker...

[Kotandzhyan] I am glad that many formerly forgotten or belittled terms are being rehabilitated in the mind of the public. The intelligentsia and intellectual culture have for many people come to symbolize something Western and aristocratic, something not quite to be trusted. Maybe that is our working-class nature... But today we see that that working-class nature has been subverted. It is a serious deformation that corrupt individuals are forcing many workers to regard compensation for their labor not primarily as an expression of gratitude on the part of the socialist state but rather as personal payment for service to they who have been made masters of the unofficial economy by buying the powers of state and party leaders. I also spoke of this at the plenum.

[Rudenko] Yet the plenum unanimously deemed your speech to have been in error... What did you think about yourself then?

[Kotandzhyan] I thought of a poem by Tsvetayeva. She wrote about an officer who left his men in the forest and went out on the highway alone to fight an occupying tank column. He fired his pistol at a tank. And his honor remained intact, according to the poet.

[Rudenko] What advice do you have to give today to those who are the age Gayk was in "I Acknowledge No Variants"?

[Kotandzhyan] It is hard for me to give advice. I do not feel like a mentor.

[Rudenko] It seems to me that you have something to say to young people who are witnessing a certain shaking of the foundations: the history that they read is not right anymore, and the former authorities are not authorities anymore...

[Kotandzhyan] I am simply trying to acquaint my oldest son, who is just now of that "Scarlet Sail" age, with my fellow thinkers. So that he will see that critics are not wreckers. In my opinion upbringing is dominated by the reading of meaningless texts. What is needed is an example, a teacher. Incidentally, both the most modern foreign firms and traditional Eastern monastic orders have perceived this need, the need to learn from the best models. Every young person should be oriented toward the search for that kind of example. That is probably a definition of adulthood: when you go out in search of your own teacher.

[Rudenko] Who was that kind of teacher for you?

[Kotandzhyan] My father—we have already talked about him. My grandmother—she had roots in Western Armenia and she always felt pain over the genocide that occurred there, always worked black, but was very restrained. My father's sister and her husband, who was repressed in 1937 when he was rector of Yerevan University. My aunt not only did not renounce her husband—and we know of cases where that did happen—she also got him a reprieve from execution with help from members of the Red Professorate and Old Bolsheviks—Russians, Lithuanians, Jews and Armenians. My father, who became a Young Pioneer in 1922 and a Komsomol member in 1928, was not allowed to join the party for a long time: our family included two children of "enemies of the people"... And, of course, I am grateful to my commune. After a trip to a Young Eagle camp I joined a commune. The official pedagogical view was that the commune movement was a bastard, an illicit offspring. Yet it was a living child with warm little hands and clear eyes. Our leaders drew us out and began to delegate authority seriously, without any deception; we

used the informal mode of address with them, but there was no display of feigned friendliness. It was a real school of democracy. You know, we have remained friends ever since.

[Rudenko] Gayk, you always had a choice: science or party work. This system has rejected you yet you have returned to it over and over again. Why?

[Kotandzhyan] It seemed to me that I could be of greatest benefit to my people in the role of a political worker...

[Rudenko] Well, what about your youthful slogan of "I acknowledge no variants"?

[Kotandzhyan] Even today I acknowledge no variants when it comes to the Motherland, our Banner and Honor.

Roza, Gayk's wife: "I first saw Gayk in a mirror. In the vestibule of our institute there were columns, and on each of them a mirror. One time I went up to a column and saw a face in the mirror. It surprised me, especially, the look. At the time I was 17 years old; Gayk took a picture of me then, as a 17-year-old, with him to Afghanistan. Sometimes he would call from there, and for some reason there was always a sound on the line that sounded like 'Rosa...Rosa...Rosa...' On 19 August I suddenly felt sick; my hands and feet became cold, and the doctor was called. I thought, what is the matter with me? It turned out that nothing was the matter with me, but rather with him. As his Afghanistan veteran friends later told me he and his column were ambushed on that day. They lost 18 men in that fight... Gayk came back after a year-and-a-half and I hardly recognized him when I saw him at the airport; he was greying and silent."

"After that meeting—the time I saw him in the mirror—he soon sent me a note. It only contained four words: 'I like you, comrade!' We have been together for a long time now; we have had two sons and all sorts of trials and tribulations, but I know that the mirror did not deceive me."

Author's note: The first thing I saw in Leninakan: a semi-ruined building with a sign still hanging on it, and on the sign was a star with one of its points missing... The first thing that amazed me there was the way Gyumri had survived. We should be so ashamed: buildings built before the revolution remained alive, while the new buildings crumbled, taking human lives with them. I saw the remains of a school: jutting remnants of columns, like the ovens of Khatyn, and school notebooks, school backpacks, a school abacus... But their owners were not there. The school built by Kotandzhyan's father is still standing. With a solid foundation, honestly built walls and a roof under which no one perished.

People are like buildings. And the secret of enduring is probably also the same for both of them.

GSSR Party-Economic Aktiv Battling Bribery, Corruption, Statistics Fraud

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18 Feb 89 pp 1-3*

[Gruzinform report: "Vigorously Eradicate Negative Phenomena! From a Meeting of the Party-Economic Aktiv of Georgia"]

[Text] As has been reported, a meeting of the party-economic aktiv of Georgia was held on 14 February 1989. Participants discussed urgent tasks of party, soviet, economic, and law enforcement organs in regard to stepping up efforts against bribery and the theft of socialist property, in order to impose the necessary order in all spheres of the life of the Republic in light of the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

Georgian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary D.I. Patiashvili spoke at the meeting.

An animated, businesslike, principled discussion was held concerning what is necessary to do in order to accomplish a radical breakthrough in the struggle against negative phenomena, in order to achieve practical results in further cleaning up the moral climate in the Republic.

The struggle with encroachments against socialist property and violations of the principle of social justice is always at the focus of attention of the Republic's party organization. A number of measures have been taken to strengthen party, state, and labor discipline, to step up efforts against bribery, protectionism, the theft of socialist property, and speculation. However, the efforts of party, soviet, economic, and law enforcement organs in this regard are not yet adequate to the tasks of perestroika. Hence, either the measures that have been taken are not sufficiently concrete, not sufficiently competent, lack the necessary practical recommendations, and fail to obligate specific persons to do specific work within precisely specified time frames, or else the monitoring of decisions that have been made is inadequate and implementation of them is not properly verified.

Meanwhile, many spheres of our life are infected with socially dangerous evils such as bribery, hustling, and thievery. We can no longer tolerate this. The situation demands that every official, party member, worker—all of society—declare resolute and implacable war against negative phenomena, stop talking about it and turn from words to real action. The people have the right to expect a radical change in the situation. Such is the unequivocal conclusion arrived at by participants in the meeting.

All is Not Well in the Maintenance of Order

Processes of perestroika and renovation, the democratization of our society, and the spread of glasnost have helped to activate efforts to detect and stop violations—so it is noted in announcements by officials of the

Republic's administrative organs, the MVD, the Ministry of Justice, and the procuracy. However, the practical return on the efforts that have been expended is not yet very high. What we have is a rise in the number of thefts and cases of speculation and bribery that have been detected by the Republic MVD's BKhSS [Struggle Against Theft of Socialist Property and Speculation] services. A number of sectors of the national economy are infected with criminality; hustling, bribery, and cover-ups are flourishing. The bookkeeping in many enterprises and establishments is in chaotic shape, thus creating conditions for all kinds of machinations and thievery; things are out of control.

In an atmosphere like this, efforts to impose order cannot be confined just to a few punitive measures. MVD units and services need the help of local party and soviet organs. But they do not always get it. In 1987-1988, the Republic MVD sent out specific notifications concerning negative processes in various outfits located in Tkibuli, Poti, Chiatura, and in Akhalkalaki, Zugdidi, Dmanisi, Telavi, Tsalendzhikha, and Lagodekhi rayons. But party committees there did not react to the information.

The public is especially disturbed and dissatisfied by the activities of the cooperatives, which frequently provide a cozy nest for all kinds of hustlers, persons who have been convicted of theft more than once and who do not hesitate to steal materials and equipment from state enterprises. The cooperatives' use of bank loans is not properly monitored; frequently they are used for purposes of personal enrichment.

It must be acknowledged, on the other hand, that the unsatisfactory results of the efforts against negative phenomena are due to the many shortcomings in the work of the MVD organs and the dishonest actions of MVD personnel.

ITEM: A total of 1,704 MVD officers have been fired, 155 cases have been submitted to the procuracy, and 55 persons have been convicted in the past 2 years.

Today, crime statistics are raising the curtain on their secrets. This is one of the gains of the democratization of our life. Republic statistics attest to serious wounds in the body of society, but at the same time they reflect revitalizing changes and wholesome tendencies.

We have successfully promoted the process, launched in 1985, of systematically reducing the crime rate. There has been an appreciable drop in the most general indicator—the criminal record index [koeffitsient sudimosti]; our rate of 179 convicts per 100,000 population (it used to be 215) is one of the lowest among the union republics (the all-union figure for 1987 was 424).

Juvenile crime has been going down steadily for the past 10 years. Last year, 325 minors were convicted. This also is the lowest figure in the Soviet Union. There is an

ongoing decline in the crime rate among women. Of considerable importance to the Republic's party organization is the fact that convictions of party members have almost been cut in half, and convictions of Komsomol members have been reduced by 20 percent.

Punishment involving imprisonment has come to be used less frequently, while more use is made of forms such as corrective work, probation, deferred sentencing, and fines. The number of repeat offenders has dropped by 9 percent.

These figures would seem to indicate that the Republic's moral-psychological climate is becoming healthier. These processes are being promoted thanks to the implementation of the necessary political, economic, and social actions of the Republic's party organization and the appropriate soviet, trade-union, economic, and law enforcement organs. The courts are acting more vigorously to protect the legitimate interests of citizens and are paying more attention to constitutional guarantees; the 50 acquittals that were handed down last year testify to that. It is twice as many as in the preceding year.

Nevertheless, these data and basic statistics by no means give grounds for complacency; lurking behind them are deep-seated processes and disturbing phenomena. Thus, the number of women convicted of speculation, thievery, and cheating of customers and clients remains as high as ever.

Also cause for wariness is the big discrepancy between statistics on registered crimes and the number of convicted persons. In particular, police [operativnaya] and court statistics on speculation and thefts by no means coincide. The difference between them is too great. The "leakage" last year amounted to 629 speculation cases and 1,015 theft cases. In the process of investigation and court review, many offenses are downgraded from bribery to swindling and consumer fraud. Disproportions and alterations like these need to be looked at carefully and made the object of special study. In today's context, violations of legality, manifestations of red tape and bureaucratism, and ignorance of the working people's interests by judicial bodies are totally unacceptable. The Ministry of Justice and the judicial bodies are the most democratic organs in the law enforcement system, but they still have to learn more about democracy and, especially, how to wield its mighty weapon—glasnost.

Efforts against negative phenomena are seriously hampered by the manipulation of statistical data. People ought to be more concerned about the fact that the number of detected violations has declined in 20 areas of the Republic. In 27 cities and rayons, the same number of thefts of socialist property were detected last year as in the preceding year. This "stability" lies on the conscience of officials and officers of the procuracy and MVD organs. And it does not match the true state of affairs.

It indicates, for example, that organized and group crime is increasing in this sphere. Of the total of 302 group crimes recorded last year, nearly one-tenth involved the theft of socialist property.

We also need to think about the fact that more than 80 percent of thefts in especially large amounts were not detected by departmental control and auditing bodies but by other monitoring and law enforcement agencies. Often, meanwhile, the appropriate MVD services merely register cases of theft, and the procuracy inspectorate also, frequently, confines itself just to establishing that they took place. Thievery is fostered by serious oversights in planning, in unrealistic plans and targets on produce procurements, which are not always matched by natural resources. And all kinds of hustlers and thugs take advantage of this.

The banks are not doing very much to play a monitoring role in efforts against thievery. In fact, a considerable number of cases of theft of state and social property have resulted from bank employees' connivance and complicity in criminal acts.

As far as the agencies and personnel of the procuracy are concerned, people are justifiably unhappy because they very often fail to penetrate criminal forces and are content just to detect petty offenses; they fail to detect and get rid of corrupt elements that have infiltrated their ranks. People are unhappy because the investigation of crimes is not always done properly. Serious complaints are being made about the work of the procurators of Abkhazia and Adjara and in Tianeti, Kvareli, Signakhi, and Zestafoni rayons.

ITEM: In the past 3 years, 216 persons have been dismissed from procuracy organs for shortcomings in their work. For slackening their efforts against crime, the procurators of Lentekhi, Tsalka, Ochamchira, Sagaredzho, and Dmanisi rayons have been fired.

Today, when tendencies of the creation of a state of law are emerging, with increasing clarity, and socialist legality, law and order, are becoming stronger, life itself compels the workers of the administrative organs to work in a different way, in the channel of the mighty mainstream of perestroika.

FROM THE ROSTRUM: God forbid you should get involved with the militia, the procuracy, or the courts! The law is the same for all. It must be served faithfully and truthfully by people who are knowledgeable, morally clean, and authoritative—something you cannot say about everyone in the service of law and order today.

Undermining the Economy

Uncompromising and vigorous struggle against negative phenomena is one of the main levers for overcoming "bottlenecks" in our economic development. Meanwhile, the Republic's economy continues to be deficient.

Suffice it to say that in the first 3 years of the 5-year plan the gap between the actual and the targeted rate of growth in industrial production came to 2.7 points, and there is still a lag below targets in regard to labor productivity growth, although last year this indicator was overfulfilled.

The extent to which our economy is being bled by all kinds of negative phenomena can be judged by the following data: Losses sustained by the Republic as a result of shortages, loss, and thefts of commodities and material goods have risen by 1.5 times since 1980. The situation is extremely bad in the State Agroindustrial Committee system, which accounts for over 90 percent of all detected losses, shortages, thefts, and spoilages of material goods; in the first 9 months of last year alone they totaled over 15 million rubles' worth.

Irreparable damage is being done to our social-economic development by misrepresentation and the inflation and distortion of report figures. Last year alone, people's control organs found various distortions amounting to 24 million rubles in the accounting reports of 556 economic outfits. This situation fostered illegal payments of monetary funds in the form of bonuses and wages totaling 849,000 rubles.

Statistics of this sort leave no doubt that stepping up efforts against bribery, the theft of socialist property, deliberate abuses, and manifestations of corruption are not only of legal and administrative but also economic and political importance. There is also no doubt that the efforts being made to deal with this task are clearly inadequate.

In the past 3 years, law enforcement and monitoring organs have detected up to 18,000 different mercenary and official abuses—theft, bribery, speculation, and consumer fraud. Over 15,000 persons—including almost 1,000 communists—have been brought to justice.

As we know, the sphere of trade and consumer services is among those which are most badly infected with negative phenomena. Very little is being done to strengthen the safeguarding of socialist property and maintain state discipline.

ITEM: There is no end to theft, mismanagement, embezzlement, waste, and other gross violations in the trade system. Of 35 regions which were checked last year by people's control organs, 22 were found to have numerous violations of fund discipline as well as 29 million rubles' worth of underassimilation of goods [nedoosvoyeniye tovarov], including 11 million rubles' worth of food products.

An investigation in Tskhinvali revealed that officials had committed gross violations and abuses in the printing, safekeeping, and distribution of food coupons. More than 2 tons of butter and 5 tons of meat had been sold illegally in this way. In Tbilisi, large, massive amounts of

flour, which the public cannot get, are being taken from the bakery shops. Considerable losses of material goods due to spoilage are taking place in the Tsekavshiri system. Last year they totaled 1.6 million rubles, and compensation for the losses is 2 million rubles in arrears. Cases of theft, shortages, and various kinds of abuses have been found in practically all trade organizations. Losses last year due to waste and thievery amounted to around 700,000 rubles in the consumer cooperative system. The situation in the Ministry of Trade is cause for extreme concern; the total amount of thefts and shortages there exceeded 4 million rubles. As a result of audits and investigations, about 400 workers in the system have been brought to justice, and dozens of cases are being reviewed by investigative bodies. Year by year there has been an increasing number of workers in trade, public food services, and consumer services who have been caught cheating and shortchanging customers. A total of 1,325 such persons were caught in 1988—that is, a "gain" of 18 percent.

Instances of shortchanging and cheating customers and consumers are above all an indication of the lack of proper control and exactingness on the part of the trade organizations, the trade inspectorate, the control apparatus of the Ministry of Trade and Tsekavshiri, precinct inspectors, BKhSS personnel, and people's controllers. All the more essential than, as M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, is workers' total monitoring of trade enterprises and the distribution of material goods.

FROM THE ROSTRUM: Today there are about 6,000 workers' control groups operating in the Republic. More than 20,000 persons are working actively in them. These groups have uncovered almost 800 instances of shortchanging and shortweighting, more than 600 cases of services rendered without filling out the appropriate forms, and more than 500 instances of concealing goods such as ordinary soap, condensed milk, flour, sugar, toothpaste, laundry detergent, cigarettes, and so on. As a result, more than 2,000 workers in the sphere of services have been disciplined and several dozen have been fired. A number of cases have been submitted to the investigative organs. Incidentally, the rights and obligations of the workers' control groups need to be defined more precisely.

It is also essential to fight against corruption in the distribution of funds and in the releasing of goods from warehouses, because that is where many violations and abuses in trade begin. Special responsibility in this is assigned to the heads of the Ministry of Trade and the board of directors of Tsekavshiri, V.G. Dzhindzhikhadze and Kh. Kontselidze, who recently took charge of these large organizations.

The way to achieve a breakthrough is primarily to assign greater responsibility to personnel of all ranks. Unfortunately, we have an abundance of examples of complicity and lack of principle on their part. In July of 1987, for example, V. Khvistani, an auditor for the Sukhumi food retail organization, was inventorying Store No 15 and

found a shortage of 667 rubles. A week later, however, inspectors from BKhSS determined that the shortage actually amounted to 2,200 rubles. It was also found that sales proceeds totaling 43,000 rubles had not been turned in. Despite all this, the management of the retail organization saw fit to let the auditor keep his job, and when he got away with it the first time he became convinced that he was immune to punishment. The same auditor conducted two inventories in Store No 24 and found no violations whatever. Again it took the workers of the BKhSS to discover them: They found that the store had taken in 3,530 rubles' worth of goods that were not recorded, also a shortage amounting to 270,000 rubles. Only after that did the management of the retail organization fire Khvistani.

Frequently, hustlers are the people who organize theft operations. One such person, Sh. Khikhashvili, who had a criminal record, organized a gang which included officials of the Sachkhere Rayon Industrial Combine of the Ministry of Light Industry and Tsekavshiri. They misappropriated state and public property worth almost 1 million rubles.

Although lately the Ministry of Light Industry as a whole has stepped up its efforts to detect and prevent shortages and thievery, serious abuses are still allowed to take place. Cases of that sort have occurred, in particular, in the Tkibuli Industrial Combine and the Gali Rayon Industrial Combine of the Abkhazian ASSR Ministry of Local Industry.

Cases of theft, shortages, and wastage of money are also declining in the Ministry of Light Industry. Nevertheless, serious shortcomings persist in the Tbilisi Worst Textile Combine, in whose finished products warehouse a shortage of over 600,000 rubles was discovered. In addition, a fire burned up materials and goods worth almost 2 million rubles.

Threads of hustling and corruption can also be traced from the consumer service outlets to the processing industry. Literally just the other day in the finished products warehouse of the Varketili Cannery (Gardabani Rayon), a fictitious order was drawn up to issue over 15 tons of apple jelly to a representative of Association No 4 of the Special Combine for Athlete Food Services of the Tbilisi Gorispolkom Administration of Public Food Services. What the man got instead, however, was the price of the goods—13,661 rubles. Then a non-commodity transaction [bestovarnaya operatsiya] was drawn up with personnel of the combine's bar cafe. The money that was obtained in this way had all been withdrawn, and 10,000 rubles of it were in bank wrapping. Especially disturbing is the fact that a similar offense was committed at the Varketili Cannery last year as well.

Negative phenomena have yet to be eradicated in the tea industry. For abuse of official position, V. Papaskiri, the general director of the Tskhakaya Association of Tea Factories, T. Torchinava, chairman of the board of the

Potskho Kolkhoz, K. Pachkoriya, director of the Nosiri Sovkhoz, T. Arveladze, director of Tskhakaya Tea Factory No 1, and T. Tkebuchava, manager of the receiving office in that factory, were convicted in the Supreme Court of the Republic.

Last year at a meeting of the party-economic aktiv, serious criticism was directed at Tskhakaya Raykom First Secretary O. Ezugbaya for allowing an atmosphere of nepotism, cronyism, protectionism, and lack of principle in dealing with cadre issues in the rayon. At that time, a year ago, all that was known was that alcohol had been stolen from the Tskhakaya Tea Concentrate Plant. It turned out, however, that machinations on a grander scale were taking place.

Abuses have also been found out involving the procurement and processing of tea leaf in Gegechkori Rayon. Investigation is under way into improprieties in the Orpiri Tea Factory (Tkibuli City Zone), where inspectors found a shortage of 215 tons of finished products worth 959,000 rubles, and the total amount of figure-padding exceeded 1.35 million rubles.

In the context of this situation, G.D. Mgeladze, the chairman of the Georgian State Agroindustrial Committee and a member of the Central Committee Buro, as well as all other officials of that Committee, must undertake vigorous measures to impose order. It must be kept in mind, moreover, that the Republic's program to improve the quality of Georgian tea will not yield the desired results unless organized crime is done away with in the sector.

This is not the first time the subject of the canning industry and the procurement organizations has come up in this connection. Practically all their leadership cadres have been replaced, and the specific guilty persons have been brought to justice. So far, however, nothing has changed: Non-commodity transactions, machinations, and adulteration of products still persist and are widespread. For this reason, the Republic Procuracy has directed that an inspection be made in all of the Republic's canneries.

Less than 2 months ago, at the 41st Tbilisi City Party Organization Conference, mention was made of Doreuli, the swindler who undertook to fix the case of the director and the chief engineer of the Tskhinvali Cannery (under the State Agroindustrial Committee) and other persons caught in a fictitious deal involving 830 tons of apples from the Gori Rayon Procurement Association as well as thefts and the adulteration of products, for which she got 200,000 rubles through an intermediary. The matter is still under investigation. And perhaps the name of this woman, who recently finished serving time for a similar crime, would not have come up again today, but there is another aspect of the matter to consider. What kind of wheeling and dealing must these hustlers be putting

together in the procurement and adulteration of products in the canning industry, when you consider that they can pay out tens of thousands of rubles just in hopes of buying help? That is how deeply corruption has sunk its roots in this sector!

Incidentally, the magnitude of the threat posed by negative phenomena in the State Agroindustrial Committee is indicated by the following. The system's own control and auditing services alone last year uncovered instances of theft, shortages, and illegal disbursement of money and material goods totaling 15.289 million rubles. But there have been numerous other instances as well. This is because the vital job of supplying the population with agricultural goods is turned over to casual, incompetent, and sometimes actually dishonest people. The aktiv has directed the Republic People's Control Committee and the State Agroindustrial Committee to conduct a joint investigation of the cadre status of persons working in procurement and to submit proposals on how to clean up their ranks.

The ministries, departments, and organizations of the construction complex will have to step up their efforts to eradicate cases of figure-padding, bribery, the theft of state property, and so on. Construction organizations are still wasting large amounts of cement, metal, and other materials. One gets the impression that our construction workers have become somewhat lax and have let down their guard against phenomena that were revealed in 1987, with regard to which the CPSU Central Committee passed a special decree, which was examined and discussed in detail at the meeting of the Republic's party-economic aktiv. It has been deemed essential to return to this decree and the relevant decision that was taken at the Republic aktiv, to make a thorough investigation of how well they are being implemented and discuss the findings in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro.

It must be noted, at the same time, that local party, soviet, and law enforcement organs have not always reacted promptly to cases of violations in particular construction organizations. Last year alone, for example, agents of the Republic's former Ministry of Construction discovered instances of figure-padding totaling 9.4 million rubles. The figures were especially high in Sukhumi Trust No 6, the Batumi Housing Construction Combine, Poti Trust No 10, and Tskhinvali Trust No 11. All of these materials have been turned over to the councils of ministers of the Abkhazian and Adjarian ASSRs, the Tskhinvali Gorkom, and the Poti Gorispolkom. So far, however, no action has been taken.

Ispolkom officials, city and rayon procurators, and militia precinct inspectors must bear direct responsibility for violations of land use regulations, unauthorized occupation of land, and illegal construction of private homes, especially in Tbilisi and its suburbs. The fact is that various violations of legality are involved in all this. It is

perfectly obvious that unauthorized buildings do not come about by themselves but are abetted (generally for mercenary reasons) by certain officials.

FROM THE ROSTRUM: It is difficult to explain how certain levels of authority make their decisions. Thus, the Tbilisi Gorispolkom's Main Architectural Design Administration authorized the residents of Kandelaki Street No 6 to build loggias, whereas they denied authorization of a similar proposal with respect to the residents of Korpus 11, Kvartal 4 on Vazha Pshavela Prospekt. How are people supposed to be convinced of social justice? These are not isolated instances, unfortunately; they have been encountered in the work of other offices of the gorispolkom. These as well as objective difficulties in housing, retail trade, consumer services, and utilities foster the creation of an unhealthy atmosphere.

There are violations of regulations governing how citizens are placed on the waiting list or given housing. An adverse effect is created by lax control on the part of the relevant ispolkom offices of the city and rayon soviets. Cases are known in which fictitious documents are issued; some people deliberately worsen their housing conditions; distant relatives get residence permits illegally; apartments are exchanged for mercenary reasons; and housing facilities are classified as unfit for residents.

Negative phenomena are penetrating ever more deeply into the cooperative movement. This poses a special danger as it may discredit a vital endeavor of great promise. Persons with unclean hands are trying to fish in troubled waters, as the saying goes—and, alas, they frequently succeed. Recently, for example, criminal charges were filed against the chairman of a cooperative associated with one of the construction materials combines: In the first 5 months the cooperative was in existence he misappropriated 85,000 rubles in cash. There have been many such cases here.

Inadequate efforts are being made against bribery and extortion in the system of the ministries and departments of transport and communications. More concerted efforts need to be made to strengthen discipline and preventive measures against illegal actions in the sphere of health care and social security.

ITEM: In the past 2 years, workers in the health care system, including 21 physicians, have committed 76 offenses against the law. Eight persons have been brought to justice for taking bribes, six persons for the theft, holding, and distribution of narcotics, four for speculating in drugs, and two for the theft of state property....

Gross violations of pension legislation have been committed. Cases concerning a number of heads of rayon social security offices have been turned over to the procuracy, while others have been given party penalties.

Serious violations and errors in regard to the authorization and calculation of pensions have been committed in the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, and in Lentekhi, Oni, Tsalka, Chokhatauri, and Abasha rayons.

Serious shortcomings persist in the organization of VUZ entrance exams. There are people who have failed to draw the necessary conclusions from past errors in the process of entrance examinations at Tbilisi University, the Medical Institute, and the Georgian Polytechnic Institute. There is no end to turmoil in competitive exams for so-called "prestigious faculties" such as law, history, philology, biology, and others.

Cases that were cited at the meeting showed convincingly that negative phenomena have infected a great variety of sectors of the national economy, ministries, and departments, various spheres of our life. This requires considerable thought and the creation of a precise system to prevent thievery, official abuses, and bribery.

Many ministries and departments have failed to grasp the situation and are not taking vigorous measures to rid their ranks of corrupt elements and impose the necessary order in cadre and control and auditing activities. The party aktiv warned sector leaders that they are personally responsible for implementing effective efforts to establish an atmosphere to prevent group and organized crime in the systems they head. The reorganization period is past, and from now on reference to "the transition period" will not be accepted as an excuse.

Every kind of support must be given to the Republic People's Control Committee and its local organs in stepping up their efforts to strengthen state discipline and ensure the safeguarding of socialist property. Last year they detected shortages, thefts, wastage, and losses due to mismanagement totaling over 45 million rubles. For various violations and shortcomings, over 7,000 officials have been brought to justice. About 200 of them have been removed from their posts, 1,780 have had to make up monetary deficiencies in the amount of almost one-half million rubles, and nearly 200 cases have been turned over to the procuracy for investigation.

There have been shortcomings in this effort, to be sure, but it is encouraging to note that members of the Committee, and chairman N.R. Sadzhaya himself, are aware of it, are assessing the situation properly, and are doing everything they can to make their efforts more effective. However, this can be accomplished only through improved coordination with local law enforcement and other control organs in order to create a united front in the struggle to maintain order.

OPINION FROM THE ROSTRUM: No amount of coordination will yield the desired results unless we reduce the number of both departmental and inter-departmental control organs. In this connection, the Republic People's

Control Committee is drafting a program for the coordination of control work and is urging all ministries and departments exercising the right of control to take part in formulating the program so that joint actions may be undertaken in the second half of the year.

The Central Committee's Party Control Commission must make itself vigorously felt. In particular, it needs to get to the bottom of what is happening in the Tskhinvali Lumber Combine, where, due to officials' laxity, gross violations of state discipline, financial and business activities, and non-commodity transactions have taken place. Also needing thorough investigation are major financial violations that have been committed in the construction of the Vazha Pshavela Memorial Museum Home in Chargali, which was carried on without the project-estimate documentation that was drawn up after the completion of the construction work. Its volume turned out to be inflated by 365,000 rubles.

In the context of perestroika, much more is being demanded of all officials and party members; a member of the party must meet higher standards of moral cleanliness. The party has always cleansed itself of casual, unworthy persons. It is true that in the past 3 years the number of persons expelled from the ranks of the CPSU for criminal acts, embezzlement and thievery, bribes, and speculation has been declining steadily. However, last year this figure was rather high—234 persons, or 40 percent of the number of members expelled from the party.

Spearheading the Struggle

A vital role in the struggle to maintain order is assigned to the law enforcement organs—the MVD, the procuracy, the people's courts.

Statistics show that 221 cases of bribery were detected in 1986, 222 cases in 1987, and 225 in 1988. These constant numbers should be no consolation, because a substantial portion of these cases had to be halted because of the poor quality of the police work and the investigation of criminal bribery cases. In 1987, one out of every five cases of that category had to be halted; a year later it was one out of every three.

A few more statistics. In 1987, criminal proceedings were instituted against 145 persons suspected of bribery; last year the number of such persons fell by almost 2.5 times—to 63—although 225 cases of bribery had been detected.

Court statistics also indicate that the fervor of efforts against bribery has been declining. In 1987, the people's courts convicted 154 persons in cases of this category; last year the total was only 63. Yet bribery is a very serious crime which undermines the foundations of our society, and we cannot tolerate fakery, the mere semblance of efforts against it.

Court statistics also show that the BKhSS, investigative, and procuracy organs are engaged chiefly in exposing bribe-givers rather than bribe-takers and extortioners. Consider this analysis of convictions for bribery in 1987: Out of 154 persons, 49 were convicted of taking bribes, five were convicted of serving as intermediaries, and 92 were convicted for giving bribes. In other words, bribe-givers made up almost 60 percent of persons convicted of bribery. A similar pattern emerged last year.

It is interesting to note that of these three crimes, which are interrelated and at the same time different, public opinion assesses the taking of bribes as posing the greatest social danger, followed by the giving of bribes and, in last place, serving as an intermediary in bribery. Hence, the chief danger is posed by the bribe-taker. So far, however, the law enforcement organs are focusing least of all on that category.

ITEM: The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's Center for the Study of Public Opinion, with the participation of specialists in sociology, have analyzed the opinion of the people. The findings of their survey, which were announced at the meeting, indicate that in terms of the social danger posed by crimes of greed the respondents assigned top ranking to thievery via misappropriation of state or social property, embezzlement, and abuse of office. Ranking below these are bribe-taking, speculation, false measure, shortweighting, shortchanging, and so on, but according to citizens' opinion, bribery is the "leader" among crimes which do the most damage to their lawful rights and interests.

The respondents said that the spheres where bribery is especially widespread include trade, health care, education, the system of justice, auditing and control, municipal and consumer services, construction and the food industry, the work of the apparatuses of the soviet ispolkoms, and elsewhere.

Meeting participants stated that the quality of the work of the MVD's BKhSS administration (B. Chanturishvili, chief of the administration, T. Sidamonidze, deputy minister in charge) and its local agencies has yet to meet the necessary requirements.

Also cause for serious concern is the state of investigative work. The Republic Procuracy has been working since 1984 on its investigations into the potato procurement conspiracy by a group of officials in Tsalka Rayon's Gruzselkhozzagotovka Association, who misappropriated a total of 500,000 rubles. This case has been reviewed twice by the Supreme Court, and both times it has been returned for additional investigation. Work has dragged on since 1986 in the investigation of a criminal case involving abuses in the Gori Rayon Procurement Association, also in the Marabda Cannery (Tetritskaro Rayon), where non-commodity transactions were going

on and various adulteration operations were committed totaling tens of thousands of rubles. The shortage of goods in this enterprise alone came to nearly 1 million rubles.

The Republic Procuracy, and First Deputy Procurator N. Shoshiashvili, will have to make tougher demands on their subordinates, in particular officials of the procuracy's investigative administration, and also maintain closer supervision over compliance with socialist legality in the investigative units of the MVD.

In addition, objective but strict procuracy supervision over the review of criminal cases is essential in the courts (R. Giligashvili, deputy procurator in charge). Unfortunately, representatives of the procuracy locally do not always properly back up the state prosecution and they sometimes fail to protest particular unjustified and incorrect sentences. Not enough efforts are being made to do away with red tape, and violations of legislation on criminal procedure are not being eradicated fast enough.

One of the most important tasks of perestroyka is to enhance the role of the courts in the system of socialist democracy. At the same time, ensuring the courts' independence and enhancing their authority by no means entails absolving them of liability for making incorrect and illegal decisions, for bureaucratic red tape. And such things are still encountered.

Coming to be of paramount importance now is the optimal selection, placement, and training of law enforcement cadres, the problem of cleansing them of corrupt elements that have become intertwined with the "shadow economy." It has to be acknowledged that in recent years the struggle against bribery among staffers of the MVD, the procuracy, and the people's courts has slackened considerably. To be more precise, practically no such struggle is going on at all. It is no accident that not a single law enforcement staffer was caught in bribery all last year, although it is well-known that such things have not become extinct.

Who If Not We?

Efforts against hustling, bribery, and thievery need to be conducted along two lines: the sectorial and departmental, which has been the focus until now, and the territorial or regional. In connection with this, a greater role and importance are assigned to local organs of authority, party committees, and soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol organs.

This formulation of the problem demands that party leaders show fighting qualities, special vigor, and high principles in the struggle against corrupt elements. Now more than ever before, organizational and ideological levers must be activated along with administrative-legal efforts to combat this evil. Again of paramount importance is the implementation of correct cadre policies. If

leadership personnel and officials set an example of honesty and honor on all levels, cases of bribery, extortion, and thievery will become truly rare occurrences.

Unfortunately, however, we still have a long way to go. Negative phenomena today are largely generated by the fact that certain officials, far from acting decisively to put a halt to dishonest people, sometimes directly or indirectly abet them. In their statements they make it appear that somehow they "failed to keep track," "to monitor," "did not know," "were not aware." Such primitive, helpless, and insincere excuses can only evoke irritation.

It is time to call things by their right names. Most official crimes take place with the knowledge and with the participation of certain ones or the silent consent of others. Hence, one hand washes the other!

Consider Kvareli Rayon, for example, where figure-padding, thievery, and abuse of office have flourished luxuriantly in recent years, in virtually all sectors of the economy. Many of the rayon's leadership personnel have been caught in antisocial actions of this sort. Materials concerning the gross violations they committed were reviewed late last year at a meeting of the Central Committee Buro, and the public was informed about it in the press.

Things got to a point where I. Molashvili, the former raykom first secretary, personally initiated and organized illegal operations in the autumn of 1988 in order to fulfill the grape procurement plan. In this way he created the maximum favorable conditions for wheeler-dealers to misappropriate large sums of money. The total volume of figure-padding in the Shildi, Eniseli, Chikaani, and Kindzmarauli wine stock processing plants and on the Kvareli Grape Sovkhoz comes to almost 10,000 tons of grapes worth more than 4 million rubles.

In this way, the party leadership installed an atmosphere of thievery, figure-padding, bribery, and falsification in the rayon. Because of this, the only possible correct decision has been made—Molashvili has been removed from his post and expelled from the party.

But where were the raykom buro members? These machinations were being carried out before their very eyes! Alas, the party aktiv took a bystander's position. Members of the buro have attempted to distance themselves from it, claiming that they did not notice and did not know about what was carrying on right in front of them.

The new leadership of the rayon has taken a principled position in regard to officials who are involved in criminal activities; many of them have been expelled from the CPSU, removed from their posts, and criminal proceedings have been instituted against them. This is the kind of exacting approach to negative phenomena that was lacking in the raykom in the past.

There were serious violations being committed on the Gremi Sovkhoz. Alarm signals about this were sounded repeatedly by ordinary workers, but the violations were covered up. Meanwhile, those who sounded the alarm began to be persecuted, and the raykom failed to stop it. Events were moving toward their logical conclusion—major thefts and abuses. It was only natural that such unprincipled and irresponsible attitudes toward maintaining order would result in mass violations.

A similar "modus operandi" was detected in Samtredia Rayon, which last year failed to be assigned a plan for procuring grapes from the populace. When the request came down in August from the State Agroindustrial Committee to explore the possibility, officials of the Rayon Agroindustrial Association (M. Melkadze, chairman) readily agreed to procure 1,200 tons of grapes, although even a non-specialist could see that it was simply unrealistic to hope to harvest that many grapes in view of last year's poor crop.

It turned out, however, that some people were lured by the chance to engage in machinations. They exploited this chance to the fullest, thus generating a whole "array" of violations—inflated sugar content figures, short-weighting, fictitious delivery receipts, and so on. The only thing these sharpsters failed to do was get the money. Moreover, everything collapsed right at the finish: Officials of the Association had already "given their blessing" to the procurements, and the rayispolkom had made the appropriate decision over the signature of deputy chairman N.S. Dzneldadze and ispolkom secretary Sh. Kvinikadze. It was only the last-minute intervention of Raykom First Secretary T. Mikadze which prevented the crime. The grape procurements were halted.

This case is still under study, as a number of unclarified factors remain. One thing, however, is perfectly clear: Not all officials are drawing the necessary conclusions from the graphic object lessons provided by the errors and shortcomings of others.

A major theft was discovered in January of this year involving non-commodity transactions at the Feriya Packing Plant in Khelvachauri Rayon. The Adjarian Obkom Buro held a discussion of the matter. But this disturbing case was viewed only as a local matter rather than as the largely expectable result of the overall unsatisfactory supervision of this sphere on the part of the Adjarian Obkom and Council of Ministers, despite the fact that in the past as well a number of undesirable tendencies could be detected in citrus procurements, tendencies pointing to violations of the law and to the dishonesty of certain workers.

The Adjarian Obkom was well aware of major shortcomings in the selection and placement of citrus procurement cadres. Materials concerning serious deviations from elementary principles of staffing were sent down from the Georgian State Agroindustrial Committee in

August of last year. But the obkom did not pay much attention to them, merely confining itself to bureaucratic responses and passing the documents onward.

This kind of attitude needs to be assessed properly. The Adjarian Obkom is not implementing the decree which the Central Committee Buro passed back in 1985 concerning serious shortcomings in the obkom's agricultural products procurement work. Failure to carry out the decree was especially reflected in regard to the selection of procurement cadres and the creation of a healthy atmosphere in the system in order to close loopholes for sharpsters and wheeler-dealers—who, naturally, did not pass up the chance to penetrate the agricultural procurement system.

The Dusheti Raykom (N. Odishvili, first secretary) was subjected to severe criticism last year. Serious doubts were expressed about the effectiveness of its efforts against negative phenomena in connection with unjustified leniency toward officials of the rayon procurement association who had been involved in gross violations that were committed in the procurement of rose hips. Unfortunately, they failed to draw the necessary conclusions from this criticism. Things are still not well in the rayon. This time, abuses have been discovered in the purchase of wool from the populace on the Shatili Sovkhoz, where 249,000 rubles have been issued from the till in a grossly illegal manner.

Once when the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro was looking into the matter of thefts at the Gardabani Cheese and Butter Factory and on the Krtsanisi Training-Experimental Sovkhoz, Raykom First Secretary O. Bokeriya was warned of the necessity of taking a stronger position with regard to putting a stop to crimes of that sort. But no substantial breakthrough took place. Last year the Republic Procuracy uncovered cases of serious violations in many spheres: fictitious receipts drawn up by procurement workers of the Gardabani Rayon Consumers Union for "dead souls," totaling 98,000 rubles; inflated figures at the Gardabani Knitting Mill, totaling 625,000 rubles; thefts on the Gamardzhveba Sovkhoz; and padded figures in the Republic State Committee for Agricultural Construction's Mobile-Mechanized Column Nos 37 and No 1. Another addition to this list recently was the conspiracy in the Varketili Cannery.

The inevitable conclusion is that in many areas, party committees and their officials are continuing to tolerate persistent violations.

ITEM: In Signakhi Rayon, serious violations and abuses were found in the Tsnori Livestock Complex, including inflated figures on grape and egg procurement, also on construction projects, in the sewn goods factory, and the rayon procurement system. A total of 17 of the rayon's organizations were found to be submitting inflated and distorted report statistics concerning hay, silage, and haylage procurements.

Late last year, serious violations were found to have taken place in Tsiteltskaro Rayon; they included the Kvemo-Kedi Winery, where it was found that statistics had been inflated regarding amounts of grapes purchased from the populace, totaling 43,000 rubles.

Participants in the meeting demanded that party committee officials personally spearhead the struggle against corrupt elements and rally the whole party aktiv against any and all violations of party, state, and labor discipline, encroachments on socialist property, manifestations of bureaucratism, figure-padding, and misrepresentation—against everything which fosters corruption. It is time to stop turning a blind eye to the life style of thieves, swindlers, speculators, embezzlers, and bribe-takers. The unprincipled toleration toward carriers of negative phenomena, good-old-boyism, and indulgent and cozy attitudes toward them on the part of some leadership personnel, are completely unacceptable, because they frequently lead to collusion with corrupt elements.

How deeply the bourgeois-philistine muck can suck one in, how deeply the tendencies of private-ownerism are rooted sometimes, can be seen in the sad experience of D. Guruli, the former chairman of the Chiatura Gori ispolkom, who could not resist the temptation to buy and build homes for himself and members of his household. It turned out to be so contagious that his son followed in his father's footsteps; he was a Komsomol member who was registered as a worker but actually preferred to live life in the fast lane rather than work. And he really did: The young man was convicted and sentenced to 3 years in prison for attempted rape.

Unfortunately, a number of primary party organizations are also failing to manifest the necessary fighting spirit and aggressiveness in the struggle to establish a healthy moral-political climate. In fact, we often encounter cases of leniency and indulgence toward negative phenomena, even personal unscrupulousness on the part of certain party leaders.

Earlier above we commented on major thefts in the Sachkhere Industrial Combine, which was instigated by L. Papidze, who was the third director of the enterprise in the past 3 years; criminal proceedings have now been instituted against him. Just who is he? What does he represent?

In 1974-76, Papidze served time in prison, but later he was rehabilitated. In Sachkhere Rayon, however, he enjoyed the reputation of a powerful man, a big operator.

So why did the raykom (E. Beridze, first secretary) recommend him for a post of leadership? Why did the labor collective and party members of the enterprise fail to reject him? Why did they consent? Why did they fail to exercise the rights conferred on them by the Law on State Enterprises? Such a man must have done someone a favor, been necessary to someone, his assumption of the post advantageous to someone. Not only the raykom

but the labor collective ought to be reproached for their lack of principle. Their position needs to be assessed from the moral-political standpoint and this assessment widely publicized.

The ispolkoms of the soviets of people's deputies need to step up their efforts against corruption. But they seem to be in no hurry to do so; they have failed to take upon themselves all responsibility for the state of legality and law and order in their territories.

Everyone recalls the obstacles the ispolkoms used to place in the path of normal functioning of the cooperatives. In many places they extorted money to authorize their activities. One or another official might be arrested, but what did that change? The same thing happened again.

People are complaining of bureaucratism and red tape. They dream of getting to a rayispolkom chairman or a raykom first secretary in hopes of getting to the bottom of what is taking place in the rayons, why it is sometimes impossible to resolve some particular issue. Today, glasnost and democracy are opening up broad prospects for doing real work. Participants at the meeting instructed all top officials and managers to meet with the people regularly, to answer all questions that citizens are concerned about and give a rebuff to anything which hinders our forward progress. One more thing: Much is demanded of officials today. They need to be accurate in their approaches and assessments. And leaders who cannot restructure themselves in the spirit of the times should not be kept in their posts, regardless of any previous services and awards.

The process of perestroika in our Republic is a complex one, involving considerable cost. It is especially essential, therefore, for all of us to make the most of every opportunity to help one another and society to get rid of existing shortcomings. And if we all tackle the job as we should, the situation will improve radically.

The year 1989 ought to mark a breakthrough in the context of the strategy and tactics of perestroika, and the Republic's party organization must see to it that this vitally important task is accomplished.

* * *

The meeting of the party-economic aktiv, which was a vital event in the social-political life of the Republic, mapped out in maximum detail the tasks of creating a united and universal front of attack against negative phenomena. Participants demanded increased personal responsibility on the part of every official with regard to the state of affairs in the spheres entrusted to them. All party, soviet, and state organs and social organizations, all party members and the working people of Georgia, must exert the maximum effort to overcome existing

shortcomings in their work, to eradicate anti-social manifestations, to wage resolute battle against wheeling and dealing, bribery, and the theft of socialist property, in order to further clean up the moral-psychological atmosphere in the Republic.

Tajik Historian on Ethnographic Studies, Bilingualism

18300377 Dushanbe *KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA* in Russian 20 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by M. Naimov, doctor of history: "The Dynamic of Development: Nationality Processes: Tasks and Solutions"]

[Text] Inherent in nationality relations, as in other phenomena of social life, is a dynamic of development. This is a difficult and complex problem, and, as the events in various regions of the country show, one which manifests itself acutely and painfully. The restructuring and democratization of all aspects of life are exposing the negative sides of the nationality processes. Everything that previously was carefully masked, has come to the surface, and for this reason this problem has now acquired such great urgency. It demands special attention and careful analysis of the reality and present-day, reasonable solutions.

Questions connected with the rights of national minorities—ethnic groups living outside the boundaries of their national-territorial formations or those not having such formations at all—acquire special topical interest. In what position do they find themselves, how are their material and spiritual needs satisfied? These questions had basically been forgotten for many years. There was a lack of laws and standard acts that guaranteed the free development of the minorities.

These and other problems of nationality relations were the subject of an animated discussion at the All-Union Session of Ethnographers in Sukhumi. At the session it was emphasized, in particular, that cases of inattention to the national minorities and the trampling of their rights have acquired a social resonance and have inflicted serious losses to the friendship of the peoples in a number of regions of the country.

The theoretical undecidedness of the problems of the mutual relation of nations and nationalities, the violation of the Leninist principles of the equality of nations, the extreme centralization of power, and the command and administrative methods of work in the provinces had a negative influence on the development of nationality relations. That is the conclusion of leading scholars of the country who are studying the questions of nationality relations, officials of the CPSU Central Committee and participants of the Moscow Roundtable organized by the All-Union Znaniye Society. It was noted that restructuring in the sphere of inter-nationality relations

is going slowly and not deeply enough, and in a number of regions extremes contradicting the spirit of socialism were allowed under the banner of democratization.

The undecidedness of the questions in the mutual relations of nations and the internal contradictoriness of some of its [as published] are characteristic also for our republic. Few people up to now know how the ethnic processes go in our republic.

Life demands energetic activity in this direction. In connection with this, it makes sense to develop a program for the study of the national minorities within the republic, as well as the groups of Tajiks who live outside its boundaries.

Through its own forces, clearly, the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the republic cannot carry out this large and important task. Besides ethnographers and historians, philosophers, linguists, and sociologists are also required. The expeditions will need funds, a material base, and the assistance of local authorities.

Bilingualism is another important aspect of nationality relations.

The problem should be examined, proceeding from the reality that, in Tajikistan, as well as throughout the country, bilingualism has become a regularity of the life of society, the mainstream direction of language policy.

According to the Leninist requirement, any kind of privileges of one of the nations or for one of the languages are inadmissible. However, during many decades this principle was violated and the sphere of activity of the national languages was restricted. The time of perestroika, it seems, has changed the situation. During the past year, the Tajik CP Central Committee has adopted special decrees on measures to improve bilingualism. In particular, existing shortcomings and mistakes in the sphere of the functioning and development of the Tajik language have been exposed. The decree outlines measures aimed at the improvement of its study and teaching.

Already more than half a year has passed since that time, but the implementation of this decree is practically not noticeable.

The situation that has been created in the sphere of language in the republic was analyzed in a rather detailed and well-supported manner in the article of Professor M. M. Shukurov, "The Tajik Language Requires Care" (*TOCHIKISTONI SOVETI*, 25 November 1988). The author, not without foundation, sounds the alarm about the catastrophic fall of the level of the literary language and its social function, and calls for the adoption of urgent measures.

Indeed, the study of the literary Tajik language must begin with the pre-school institutions. For the time being, this is practically not the case, for there are no specialists and no textbooks for instruction in the language. In the pre-school institutions of Khatlon Oblast, for example, which basically encompass the children of the indigenous population, instruction is mainly conducted in the Russian language. As a result, the children have a poor knowledge of their native language and do not know the Russian language. This is also the situation in Leninabad Oblast. It is necessary to create Tajik groups in the day nurseries and kindergartens, and to be concerned about providing them with specialists and the necessary teaching materials.

Along with this, it is necessary to provide all the necessary conditions for the improvement and the propagation of the language of inter-nationality intercourse, as well as the free development of the languages of the national minorities living in the republic.

A negative influence on the development of internationality relations was exerted by the significant slump of the economic and social development of Tajikistan in comparison with all-union parameters. The production of national income per capita in the TaSSR in 1970 reached 60 percent of the all-union level, and by 1985 this indicator had decreased to 44 percent. There has been a significant reduction in the output of industrial and agricultural products. On a per capita basis for the USSR, an average of 7-8 books are published, but in Tajikistan—only 2. Similar trends can be observed in the sphere of housing construction, public education, etc.

An extremely important aspect of nationality relations is the development of national self-consciousness and the development, among workers, of internationalist convictions, which in many respects is related to the formulation of the propagation of the theory and history of nationality relations.

In this direction, there are no appreciable advances up to now. Propaganda work is being conducted, not on a scientific basis, but from case to case. The level of the propagation of Leninist nationality policy and international education depends, in many respects, on the lecturers of the Znaniye Society. But here lecture texts and speeches on these questions are rarely developed.

The shortcomings in international education are caused, to a significant extent, by the absence of a coordination center in the republic. Specialists of the institutes of history, language and literature, the department of philosophy of the TaSSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Party History under the Tajik CP Central Committee, etc., engage in the study of the nationality processes separately, duplicating each other.

In my view, the proposal of the participants of the "round-table" under the motto "The USSR—Our Common House" concerning the creation, in the Supreme Soviets of the republics, of chambers of nationalities, which would represent the interests of the groups living in these republics, deserves attention.

The CPSU now regards nationality relations as an integral part of perestroika. It is impossible to advance and solve them in isolation from the other problems of life, without connection with the economic and socio-political tasks.

From the editors: And what do you think? Reader, your opinion about the question of internationality relations in the republic is of interest to the editors. We are awaiting your letters.

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