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Political Affairs

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Soviet Union

Political Affairs

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Journal Examines Possibilities for Mass Political Activity

18000446 Moscow *POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE* in Russian

No 9, 1988 (signed to press 24 May 88) pp 15-23

[Article by V. Shishkin, candidate of juridical sciences: "The People and Power"]

[Text]

Direct People's Power: Myths and Reality

What is people's power? It is real participation by all groups of citizens and all strata of the population in deciding state or public problems. That is exactly how Marxist science defines genuine democracy. Experience has shown, however, and to many people it seems proven, that it is sometimes a long way from the normative idea of the correct political functioning of all the institutions of a democracy to their actual implementation.

Indeed, we cannot fail to recognize that our political system was unable to ensure the essential level of development of people's power until the April 1985 transformations, that it did not permit us to increase the functioning effectiveness of the forms and institutions of democracy and throw aside those means and methods which did not meet the demands of political life.

The process of political enlightenment was largely retarded, and in a certain sense this is one of the fundamental, basic sources of formation of the political consciousness and sophistication of the working people. Despite the fact that more than 70 percent of the adult population appeared to be receiving fundamental knowledge of politics, economics, and the law through mass-scale forms of propaganda, because propaganda was divorced from real life it did not ensure the necessary level of political and legal consciousness and the socialist system of spiritual values was not adequate to the development of society.

The political-legal interests and needs of citizens were diminished by the use of bureaucratic procedures and the ways in which the working people could have manifested their political knowledge, abilities, and skills and deepened their political activism, responsibly relating to causes and deeds, were not backed up by effective political-social guarantees, although they were proclaimed in speeches and statements. Labor collectives by no means always acted as communities in which knowledge was fused into deep convictions, where political views could be embodied in causes and actions and vigorous social behavior. Moreover, in a number of collectives an unhealthy moral atmosphere emerged and took root.

The 1977 USSR Constitution, for example, opening the way to a deepening of people's power, fixed the right of labor collectives to direct participation in planning production and social development, training and placement of personnel, deciding questions of enterprise and institution management, improving the working and living conditions of employees, raising their qualifications, and strengthening labor discipline. The 12 July 1979 decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers entitled "Improving Planning and Bolstering the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Raising Production Efficiency and Work Quality" envisions active participation by labor collectives in working out five-year and annual plans, in monitoring their fulfillment, and discussing and deciding questions of using capital for development of production, sociocultural measures, housing construction, and material incentives. Realization of these points and of the rights granted by the Law on Labor Collectives would have made it possible not only to carry out the processes of democratization of society and the economy differently. It would also have had a very major impact on raising the political consciousness of working people because it guided them to develop the most significant element of political knowledge of reality—practical political work. But neither these documents nor various others adopted at different levels were able to breathe life into the true proclamations they contained because the calls to activation of the human factor that rang out in the 1970's and early 1980's were lifeless without practical inclusion in actual political activity by real people, without bringing citizens out of their state of social lethargy, without arousing an interest in direct participation in the processes of managing the collective and society.

The rare sociological surveys conducted by enterprising groups of scientists could not give a valid picture of the political processes taking place, and a significant number of them even excluded from study such important democratic components as political actions and political activism. As the result of the promotion of artificial criteria in analyzing the political sophistication of various strata of the population researchers often received data which testified to a low level of political training among workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, which made it possible to find more and more new arguments to strengthen the institution of representation as the main form of democracy. This is what explains the fact that the representative form of democracy became predominant, and to a considerable degree it was just a form, a shell that substituted for genuine democracy. Real people were essentially removed from direct, democratic expression of their will.

Of course, we cannot state that the system of managing social processes completely barred working people from participation in politics. Socialist power and government overall was based on democratic principles, but with a significant tilt in the direction of the power of **representatives of the people**. This made it impossible to identify the unified will of the working people with the necessary

fullness and to crystallize their unified social interests and realize them by means of existing economic-political institutions for the purpose of meeting the essential needs of citizens. Furthermore, the level of political sophistication that was achieved did not always enable workers, peasants, and intelligentsia to formulate their interests in a politically literate manner, find means sanctioned by society and the state to bring these interests to the attention of social and state organs, and then, after social approval, use existing channels to bring them to life. In large part, as is now becoming clear, this was because of the bureaucracy's desire to prevent citizens from achieving political self-government, to avoid giving up even a part of its power to the true bearer and guarantor of this power, the people.

The party and its best forces found in themselves the courage to renounce this lethargic dream of stagnation and drew the people behind them. The people are beginning to become aware of their mighty political force, **and are demanding more and more direct power.**

Three years after April 1985 the political and economic situation in the country has changed greatly. The main directions of our general movement to renew society have been identified. The documents and materials of the 27th CPSU Congress and the April 1985 and subsequent Plenums of the Central Committee have illuminated the processes that are taking place in the country. The prospects of restructuring have been clearly defined and the processes of restoring Leninist principles of building a new society are capturing the broad masses of working people in the city and the countryside with their ideas and promoting advancement of the most talented and vigorous people through public opinion. But it would be naive to think that there are no major obstacles on the path of restructuring. The fight for democratization at every step must overcome small and large stereotypes in the consciousness and behavior of people.

Let us take as an example just one of the dogmas: the plan is law. To what lengths has this dogma, which has accompanied us for half a century, spread in social consciousness? Every realist, after referring to the text of the new USSR Law on the State Enterprise and analyzing practices under it over 18 months in the new economic conditions, has a burning desire to respond to this question, which would hardly even have been discussed in the broad press before. It is our opinion that the key problem in changing the economic strategy of management is concentrated in the answer to this question, just as it is in the question itself.

What has been the Achilles' heel of our state plan until now? The gap between the interests of society, which declares the plan by means of the appropriate state organs, and the conglomerate of interests of social groups, labor collectives, and citizens. The social interest has not always been capable, while drawing in the individual and group desires, to express without distortion those needs which society was experiencing.

And now it has happened: the USSR Law on the State Enterprise has been adopted, the key normative enactment of **direct action**, which does not need additional department legal supports, action which should be unquestionable. But the initiative of enterprise managers in many cases remains limited because its level depends on the scope of the rights, which formerly were restricted by existing instructions and other documents, while the actual process of economic normalization is blocked by excess regulation from higher economic and sectorial organs.

By setting unsound prices, unstable and unequal norms, and state orders the bureaucracy attempts to control the production of output for tens of thousands of points and items, thus emasculating the impact of the most significant articles of the Law. As a result the economic situation is changing very slowly for the better. Because of losing its social status the plan has essentially ceased to be law, while the law in the broad sense has begun to have less influence on the plan.

What can be done to improve the matter and make the plan law on a different qualitative basis, according to precisely identified and recorded needs of society? Perhaps in realizing the current strategy of restructuring we should use the new (for us) institutions and forms, types of social movements and associations of formal and informal groups to identify and bring out that diversity of interests and needs whose palette is proving more varied than even the boldest predictions of the most far-sighted domestic politicians and sociologists? Or maybe unions of consumers, in time replacing the state acceptance system, will keep track of the production of consumer goods more vigorously than the present deputy groups and commissions and hold producers of shoddy goods and sluggish bureaucrats accountable? It would appear sensible to conduct something like a referendum of the population concerning unmet needs and review the structure and functions of the organs that study demand, in order to finally learn where the people's money, for example that was formerly planned to go for reversing the flow of rivers and changing the climate, should be spent.

We can and must be still more energetic in modifying the planning procedure "from the top down," which has discredited itself in public opinion, using various means to draw labor collectives above all into planning processes. Isn't it time to develop people's appetite for exercising the powers they have in this area, organizing them by means of political levers which just 3 years ago were seen as seditious.

Why does this question arise? Because, if not today then tomorrow, we will have to overcome the growing contradiction between the orientation of enterprises and sectors to profit and the assortment of products that people need. A tendency is now beginning to appear among us to raise prices too high without considering the purchasing power of the population and organizations,

and without considering the quality of the goods. Cases are being found where excess goods that do not meet needs but bring large profits to the producing sectors are being produced. And technical innovations are sometimes introduced only when the wholesale prices for the new technology are fairly high. After all, it is a fact that the dictatorial power of the largest producers and pseudoconsumers, represented by the organs of consumers good wholesale trade, leads to a merging of their interests and leaves the interests of the actual consumers of these goods outside the bounds of common sense. The merging could be broken up by competition, but for a number of reasons the mechanism of competition in our society does not work properly. Nor do we have the mechanism of the so-called sovereign consumer, and since there is no mechanism he does not have a decisive influence on the process of producing the necessary goods and services, which are dominated by departmental interests expressed in the plan. Can such a plan, not balanced with the interests of society, be the law? Do we today have to continue the indicators of the last two five-year plans at all, or should we adjust them promptly, based on the true needs of citizens and society?

Many of us today must renounce obsolete positions, re-evaluate customary values, and make democratic inoculations against the stagnation of certain political institutions and their inadequate susceptibility to upheavals in the social atmosphere. In anticipation of the 19th all-Union party conference the idea of a rational division of functions among the party, the soviets, and economic management organs has already become the subject of broad discussion.

The political practice of the fraternal socialist countries provides answers to many burning questions. A number of articles appearing in the Hungarian press, for example, analyze the processes of democratization and socialist pluralism of opinions. I. Horvath, one of the leaders of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party, mentions the search for new forms and concepts in carrying out the democratization of power and development of socialist democracy as a challenge that is permanently on the agenda, now and in the future. This is to be accomplished by adopting new laws on councils, the procuracy, courts, and elections and on the basis of division of labor and accountability between central and local organs of power and bolstering self-government at the level of city and settlement councils while abolishing districts. It is observed that introduction of the system of nominating several candidates in electing deputies to the State Assembly met great public response. The formation of enterprise councils, specifying the role and tasks of the government, ministries, and central organs of state administration, and broadening the participation of citizens in creating laws—these are the main directions of the democratic process. It is occurring in Hungary concurrently with refinement of the working style of the party and modification of the internal structure and working methods of trade unions and youth organizations. All this is leading to renewal in the political, economic, and ideological spheres.

S. Lakos, a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party, is interesting; he believes that the essence and art of politics involves above all the party's ability to make decisions only on fundamental issues, manifesting its political will only when political necessity arises and thus focusing attention on ideological-political and moral guidance of social processes. He names as elements of self-government, as a component part of people's power: separation of the state and social spheres, decentralization of state tasks, economic and legal independence of cooperatives and partially of state enterprises, and the development of direct democracy with voting.

The processes taking place in the social life of the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria are very instructive for us. They are described in the "Fundamental Principles of the Conception of Further Building Socialism in Bulgaria," put forth for discussion at the Plenum of the Central Committee in July 1987. The document noted the need for a new approach to building the political system because many of the old structures are incompatible with the new economic laws of social development and certain elements of the existing political system have become hotbeds of bureaucratism and social deformations (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 29 July 1987). It is proposed to turn the central organs of power into organs of people's self-government, reorganizing the highest organs and transforming the State Council and Council of Ministers into a fundamentally new organ with executive-managerial functions for the primary questions of administering the country. The formation of the Bulgarian Association of Goods Producers will make it possible to combine the efforts of economic and other associations formed earlier into a national economic organ.

What Is Retarding Our Movement?

But let us return to our problems. We will try to look at the practices of people's power in the USSR. Are there contradictions today between social practice and the institutions of the political system that operate at different levels in our country? Undoubtedly there are, and this was stated very categorically, based on a scientific analysis of real political processes, at the recent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee in 1987-1988. In concentrated form this is seen in the following:

—The absence of a clear delineation of functions between party organs and organs of state administration frequently leads to duplication and the predominance of the tactical interests of departments, ministries, and central economic organs over the strategic goals of the party and the state, increases the responsibility of party organs for all events, even the most insignificant, and diminishes the prestige of state organs on the central and regional levels. Local organs form the habit of covering themselves with party organs and avoiding all responsibility for the development, adoption, and implementation of thoughtful management decisions. Furthermore, the actual volume of economic-organizational

functions of party organs should be greatly curtailed and the powers delegated to other organs, the soviets, trade unions, Komsomol, and so on.

—The institutions of representative democracy as they have taken shape at the present time, in other words the indirect people's power that has become widespread in the soviets, trade unions, Komsomol, and other public organizations, have in reality become barriers to direct expression of the will of the people because most of the working people, while formally represented, cannot exercise their rights to manage social processes on a daily basis. A great deal of work will have to be done to improve the institutions of representative democracy. On the other hand, the people have matured to the point that they can represent and defend their own interests. "All" that would be needed for this would be to revise the entire system of information support for people's power.

—The guarantees of people's power contained in constitutional enactments do not operate because in many cases there are no corresponding organizational and legal mechanisms for realizing them. The mechanism for replacement and recall of elected officials does not always work efficiently, and there is no effective system to describe these processes between elections.

—Elections to any state or social organ are not fully democratic when just one candidate is nominated; in the course of the election voters must be offered an effective choice of candidates who have and defend their own programs. We must ensure genuine, not fictitious, exercise of the right to secret voting, abolishing various bureaucratic tricks that have emerged during the election procedure.

—The administrative apparatuses of all the state and social organs have in reality acquired greater power than the elected organs of party and state power. The apparatus does not aim at serving elected organs and the elected deputies and members of elective organs are unable to exercise their powers partially while on leave from work. The time of service in the administrative apparatus at present is not limited to the terms of elective organs, which is equivalent to making them practically irreplaceable, self-reproducing, and self-selecting. This leads, therefore, to self-evaluation of decisions being made and evasion of responsibility in cases of improper jurisdiction.

—Internal party democracy at present is inadequately developed, which makes it impossible always to elect the best candidates and bring worthy candidates elected by the party and the people to party power by genuinely democratic means. It will be difficult to count on changes for the better without breaking down stereotypes in party elections and eliminating attempts to "play with" the democratic process (and the experience of the last 2 years shows that we already have such "specialists").

—There is no supreme constitutional control, which could be exercised at the highest state level by persons genuinely elected by the people.

Of course, we should think about expanding the system of indicators that describe changes in the institutions of democracy. The work of research groups who analyze the comparative data that republic and Union centers for the study of public opinion will be receiving will offer an opportunity to describe and evaluate the quality of political life and its gradually deepening democratism objectively and without prejudice. If we are able to receive data for forecasting on a regular and broad basis (but to do so it will be necessary to overcome the increasingly vigorous resistance of certain regional leaders for whom authentic information is a threat), this will make it possible to introduce essential adaptations in the ongoing processes of democratization promptly and efficiently.

The party, in realizing the just demands of the working people, is now trying to increase the role and accountability of the soviets of peoples deputies sharply and continues to strive to see that every soviet in fact supports comprehensive and efficient operation of the economy in the corresponding area, coordinates and monitors the activity of the enterprises and organizations located there, and bears full responsibility for resolving other local problems.

Indeed, the potential of socialism is in large part determined by the level of real people's power. Restore the Leninist character of socialism, purge it of admixtures and deformations, and free it of everything that constrains society—these are the challenges posed by the February 1988 Plenum of the Central Committee. This is a very difficult matter if you consider that in recent decades the role of the soviets, for example, did not correspond to their lofty purpose, while the formalism and over-organized nature of the sessions and the actual impotence of the standing commissions and deputies themselves in comparison with the pressure of apparatus opinions and actions was already a commonplace subject.

The matter is further complicated by the fact that the principles of formation of the soviets had earlier been emasculated by executive organs and election to the soviet became in fact an appendage to the official's position. Therefore, the deputies elected were always executives of the party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol apparatuses, people who headed various ispolkom services, and directors of local enterprises. This was done not only because corresponding instructions were made up, but also because this raised the representatives of executive-managerial organs above the soviets, and they were in a majority. Moreover, this made it possible to remove executive-deputies from administrative and criminal accountability, and the apparatus interceded for nomenklatura employees who were penalized.

It would be correct if only those elected by the people, not behind closed doors, could receive deputy and party mandates and real power, and they should be enrolled on the party, Komsomol, and trade union rolls in those organizations which nominated them for deputy and elected them to ispolkoms and party committees for a limited (not more than two terms) period, and which must take them back if this term ends according to law or the deputy is recalled prematurely. This can be a real guarantee against bureaucratizing the deputy-executive who otherwise is completely removed from the fire of the working people's criticism. So this would also be a guarantee of the process of democratization of the party and soviets and a broadening of the limits of glasnost, because at any moment demands from the labor collective could make an inactive, irresponsible deputy or member of a raykom, obkom, or central committee or party employee responsible for his actions or "achievements" in the management field, in the area of political "leadership."

Another guarantee of democratization and glasnost in the work of the soviets can be bringing every instance of bureaucratism and red tape in the soviet apparatus, case of an indifferent and formalistic attitude toward people's needs, and manifestation of departmentalism and localism into public view and holding persons responsible for this to administrative and court accountability regardless of their position. Such purging work cannot be done without social control and the creation of an appropriate "quick-response mechanism" for cases of red tape and bureaucratism. The surging spring waters of public initiative can very quickly throw the structure of this mechanism up on the bank of social practice.

In this connection an increasingly important role is being played, alongside the activism of leading workers and peasants, by the position of the intelligentsia, which is characterized by acute social receptivity and the presence of close cultural ties with our country's past. As social experience shows, the intelligentsia's "lack of character" is no longer descriptive of it because a large majority of its members gave a clear and unambiguous answer to the class question: who are you with, masters of culture and science? Every day that passes under the banner of restructuring adds many fighters to this regiment. These people have already determined their own missions and have taken up the path of decisive transformations not only in the spheres where their role is determinative. Our intelligentsia strive to be involved in deciding all pressing problems, whether it is the fight to stop the plan to reverse the flow of rivers, against drying up of natural seas, for preservation and restoration of historical and architectural monuments, for protection of the ecological environment, for restoration of historical truth, for preservation and multiplication of cultural treasures, or for filling in the blanks in culture.

The intelligentsia is beginning to occupy a special place in working out the scientific fundamentals of refining socialism on Leninist principles and in searching for

forms and ways of democratizing all spheres of society. Every day new proposals appear in the newspapers and magazines that will permit us to make the transition of society to a new level of development an irreversible process. The intelligentsia, including its best representatives working in the administrative sphere, not only support the progressive forces of society who are aiming at revolutionary transformations; they themselves are acting as one of the main forces of restructuring, introducing great spiritual demands in the sphere of vigorous practical politics.

The creative nature of people's power presupposes that, along with other conditions, the attainment of a qualitatively new level of political sophistication in society and its citizens. This will make it possible after time to move closer to the challenge of replacing the so-called partial worker, the simple bearer of a partial social function, with a comprehensively development individual who, among other things, knows his rights and liberties, is conscious of his duties to society and people, and can use the former and carry out the latter.

Let us note that molding a level of political sophistication which would be appropriate to matured social conditions and the ideas of reborn actual people's power is a very complex and prolonged process. Here too the effect of inertia is felt—the relative retardation of changes in social and individual consciousness under the influence of an already changed social milieu, as noted by Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

A number of works put out by social scientists in the 1970's and 1980's noted that during the process of revolutionary transformation the working people learned how to manage the state and the economy and acquired the knowledge, skills, and abilities necessary for this. This is just one example of attempts to pass off what we want as reality, which moved reality even farther from theory by erecting barriers from the sweet consoling pipedreams of social science.

Of course, it should be noted that the processes of democratization that have begun are molding the political and legal sophistication of society and the individual at an accelerated pace. At the same time we cannot forget that the scientific-technical revolution greatly complicates the management of production and social processes and necessitates involving increasingly better prepared, competent people in the processes and procedures of management. A multitude of pseudoscientific theories of the technocratic and electronic elite type arise in this connection, saying that only the elite can and should hold power.

Our society is choosing a different social path, trying to awaken the political will and energy of the working people. There are still many difficulties on this path, but in principle this is the **only possible** one and is absolutely necessary for the development of a society which is moving toward deepening of people's power.

The creative character of democratism is inconceivable without constant interpretation of the facts that characterize the ever-deeper layers of the processes of realizing the ideas of people's power, beginning from growth in individual self-awareness, activation of the political behavior of groups and labor collectives, and those who express their interests—the soviets of labor collectives, and ending with proposals to amend the constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics. Under these conditions it is extremely important, basing ourselves on the cornerstone of party loyalty, not to stumble in the direction of left extremism or right conservatism because, depending on the positions we have occupied, not only the fundamental orientations of the assessment of particular facts and events may differ, but so also may the statement of problems and ways to resolve social problems.

It is hardly possible to follow the path of evolutionary changes if we try to resolve all the social and economic conflicts that arise in building a new socioeconomic system by nothing but broad debates, as a number of scientists and practical workers have suggested in the periodical press. With the emergence of new approaches to reality and the development of new thinking politics in the sphere of people's power ceases to be just a stage for debates and begins to enter the broad field of social practice in the name of the people's lofty goals, when necessary finding new economic, political, and social structures based on a genuine synthesis of knowledge about the nature of society, the state, and democracy.

At the same time this synthesizing approach to the theory and practice of revolutionary transformations is being implemented on the basis of new thinking, which promote progressive historical development and makes it possible to preserve everything that is most valuable from the achievements of world and domestic culture and from the progressive sociopolitical ideas of earlier ages and systems. To distinguish what is no longer necessary from what is still impossible, to discern the structure and ideas that lie at the foundation of the specific historical or legal situation, to determine the bearers of the ideas, and not to be carried away with abstract generalizations to the point of losing all connection with practice—these are the noble challenges that face the practical workers of restructuring and the theoreticians of progressive thought in our society's movement along the path of democratization, along the path of socialism.

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Party Journal Views Restructuring of Political Education

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No 11, Jun 88 (signed to press 24 May 88) pp 62-67

[Unattributed article under the rubric "Strengthening the Bond Between Ideological Work and Life": "Winning the Minds and Hearts of People: Results of the First Year of Restructuring Political and Economic Training"]

[Text] The academic year has come to a close in the system of Marxist-Leninist education for the working people. It was a year that coincided with political events of the utmost importance in the lives of communists and all of the Soviet peoples. The country solemnly observed the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The February 1988 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee—which established the task of renewing ideology at the same level of importance as the democratization of public life and bringing about radical economic reform—was a milestone on the path to the development of the theory and practice of restructuring. Preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference give added impetus to the creative endeavor of the party and the people.

The past academic year constitutes the first stage in implementing the CPSU Central Committee resolution on this issue, entitled "Basic Guidelines for Restructuring the System of Political and Economic Education." These documents contain a scientifically sound appraisal of the role of political and economic education in providing for the ideological aspect of the restructuring process and a conceptual formula for Marxist-Leninist education at the present crucial stage in the development of society. The party committees have received a theoretical platform as well as a practical program of action for one of the most vital areas of CPSU ideological activity.

The basic guidelines did not undertake the task of determining all the specific steps to follow in renewing the system of political and economic education for the working people. Each republic, each kray and oblast, and each labor collective has its own particular procedures, specific to a given situation, for "grasping the truth."

This approach is fully in keeping with the spirit of the democratization of the training program, and it is one of the principal tenets of the CPSU Central Committee resolution. Nevertheless, problems, shortcomings, and chronic ills showed up during the initial stage of restructuring, which were characteristic of all party committees. There were changes for the better as well that were common to all of them. The next academic year, as underscored by the CPSU resolution, will be one of putting the modernized training system into operation. It is therefore important once again to investigate the results of the past year so as to clarify what the party

committees have managed to do, what they have achieved—in what respect their work reached the standard required by the restructuring and in what respects it lags behind.

The most remarkable aspect is the growth of interest on the part of the students in their studies. The democratization of classes and establishment in them of a congenial atmosphere of keen inquiry undoubtedly accounts for this change. In the classrooms the students learned to debate, to express differing points of view, and to find the most effective ways of solving problems arising in production and in the social sphere. It is possible to say without exaggeration that the people attending the political and economic schools experienced lessons in democracy.

The restructuring of political and economic studies has stimulated a search for new forms of working with people. It has galvanized into action the processes of democratization and glasnost. It has encouraged the molding of public opinion, and improved communications with the working people. A number of party committees have had questions raised in the classrooms carried over into meetings of the ideological and party-management activists, into the pages of the newspapers, citizen gatherings, and common political study days.

The central figure in the restructuring of education is the propagandist. As M. S. Gorbachev noted at the CPSU Central Committee plenum in February (1988), it is the propagandist's ideas about the party and his ideas about their renewal of society that must win the minds and hearts of people. It is only natural therefore that in the process of implementing the CPSU Central Committee resolution a good deal of attention should have been given to the selection and training of propagandists. Available party, soviet, union and Komsomol workers have been increasingly drawn into propaganda work. For example, in Georgia and Kirghizia, as well as in a number of oblasts in Kazakhstan and the Ukraine, the first secretaries of the party committees have engaged in propaganda activity in the labor collectives.

The training of propaganda cadres is becoming more flexible. In North Kazakhstan Oblast a system of working with propagandists individually is being introduced. In Ivanovo and Saratov oblasts they are being provided with methodological training and in Perm Oblast with bibliographical training. In Chelyabinsk Oblast a comprehensive long-range plan of training and refresher training for propagandists is yielding quite good results. The experience of the Leningrad Oblast party organization in branch training of propagandists, which has been concentrated directly on the enterprises, is worthy of commendation. The results of efforts in this direction carried out by party committees of the Ukraine were analyzed at a practical-scientific conference, which was held in Kharkov in May, entitled "Current Problems of Restructuring the Training of Propaganda Cadres." The

active participation of party secretaries and their committee department heads in providing propaganda cadres with information is justifying itself, as is the part played by professional and economic workers and the mass media. In Latvia, for example, so-called "hours for propagandists" have been introduced. Currently all party secretaries of rayon and city committees welcome propagandists. In Dimitrovgrad, as well as in Terengulskiy, Melikesskiy, and other rayons of Ulyanov Oblast, a "direct line," which makes it possible for propagandists, at a pre-set time published in the local press, to talk on the telephone with party gorkom and raykom secretaries on various matters pertaining to the life of the city and rayon, as well as with soviet, union, and economic leaders, has been well received.

The practical orientation of the lessons has been strengthened, so that they are more closely bound up with the life and tasks decided upon by the labor collectives. At many enterprises a system has been established for assessing and implementing proposals by persons attending classes. At the Aircraft Production Association in Kiev, for example, a computerized "idea bank" for all the proposals of association workers has worked well; the results of using these ideas are systematically brought to the attention of the students. Sound experience has been gained in this respect by the Svetlana Association in Leningrad, the Kamchatka Steamship Line, and the Riga Chinaware Plant.

Stemming from personal interest, and under conditions of broad diversity of choice with respect to form and content of study, tens of thousands of workers in Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Tajikistan, Estonia, and other republics have made in-depth studies of timely issues regarding CPSU nationalist policy and international, patriotic, and scientific-atheist education. In a number of oblasts young communists have been attempting to master the study of the ideological and organizational principles of the Communist Party and its development. In Tuva ASSR, in Krasnodar Kray, as well as in Irkutsk, Tambov, Orenburg, and other oblasts, these courses have been offered: "The CPSU Under the Restructuring," "CPSU Ideological Work and the Restructuring," "Restructuring and Leadership," "Intensive Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex." The arsenal of studies, in addition to traditional forms, includes various types of schools (such as one-on-one, comprehensive, integrated, party-Komsomol, and reserve managerial personnel); seminars (young communist and branch); and clubs (economic management, young people's discussion clubs, and others).

In implementing the CPSU Central Committee resolutions, party and union committees in many regions of the country have extended universal education in the industrial enterprises and in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Schools of socialist management, seminars on economics and technology, and universities of technological and economic science have been developed in the labor collectives. A total of 37.9 million people were

involved in mass forms of economics studies during the past academic year. At many enterprises short courses, study groups on quality, and lecture series were in effect.

Definite changes for the better have been achieved, representing, in many respects, the result of efforts undertaken in the past year to restructure political and economic studies, together with the style and methods of party management in the vital area of party ideological activity. Oblast and kray committees as well as party central committees in the union republics have worked out appropriate organized political measures and they have established effective control over their implementation. Comparable measures are to be undertaken by city and rayon committees and a majority of the primary party organizations. Questions of restructuring studies have been reviewed at plenums of a number of city and rayon committees in the Ukraine, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, Krasnodar Kray and Maritime Kray, as well as in Bryansk, Gorkiy, and Kursk oblasts, and elsewhere.

Nevertheless, the progress of restructuring the system of political and economic training does not entirely measure up to the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee resolution. Not all the oblast, city, and rayon party committees have understood the depth and originality of this party document. Many have shown themselves psychologically unprepared to seek out new and unconventional approaches to training and to exercise independently the rights granted them. Some of them demonstrate to this very day indecisiveness as they await more "precise" instructions from Moscow. Moreover, this has had an effect on the very first stage, which consists of working out the plans of the workers for complying with the terms of the CPSU Central Committee resolution, and these plans in a number of instances were assembled hurriedly and were general in nature. For example, the procedures set by the Kharkov, Chuvash, and Yakut obkoms and the Riga and Ashkhabad committees in many respects amounted to no more than general appeals. In effect, they failed to indicate practical procedures for the restructuring of studies adapted to local conditions and they maintained inadequate control over the period of their execution.

No radical changes were made in the curriculum with respect to ideology and theory. Often the most important theoretical and political aspects of restructuring, of history and the present day—matters pertaining to the dialectics of social development—were interpreted in a simplified form. There is virtually no demand for many of the Marxist-Leninist classic works in party libraries. Effort on the part of CPSU members to read political books independently is not a widespread practice for raising the level of their ideological and theoretical preparation.

Classes in the political schools and seminars at times have borne an abstract character and have not stirred attendees to an open, animated discussion of critical

social and economic problems. Propagandists have avoided difficult problems. There is cause for concern that many party workers have turned out to be unprepared for discussions in schools and seminars. They persist in looking upon debate and discussion not as a normal part of social life but as something that is still quite extraordinary.

A number of the party committees have failed to maintain the close unity of political and economic training as two functionally interrelated aspects—the ideological and theoretical together with the professional aspect—of developing trained personnel. Certain labor collectives have tended to absolutize the principle "Together we work—together we learn." Moreover, practically no consideration has been given to the diversity of interests and inquiries on the part of those attending classes, the differences in the level of their training, and the necessity for maintaining an optimal blend of ideological and theoretical training together with professional training. In some party organizations, in effect, there has been a cutback in party and Komsomol training. At the Dimitrograd Carpet and Cloth Combine, seven political schools and 17 schools of socialist management were in operation during the past academic year. Actually, even in these schools, as well as in others elsewhere, the same problems were studied—the intensification of production and cost-accounting. The political schools and seminars held at the Riga Furniture Combine, the Etalon Plant, and the Baltic Railway were basically oriented to economic problems.

As a result a process of oversimplification of the idea of socialism and of the historic path taken by the party and the people has been occurring among those taking training. A spirit of political nihilism is manifesting itself, together with a malformation in moral consciousness and behavior.

Quite a few problems have arisen in organizing political training for the scientific and artistic intelligentsia. A number of oblast, city, and rayon party committees have not made arrangements for philosophical and methodological seminars. Many of these seminars have suffered from pedantry and discursiveness or had a narrowly professional character.

Self-education according to individual study plans has not been developed as it should have been. In the past academic year 1,218 persons were enrolled in this form of training. An analysis has indicated, however, that for many of them this program served as a kind of screen to prevent checking up on them, a form of cover-up facilitated to no small degree by an absence of strict supervision. For those engaged in independent study there were few reading rooms, practical-scientific conferences, and consultations available. The assistance given them in a number of instances consisted in no more than recommendations made at the beginning of the academic year.

The task of consolidating mass economic training and industrial (professional) training has been addressed in a slow and unsystematic manner during the past academic year. Economic and professional bodies were not included in this effort. The organization of economic training is being carried out primarily by the party committees. The ministries and departments, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and union branch committees are not developing the conditions necessary for a new training program dealing with the economy and production.

The system of training propagandists is only slowly being reorganized, and it has been low on the agenda of most party meetings. City and rayon seminars have been conducted rarely, occasionally only once or twice a year, and they have for the most part consisted of lectures of a general nature. There have been extremely few collective evenings, group discussions, critiques of classes, or consultations scheduled to take up key questions of the curriculum. In many places two-week courses to train propagandists at the houses of political education have been almost entirely eliminated.

Oblast, city, and rayon party committees, houses of political education, and universities of Marxism-Leninism have not incorporated long-range planning in the performance of their duties. There is an absence of goal-directed selection of candidates for training or systematic analysis for the use of graduates with due regard for special social and political skills. No arrangements have been made for working with young propagandists, and the fact is that one out of every ten of them in the past year entered this field for the first time.

Matters concerned with strengthening the material and technical base of training are being taken care of only slowly. The supplying of many houses of education and political-science study rooms with technical and teaching equipment continues to be carried out at a low level of proficiency. Common rooms for political and economic training are not being provided for at enterprises, institutions, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes, and even basic accommodations for holding classes are lacking at many of the industrial subdivisions. Television and computer technology (despite a fair amount of experience with their use in Moscow and in Voronezh Oblast) is only slowly being incorporated into the regular operations of propagandists.

The greatest shortcoming lies in the fact that many party committees have not been able to radically improve the management of political and economic training. An effective system of administrating it is yet to be devised. The activities of party, soviet, union, and management bodies are not being coordinated in a clear-cut way; and this has led to a scattering of forces, duplication of effort, and muddled organization. It is a common occurrence for economic managers to take upon themselves the function of organizing political studies.

Summing up the results of the past academic year requires a conscientious examination of the restructuring of party, union, and economic bodies and of persons working in the houses and study rooms for political education. It is essential that this work be carried out in a sound manner without coming to hurried or rash conclusions.

It is primarily important to focus attention on raising the ideological and theoretical level of political training. Social thought in recent months has been enriched by outstanding theoretical conclusions. The conception, strategy, and tactics of restructuring have been developed, and its revolutionary principles have been clearly defined—affording more democracy, more socialism. The restructuring is becoming a reality as a social practice ingrained in each individual. It is important to reach the point at which the theoretical conclusions established by the party after April 1985 become the subject of the most serious consideration by each propagandist and student, thereby serving as an instrument for a creative and independent assessment of emerging processes and phenomena. Theory and practice must be viewed in a state of dialectical unity, mindful of the dictum of V. I. Lenin that in a revolutionary period particularly it is “necessary to have a firm, well thought-out conception of the world, so that the specialist is in control of events, and events are not in control of him.”

Political studies are called upon to help each communist become a political fighter for restructuring who knows how to speak frankly with the people about what concerns them deeply; how to dissipate any doubts that they may have been harboring, to instill optimism and confidence in its success, to point out its achievements in a convincing manner, while in a dialectical manner revealing the causes of problems and finding genuine ways of resolving them.

It is of the utmost importance to increase the role of training in mobilizing workers to carry out successfully one of the principal tasks of the restructuring—the achievement of radical economic reform. Here, a special role is allotted to the ministries and departments. A CPSU Central Committee conference was held in December of last year with deputy ministers and representatives of the soviets for economic education at which the tasks of the branch staffs for organizing the economic training of working people were clearly defined. But even today their activities in this regard basically amount to no more than issuing orders and instructions and preparing general circulars. What are we specifically concerned about? The fact is that the most important requirements are not being carried out. There are no comprehensive training programs. No unified subdivisions for economic and production studies are being developed. And practically nothing is being done to strengthen the material and technical base of economic training. In a number of places the schools of socialist management and the seminars on economics and production amount to nothing else than the previously

existing forms of mass economic training—the schools of communist labor and the schools of applied economics. Neither in terms of objectives or content do they comply with the requirements that have been set.

The search for proper procedures to be used in the political training of youth is being unduly delayed. Studies should reflect what is now going on in the society. Holding discussions, an attentive attitude towards various points of view, and the prospect of receiving answers to key and critical questions—it is these incentives that attract Komsomol members into the study program. It is necessary for the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol to attend to all of these problems, make major corrections to its plans and projects, and improve upon the help being given to local communist groups with respect to organizational support and scientific methodology.

The style and methods of party management of political and economic training should be more systematic and goal-oriented. In this regard much depends on the first secretary. Here is a typical example. During the past academic year many shortcomings showed up in the structure of political and economic training in the enterprises and organizations of Zelenogradskiy Rayon in Moscow. Analysis of the existing situation and a search for ways of overcoming these shortcomings and omissions took the form of a simulated practical exercise—that is, an open study seminar for the ideological trainees. Among the factors found to be obstructing the restructuring of training and reducing its effectiveness and quality were party organization secretaries in charge of political-science study rooms, who were calling insufficient attention to this area of ideological work, including V. Savelev, the first secretary.

It is essential to increase the demand from CPSU members to improve their own political education and level of ideological and theoretical comprehension. It should be borne in mind that the present turning-point in training can be achieved only in the event that each communist has a creative command of party policy and theory and is steadily and unswervingly guided by them in his activities.

The oversight of party committees during the course of restructuring training often comes down to examining one or two routine questions submitted to the party committee buro or points in a resolution such as this: Party organizations are to restructure the style of their operations with respect to the selection, placement, and education of skilled personnel, more actively carry out the restructuring of the training program, render specific assistance to the propagandists... and so on in that spirit. One cannot put one's trust in the hope that a cascade of such resolutions can penetrate the stagnation dammed up by the years—the learning by rote and the dogmatism—existing in political and economic training.

The system of supervision must be substantially changed. Flights and forays and work in spurts are not going to increase its effectiveness. This is what propagandist V., Bykov writes from Kiev: "After class I inquired of one taciturn examiner where he was from. He replied that it did not matter, and that, in general, he was not supposed to converse with me but only to check my work. I persuaded another examiner—a member of the party buro—with some difficulty to address the class, but afterwards, while evaluating results, he made the assertion that he had come to examine, not to address, the class."

The blame for such a kind of examination belongs in no small degree to the party committees. It is necessary to rid ourselves once and for all of this vulgar and discredited method of monitoring training. Persons who come for the purpose of checking upon the progress of the class should excel in terms of a high degree of professionalism, knowledge of the subject and the various phases of the study program, and a capacity at any moment to take the place of the propagandist teaching the class.

More serious attention should be given to working directly with propagandist personnel. Their selection should be governed not by formally prescribed parameters—such as age, education, and length of employment—but by the desire and knowledge to engage people in vigorous learning activity, by their moral maturity, and by other personal characteristics. They must be not merely formal but authentic ideological instructors of the workers—people of exceptional wisdom and authority.

It is necessary to persist in searching for a way to work individually with propagandists, and to persist in teaching them to acquire technique and work out a way to incorporate it in practical classroom activity. A point should be reached when all propagandists are enrolled in courses of study and ongoing seminars, and receive on a regular basis necessary information with regard to social, economic, political, and ideological matters. A special role in this plan is allotted to the universities of Marxism-Leninism, which for the present are still slow in carrying out the restructuring process. As classroom monitoring has revealed, in a number of universities not more than half of those enrolled attend classes, and classroom attendance falls off by 15-20 percent after the first class. According to a sociological survey conducted by the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, up to 53 percent of enrolled students are attending the university at the instructions of their party organization, and 40 percent are not satisfied with their program of study.

Houses and study rooms for political education must also work out a stable system for ordering social and political literature, and implement it expeditiously and purposefully. Analysis has shown that in a number of parts of the country during the past academic year a single textbook has served an average of 30-50 people.

Meanwhile, thousands of textbooks have been left, and remain to this day, in storage and in the bookstores, serving simply as dead weight. To avoid a repetition of this picture in the new academic year, it is necessary to study attentively the needs of the propagandists for various publications right now, place orders for the textbooks to be used in the new courses, and secure subscriptions to the journals publishing academic subject-matter pertinent to the problems that will be under study.

The new academic year should serve to consolidate and develop further advances made in Marxist-Leninist education, which has a major role to play in the multifaceted and large-scale program to achieve the ideological restructuring and rearming of the Soviet people. Knowledge is the key to intelligent, creative effort in broadening the dimensions of democratization and glasnost, while achieving radical economic reform.

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MSSR Supreme Soviet Discusses Inter-Ethnic Relations

1800468 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 11 Jun 88 p 2

[Speech by Deputy I.P.Morar, Deputy Chairman, the MSSR Supreme Soviet: "On the Formation of the MSSR Supreme Soviet's Commission on Inter-Ethnic Relations and Internationalist Education," under the "The 11th MoSSR Supreme Soviet's 10th Session" heading; followed by a discussion reported by ATEM, MSSR Telegraph Agency]

[Text] Comrade deputies, at a time when the party has set a course to decisive perestroyka and implementation of the general line of the 27th CPSU Congress to accelerate the social and economic development of the nation and to raise the living standard of the people, the task of improving relations between nationalities and strengthening internationalist and patriotic education has become extremely important.

The need to form an MoSSR Supreme Soviet commission on inter-ethnic relation and internationalist education stems from the need to find new forms of managing national processes, educating workers in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and strengthening of the friendship, cooperation and peace among nations. New international political realities that have arisen following the meeting between CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S.Gorbachev and U.S. President Reagan create a favorable environment for this.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has laid the groundwork for solving nationalities problems in our country. One of the first decrees of the Soviet power, "Decree on the Rights of Russia's Peoples," declared equality and sovereignty of the country's nationalities and their right to self-determination, abolished all national privileges and restrictions and guaranteed free development for all of Russia's national minorities. V.I.Lenin stressed that only socialism is able to create the basis for a superior form of human coexistence, whereby for the first time in history progressive aspirations of the toiling masses of all nationalities are fulfilled in an international union. The depth of Lenin's vision has been convincingly proven by the practice of building socialism. In the years of Soviet power the equality of all nationalities and ethnic groups and their fraternal cooperation has triumphed in practice. Solving a national problem of so great a magnitude as the one we inherited from the past is a notable achievement of socialism.

Historic achievements of Leninist national policy have been reflected in the Political Report of the Central Committee to the 27th Congress, in the new edition of the CPSU Program, in the documents of the Central Committee Plenums and in the Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. They were thoroughly highlighted in M.S.Gorbachev's speech at the special meeting in honor of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The wealth of our experience has convinced us that socialism has created true equality for the nationalities inhabiting our country, in all areas of social life. The fraternal republics have built highly developed industry and large scale, automated agriculture. Unprecedented progress has been achieved in education, science, culture and the arts. For the first time, all nationalities and ethnic groups have been given an opportunity not only to become acquainted with previously accumulated cultural treasures, but to participate directly in creating new ones. Radical changes have occurred in the social structure of our republics. A modern working class and kolkhoz peasantry have been formed and national intellectual and profession classes have developed. Marxist-Leninist ideas have triumphed, as have the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism. A new social and international entity—a Soviet people—has arisen and become a reality.

Results of the implementation of Leninist national policy are dramatically evident in the life of the Moldavian people. In a historically short time period, Moldavia, under the leadership of the Communist party and with the great assistance of Russians, Ukrainians and other fraternal Soviet nationalities, has grown into an industrial and agricultural republic with highly developed industry, agriculture, science and culture. The republic's workers and enterprises actively participate in the construction of energy plants, railroads, factories and plants

in other areas of the country. The MSSR receives products of 93 industry types from 14 Union republics and, in turn, sends them products of 72 industry types.

The building of the Kishinev Tractor Plant where I am employed was a salient example of true internationalism. Two hundred and sixty seven of the nation's enterprises participated in installing its up-to-date equipment and supplying it with steel, other raw materials and parts. The plant has joint ventures with 100 of the union republics' industrial enterprises and trusts.

In Soviet Moldavia, as all over the country, the climate of creativity, and objective, critical evaluation of the situation is being established and democracy and glasnost are being developed. Managers in all areas are becoming more accountable for their performance. The struggle against shortcomings and obsolete economic management style is intensifying. Conditions for raising the level of ideological education of the Moldavian people have been created. This ensures a high level of their morality, revolutionary humanism, internationalism, patriotism and friendship and respect for all other nationalities of our multi-ethnic Motherland. To strengthen the internationalist spirit among the masses is a very important goal.

Our republic is a multi-ethnic collective where representatives of 70 different nationalities and ethnic groups work harmoniously together; a great majority of working collectives are multinational. All the nationalities of the republic are broadly represented in local soviets. Of the 38,825 deputies to rayon, city, township and village soviets, 28,500 are Moldavians, 2,363 Russians, 5,137 Ukrainians, 1,273 Gagauzians and 1,060 Bulgarians. Jews, Germans and other nationalities are represented accordingly, which amounts to, in effect, a proportional reflection of the ethnic makeup of the republic.

However, behind these figures compiled for the republic as a whole, there are problems of national representation in various links of the socio-political system of cities, rayons or ministries. For instance, ethnic Germans are inadequately represented among the deputies of rayon, township and village soviets of Grigoriopolskiy rayon. The situation with Belorussians and Jews is not much better there either. Here is another example: at the management level in the Construction Ministry, in its administration and departments there are too few representatives of the native nationality. There are too few Moldavian among construction trust and Summer Home Construction Cooperative managers and chief engineers, as well as among directors and chief specialists of Construction Departments.

All this means that not enough attention has been focused locally on the task of involving various national groups in political life and managerial work. This could lead to violations of the very principle of national equality, and it has already had negative implications for the standards of our inter-ethnic relations.

This is why, when elected bodies are formed, ethnic makeup of the population and specific needs of all nationalities in such area as the language, culture and everyday life are of utmost importance. In short, experience has shown that education in interethnic relations does not happen all by itself. Our common goal is to determine, scientifically and in depth, what obstacles exist to its development and what actions should be taken to increase the effectiveness of such work.

In this respect, a priority should be given to the task of fostering the growth of national working class cadres, since it is the working class that has given rise to the idea of internationalism and that carries its banner. In order to do this, it is necessary to effect a balanced distribution of industrial development projects throughout the republic, including the south, and to implement educational programs to prepare industrial workers drawn from every nationality and ethnic group of the republic.

Moldavia's working class, since it has been formed as part of the nation's multi-ethnic working class, is profoundly internationalist by nature: in the republic, Moldavians work shoulder to shoulder with Russians, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Gagauzians, and representatives of other nationalities. The Moldavian working class' characteristics are its highly developed civic qualities, political and ideological maturity, patriotism, high levels of organization and discipline and workplace and social initiative.

As a result of the intensive development of industry, construction, transportation, services, health care, education and culture, a large portion of the workforce residing on the countryside commute to work in the cities. Thousands of such workers are employed in rayon centers and cities. For instance, Kishinev, Beltsy and Tiraspol employ residents of the Parkany region, Sukleya those of Slobodzeyskiy rayon, Tabany and Kozheuts those of Brichanskiy rayon, Varvarovka and Gura-Kamenchi those of Floreshtski rayon and Sipoteya and Bakhmut those of Kalarashski and other rayons. Those people have no effective political influence either at work or their place of residence.

Bureaucratism and delays, as well as lack of coordination among soviet, economic and social entities, have long prevented timely response to needs and demands of workers of many cities and rayons of the republic; this has hurt the task of inculcating in them such values as patriotism and love and respect for the native land and for the reputation of the factory or plant trademark. Such cities are the scene of two thirds of all crimes committed in the republic; drunkenness, absenteeism and theft of socialist property flourish there and local nationalist and emigration movements arise. This is the reason why soviet, economic and social entities must seek a political approach and develop creative forms of internationalist and patriotic education of the people.

The restructuring of the society, the strengthening of the democratic forms of human relations, mean also a complex restructuring of inter-ethnic relations. In this respect, it is important to avoid stagnation in the local economy and to prevent wasteful management practices, delays in residential construction as well as in the construction of buildings for social and consumer services use and poor food supplies. The latter could be accomplished by means of local resources and private plots. Otherwise, all this would negatively impact the general moral and political climate.

It is important to evaluate, quickly and in depth, the social and economic situation that has developed locally as a result of policies of economic self-sufficiency, self-management, self-financing, paying one's own way, state quality control, cooperative business forms, family and individual contracting and new standards for assessing work competition; new strategic and tactical plans and a new general direction for national consciousness and internationalist education should be drafted as a result.

As we preside over the process of internationalization of the economy, we must make sure that working collectives improve business ties with workers from other fraternal republics, that contractual obligations are carried out in their entirety and that ties with working collectives at related or similar plants in other union republics are broadened and strengthened. Instances of local patriotism, national narrow-mindedness, nepotism and violations of leninist national policy should be condemned on principle, and the struggle should go on against bribe-taking, theft of socialist property, falsification of output statistics, suppression of criticism and concealment of shortcomings.

One of the most important factors in improving inter-ethnic relations and fostering internationalist sentiments is preservation of the cultural environment. Unfortunately, we must admit that the republic lacks a well-defined program to educate various groups of the population to respect monuments of history and of the Fatherland, architectural masterpieces, artistic heritage, literary monuments, folk arts and crafts, local history, folk customs and festivals and traditional contests. Soviets of the people's deputies, ministries, state committees and agencies, artists' unions, social organizations and specialists at the Art Institute and at music and art professional school and secondary schools have not been asked to contribute enough to solving these problems. Most events sponsored by houses of culture, clubs and libraries are polluted by light music which as a rule lacks character, spiritual qualities and talent; such events do not develop best national and international choral and musical traditions, do not encourage interest to classical music; finally, they rob the musical idiom of the people.

Some areas of social democratization—which, in Lenin's blueprint, is the main and sole condition of solving the nationality and bilingualism problem—have not been

worked out sufficiently. Analyses of the existing situation insufficiently stress the fundamental marxist-leninist position which stipulates that a state language would be contrary to the principle of equality of languages and that the absence of a state language provision in the constitution entails the need to teach in every republic both the local tongue and the language of inter-ethnic communications, which in our country has historically been the Russian language. The need to preserve the nation's tongue as its greatest resource and a means of fostering respect for its history, the fact that the development of national languages in every city and town requires a deep and patient internationalist commitment from everyone, these ideas is not being spelled out convincingly, with enough precision.

The themes of patriotism and inter-ethnic ties, of the mutual enrichment of different cultures of this country, are highlighted in the work of our scientists as well as literary and artistic figures. The task of strengthening international and inter-ethnic ties and of enriching each other's cultures with the best works of various nationalities is helped along by artistic tours of Moldavia by artists from other union republics. During the past 3 years alone, the republic hosted a Russian drama troupe from the Baltic republics, a Ukrainian drama troupe from Kharkov and a Jewish chamber ensemble from Moscow. Our own troupes have toured Belorussia, the Ukraine, Estonia and other rayons and oblasts of the country.

Nonetheless, the fact that many musical ensembles belong to the Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Consumer Services, State Foreign Tourism Committee, MSSR Komsomol Central Committee and other entities creates a situation whereby their repertory of wedding music, for example, contains ideologically harmful and artistically poor works. Similar works are also performed in some discos and dance clubs. Concert programs often do not take into account the ethnic makeup of the audience, which often gives rise to legitimate complaints. The Ministry of Culture, artists' unions and members of artistic councils and managers of artistic collectives should draw from this the necessary conclusions and take more fully into account the needs and interests of multi-ethnic collectives and various groups in our republic.

Sometimes, the republic's mass media publishes or broadcasts occasional good patriotic, internationalist or counter-propaganda items, but they generally do not form a consistent, well-directed system. Information is often light or superficial, and leading social scientists and specialists in this subject are not invited to write such items regularly. City and rayon papers, and even some republic-wide ones, do not take into consideration special characteristics of the area and its makeup; they do not use local experience and facts to solve the problems of internationalist education.

Comrade deputies, the consistent implementation by the communist party of leninist national policy should not create an impression that inter-ethnic relations are free of problems. "At the current stage, we must seriously address ourselves to the question of national policy," stressed M.S.Gorbachev at the February 1988 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. "We should do so in all areas, both in theory and in practice. This is a vitally important matter in our society."

We must clearly understand, and constantly keep in mind, the problems that arise in the area of inter-ethnic relations, all their aspects and facets, to seek, in a well thought-out and rational manner, new solutions and to arrive to constructive decisions on problems that are presented by life. Today, in the conditions of glasnost and democratization, some accumulated inter-ethnic relations problems have come to the fore, and they call for immediate solutions. For a long time, we have been neglecting many political, ideological and historical aspects of the development of nationalities and inter-ethnic relations. The party has acknowledged plainly and honestly that this has had negative consequences that we must now face. As it is well-known, all these problems will be thoroughly discussed at one of the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenums.

The causes of recent negative phenomena which are contrary to the spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalist principles can be traced to the period of stagnation. To neglect any such phenomenon, to shut our eyes to it, is unacceptable. In this environment, internationalist education assumes a special importance.

These are extremely delicate, difficult questions that call for particular moderation and consideration of both their national and inter-ethnic aspects. The criterium must be the following: only those national needs and interests will be fulfilled and fostered that do not harm inter-ethnic ties. In all this work, we must be guided by Lenin's directives: no special privileges for any nationality or language and no slightest persecution or injustice. Nevertheless, we must admit that in practice we have not always been sensitive to the interests of various nationalities that inhabit our republic, and that in a number of instances we may have lacked the requisite political instincts, education or professionalism in conducting national policy.

The enormous scale and increased complexity of the task of building communism, the strengthening of internationalist processes in our country and the tense international situation demand an increasingly high level of class, internationalist and patriotic education. This work must be based on the unswerving implementation of the main educational goals set by the 27th CPSU Congress, the new edition of the CPSU Program and the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, all of which convincingly demonstrate the fundamental advantages of the socialist system and the vital force of the leninist national policy of the CPSU.

Many aspects of inter-ethnic relations and internationalist education are the responsibility of soviets. This is why they must solve them basing on the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens.

The MSSR Supreme Soviet's Permanent Commission on Inter-Ethnic Relations and Internationalist Education, which we are about to create today, will be a great help in increasing the sensitivity to various national interests and in focusing more attention on national problems. It will be made up of Russians, Ukrainians, Gagauzians, Bulgarians and Jews, representatives of nationalities that live in our republic. Professionally, they will be party and soviet employees, workers and collective farmers, scientists, writers and journalists.

We hope that representatives elected to the commission will be able to, and will, accomplish a great deal to strengthen the internationalist and patriotic education of the republic's people and the friendship of the peoples. We can not put up with the fact that in today's complex environment the shift by soviet, trade union, komsomol and economic entities toward analyzing and solving these problems is occurring very slowly and inconsistently. We expect the permanent commission of the Supreme Soviet to focus its most serious attention on the task of meeting all needs of every one of the republic's nationalities and ethnic groups, of forecasting possible situations and implementing the necessary measures; we also expect that the commission's members will use fully their high prerogatives and authority of the people's deputies. To solve these problems, the commission must constantly combat administrative and bureaucratic attitudes to inter-ethnic problems and attempts to delay their timely resolution.

These questions must receive a great deal of attention from the permanent commissions of local soviets in the republic, from other entities comprised of the people's deputies and from grassroot social organizations. We must always remember that citizens who entrust us with the task of resolving their problems are the focus of our attention. If we ignore them, display a thoughtless, bureaucratic attitude toward the people, it may give rise to discontent and negativism, much of which is directly channeled into inter-ethnic relations.

Today, our activities must take into account the increased role of soviets in the society. This places on them a special responsibility to solve problems that arise within their jurisdiction. Our considerable new responsibilities and funds allow us to actively influence the local conditions: we can exercise control over the implementation of decrees passed by legislative bodies, inspect the work of enterprises and organizations, review complaints and reports from the public and fulfill voter wishes. There is currently no question that could be solved without taking into consideration the multi-ethnic makeup of the republic and its regions. We must strive to make sure that the desire to satisfy real needs and demands of the people, of every nationality and

ethnic group, permeates the work of soviets at every level, from the Supreme Soviet down to village soviets, of all permanent commissions and deputies' groups, ministries, state committees and agencies of the republic.

The main goal of the commission, as well as of all deputies, is to strive for unconditional implementation of the decisions taken on these extremely important questions, not tolerating even the slightest infringements of one nationality's interests for the benefit of another, based on the goals for successful social and economic development of the country as a whole.

In short, the Supreme Soviet's new permanent commission will have its work cut out for it. It must take an in-depth look at the state of internationalist education, assume an active role in forming and developing the culture of inter-ethnic relations, based on progressive national traditions and customs of every nationality, and make decisions designed to satisfy the needs of every class and group of the population in the political, social, economic and cultural areas.

Let me express my conviction that the proposed MoSSR Supreme Soviet's Commission on Inter-Ethnic Relations and Internationalist Education will play an important role in strengthening further the friendship of the peoples of the USSR and the internationalist and patriotic education of the public, and to wish the deputies who will be elected to it to work intensely and successfully.

The speech was followed by a discussion.

The podium was given to Deputy I.I. Arnaut, Chadyr-Lungskiy rayon's party raykom first secretary. For a long time, he noted, we have been overestimating our achievements in national policy; we have been too optimistic in assessing inter-ethnic relations and many problems calling for a solution have accumulated in this area.

Preservation and development of the traditions of the republic's peoples is one of the most important factors in improving these relations. Along with the industrial and economic base being developed in the south of the republic, the people's educational level has been steadily rising and the people's spiritual enrichment has been progressing.

There, as well as in the neighboring areas of the Ukraine, the Bulgarian ethnic choir of the village of Tvarditsa, Gagauzians ensembles "Dyuz Ava" and "Kadynzha" and other amateur artistic groups are very popular. Intellectuals and poets writing in Bulgarian and Gagauzians are welcome guests in working collectives. Ties between Chadyr-Lungskiy rayon and collective farms of the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Estonia are a practical manifestation of internationalism. Trips by the

rayon's specialists and mechanics to farms in those republics to share and disseminate progressive agricultural technologies have become a tradition.

However, along with some positive examples of the state of internationalist and patriotic education, the rayon has a number of problems as well. There is evidence that local party and soviet entities underestimate the importance of improving inter-ethnic relations. Their work to raise people's ideological and political level, to arouse the interest of the population, especially in the younger generation, in the history of their own people and to foster organizations of local history has lagged behind; folk celebrations and festivals have been rarely sponsored.

The speaker mentioned the poor reception of Moscow and Moldavian television programs in the south of the republic and the poor condition of the social and economic infrastructure in Bulgarian and Gagauzians villages and, in particular, the slow progress in providing them with gas.

The deputy concluded by stressing that the task of maintaining healthy, leninist inter-ethnic relations places a particular burden of responsibility on internationalist education. He seconded the proposal to form the MoSSR Supreme Soviet's commission.

The first task of the commission, said Deputy M.E. Volontir, an actor at the Beltsy Moldavian Drama Theater imeni V. Aleksandri, should be to assess, attentively and realistically, the spiritual processes underway in the republic; it should not act hastily or on an impulse provided by obsolete practices. The republic has problems with a long history, which we must not shut their eyes to. He felt that the members of the commission should put a priority on thoroughly acquainting themselves with Lenin's heritage in the nationalities question, to immerse themselves in the new historical reality in which we live, to be honest, to seek solutions and to acquire competence in the questions under discussion.

In the last few years, not only in the cities but on the countryside as well, a semblance of linguistic creativity has spread like a plague, a combination of Moldavian and Russian words. This is no one's tongue, yet it is spoken here.

Languages, naturally, can not be taught forcibly. No one forced the speaker, for instance, to learn Russian. He learned it voluntarily and feels happy today to read Dostoyevskiy, Tolstoy and Chekhov in the original. But, people of other nationalities living in the republic are totally, or almost totally, unfamiliar with Moldavian. If they knew it, it would be bilingualism in practice, and not only on paper.

As the saying goes, a small tree stub can topple a large cart. The same happens in the nationalities question: similar small stubs can sometimes trigger undesirable situations.

Russian has become so fundamental for most government entities in Kishinev that almost no meeting is conducted in Moldavian. The writer's union is perhaps the only exception. Some of our Moldavians are so fond of speaking Russian on every occasion that one may fairly think that they fear to sprout long ears if at a meeting they happen to speak their native tongue, just as in the well-known fairy tale.

It is our responsibility to pass on to future generations a highly developed culture, unstained history, a refined, pure tongue and a genuine, unfalsified folklore. But first of all, we must pass on to them as a sacred heritage Lenin's love for everything beautiful and humane.

"For more than 40 years I have lived and worked in a city that has great patriotic and internationalist traditions," said Deputy I.M.Zaslavskiy, shop foreman at the "Tochlitmash" Moldavian Industrial Trust's Tiraspol Foundry Equipment Plant imeni S.M.Kirov. "To me and to my colleagues, the words 'Soviet patriotism' and 'proletarian internationalism' are intimately familiar. Moldavians, Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Tatars, Armenians, Latvians, Kazakhs, Bulgarians, Jews and representatives of 20 other nationalities live and work side by side in the plant's friendly family. And a person is judged not by his national origins but by his attitude to the work and to the people. I am, for instance, a Jew. And I have never in any way felt that my rights have been violated. I am convinced that people who belong to the 70 other nationalities and ethnic groups that live in our republic can say the same thing."

Unfortunately, one often hears of the "nationalism" that has sprouted here. Others use a softer term and speak of local "troubles" in the nationalities question. In the speaker's opinion, we should not speak of nationalism as a phenomenon but consider it in the context of unsolved, or not fully solved, problems of inter-ethnic relations. The speaker stressed the need to take well thought-out actions to coordinate and settle them. In Tiraspol, for instance, there has been a steady rise in the number of Germans and Jews departing abroad for permanent resettlement. And yet, he emphasized that the causes of this phenomenon are complex and not yet fully analyzed. Often only social aspects are identified.

Or here is another example: the city has three main population groups, with Russians comprising 45 percent, Ukrainians 35 percent and Moldavians over 13 percent; plus, Jews make up 5 percent. Yet, classes at city schools are taught exclusively in Russian. While the question of providing Ukrainian schools has not yet arisen, that of Moldavian schools has, and on many occasions. Some actions have already been taken: Moldavian language groups have been established in two pre-school day care

centers and Moldavian courses are functioning at the teachers' college, at the imeni Kirov plant and at the electric machinery plant. By 1991, such groups are planned for 4 more pre-school centers and at 5 schools. That is, of course, if there is demand, which there is not way to predict.

The deputy also dwelled at length on the task of improving the internationalist and patriotic training of young people and the public at their place of residence, on developing party and industrial ties with related enterprises in other socialist countries and on other subjects directly related to strengthening inter-ethnic relations. He emphasized that in his opinion questions of national and inter-ethnic relations call for scientific forecasting, timely coordination and even legal justification.

"Internationalist education is intimately tied to general education and must start at a very young age," said Deputy A.V.Simashkevich, the Chairman of the Semiconductor Physics Department at the Kishinev State University imeni V.I.Lenin. "In this respect, the family is extremely important; yet, in some families kids do not even learn their native tongue. A person who does not respect the language and culture of his own people could never become a true internationalist. Also, we should not forget children raised in orphanages, reform schools and state boarding schools. They must be taught two languages, both Moldavian and Russian. The Soviet Children's Fund imeni V.I.Lenin must contribute to this cause. There are many problems that must be addressed both by public education entities such as pre-school centers, schools and colleges, by working collectives and, naturally, by party organizations and Soviet power entities.

"There are many shortcomings in this area. There have been plenty of instances when problems related to inter-ethnic relations have been handled by poorly qualified persons, half-heartedly or after delays. How long ago, for instance, have we started broadcasting in Bulgarian and Gagauzians? The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference specifically call for providing ethnic groups without a statehood or homeland of their own with sufficient means of expressing themselves and satisfying their needs."

The speaker then addressed the serious problem of bilingualism. He stressed that the teaching of Moldavian in Russian-language schools and of Moldavian history in schools, vocational schools and colleges is in need of radical improvement. Textbooks and study aids are in very short supply. On television, there are shows highlighting the need for bilingual education and there are Moldavian language classes; yet, their time slot has been selected poorly: at that time, students are out at school and adults at work. All in all, it can be said that the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee's and MoSSR Council of Minister's resolutions to promote true bilingualism are being implemented slowly.

**Official on Work of Latvian Purge Victim
Rehabilitation Commission**
18300329a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
2 Jun 88 p 3

[Interview with the Latvian SSR First Deputy Prosecutor V.B.Daukshis, a member of the Review Commission on Personal Requests to Consider Unfounded Administrative Deportation from the LaSSR, with correspondent T.Shishkina: "'Duty Calls on Us to Fill the Blanks'" under the "Important Interviews" subheading; first three paragraphs a boldface introduction]

[Text] History is not a simple succession of periods and epochs. It is also the fate of humanity and of each individual. Today, we are attempting to sort out very difficult periods in the life of our country, but not because of an acute desire to refute or criticize something. We are doing so for the sake of the future, to make it impossible to turn back the clock.

The Review Commission on Personal Requests to Consider Unfounded Administrative Deportation from the LaSSR established in our republic is part of the enormous work under way in the country to rehabilitate victims of stalinism. Recently it held its first meeting.

Our correspondent spoke with one of its members, LaSSR First Deputy Prosecutor V.B.Daukshis.

[Question] Chronologically, the age of Stalinism takes up nearly half of the 70-year history of our state. Today we are assessing the crippling damage that that perverted concept of socialism has inflicted on the development of the economy, social consciousness and the spiritual potential. There is another tragic page which continues to hold us in a state of emotional tension. It is the fate of those who fell between the grindstones of the machinery of repression. We have no right to view those remote pages of history simply as a mishap, since the irreversibility of today's perestroika processes is here at stake. How do you, Valentin Boleslavovich, see the role and the significance of the commission in this respect?

[Answer] We are looking back at those dramatic events after so many decades not only to cleanse our society's conscience. It is impossible to conceive it now, but after the 20th Party Congress an entire generation has grown up for whom the age of Stalinism was encompassed in a mere two lines in the history textbook. Just two lines. Some names, faces, life stories could have been forgotten, as could have been someone's sorrow or someone's shattered human dignity.

Of course, it is important that the commission give back to people their good name and restore fully their civil and social rights. Aside from this, I would say as a strictly personal goal, every given case also has general social repercussions. We are helping restore the truth, thus strengthening the principles of humanism and democracy.

That complex and tragic time also calls for a scientific evaluation. You agree, don't you, that up to now we have had mainly literary representations of that period, or at least documentary ones. This is the cause of the unabated emotional tension you mentioned. Now imagine not fictional characters but real people, those who suffered but did not lose faith, becoming protagonists in a real-life screenplay that I and my colleagues carefully, page by page, gather in an ordinary office folder. It is an impressive image, isn't it? I think that our work, by recreating both the unsoiled side and the ugly aspects of that time, will help historians make an unbiased evaluation of phenomena rooted in Stalinism.

[Question] Is it possible, Valentin Boleslavovich, that we have been filling only one side of the scale of historical justice? While repaying our debt to the victims and restoring their good names to them we rarely mention those who persecuted them. Names of the oppressors that were mentioned in the press quickly became widely known. This happened because all those Khvats, Sharokas and Shvartsmans are representative of a certain morality. They in themselves are a frightening social phenomenon. To advance on the path of the truth we probably need guarantees that such morality will not send forth new shoots.

[Answer] You want to know whether it is possible to assess such individuals' actions from the point of view of the law? As a lawyer, I can tell you that it is almost impossible. The question is also whether we need to do so. It is not because the statute of limitations has expired or because most of them are quite elderly now. The problem here is different. The evil must not give rise to anger. We are not, I do not think, the kind of a society that enjoys trying the fallen, those who have already stepped down from the stage. And as far as upholding the letter of the law is concerned, we should not adopt their methods.

But we should not be silent about this phenomenon, either. We must speak of it loud and clear, and you, commentators and journalists, should be the first to do so as your words and your point of view greatly influences public opinion. It is important to us to condemn not the two dozen individuals who were the carriers of that morality but the phenomenon itself, which remains worrisome indeed. The assessment must be completely objective. As to the guarantees, they will be provided by the full compliance with the due process of the law and protection for every member of the society.

[Question] Situations that the commission has encountered are all very diverse, I am sure. How do you assess the general state of legality in that period?

[Answer] I would like to give a few examples which I think are representative of a more general picture.

For instance, most folders contain only a few pages of records of the Extraordinary Session. One is someone's confession, accompanied by no other proof or witness testimony. Another one lists the charges, cooked up rather crudely. And the third one, the sentence: VMN, which is a shorthand for maximum penalty. Incidentally, I would like to point out that this kind of penalty is now called exceptional, not maximum, which in itself shows that it is being used only in extraordinary circumstances. All cases were heard in absentia, people were denied even their constitutional right to defend themselves.

We have seen salient cases as well, as when a group of individuals of various nationalities were arrested and taken out of Latvia in June 1941. Latvia was soon occupied by the Germans and, naturally, no proof of their guilt was gathered. The charges were built essentially on personal confessions. The arrest itself was in this case unlawful. And if those people were indeed guilty of actions against the Soviet state, due process was seriously violated.

The most common form of abuse was an arbitrary or excessively broad interpretation of the regulations concerning administrative deportations in March 1949. For instance, in 1939 some farmers had falsified the size of their holdings to make it easier to obtain bank loans. Ten years later, records from the bourgeois period were used to determine which holdings were kulak's and which were not. The commission has investigated a case in which the Lazdanskaya volost ispolkom of the working people's deputies ruled to remove the family M. from the list of kulaks, and that decision was upheld by the Madonsk uyezd ispolkom. Contrary to legal norms, when the family was deported these decisions were still in force and, moreover, the LaSSR Council of Ministers' decree "On the Characteristics of Kulak Holdings and Regulations for Their Taxation" was violated. The commission has restored justice in the case of the family M., and in many other cases as well.

[Question] What is the order for getting one's request reviewed?

[Answer] The first cases of unlawful administrative deportations from the LaSSR were reviewed in the 1960's. In 1983 and 1984, the number of requests fell sharply. It may have been the result of a social climate that in the period of stagnation gave rise to social pessimism. Now there is plenty of work. To begin with, the status of the commission itself has been changed. It used to function under the aegis of the Council of Ministers and all decisions had to be approved by the Presidium. Now, it is a completely independent entity, its decisions are final and they are made in the name of the government of the republic.

Generally, requests are first sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. There, the needed papers are gathered, checked and prepared. After that, each case is investigated by the staff of the prosecutor office, by my coworkers in fact, and only after that, accompanied by their

legal recommendations pro and con, it comes before the commission. At times, a considerable period of time has to elapse—up to two months—before the applicants get the final answer. Yet, the work requires diligent checking and I hope that the applicants will take that into consideration.

[Question] Through these individual cases, the commission will be passing judgement on the events of June 1941. Occasionally, an opinion surfaces here and there that tries to write everything off as mass Stalinist repressions. Yet, at the time, real, not imagined, class resistance was taking place in Latvia. And those who rejected Soviet power were expressing their opinion not only in words but in actions, too. Will the commission be able to consider each individual case?

[Answer] Objectivity is our only trusted guide. Especially so since Western propaganda is trying to serve up those actions as genocide against the Latvian people—even though according to published data some 50 percent of deportees were Poles, Russians, Jews and Germans. Moreover, prostitutes who had previously been registered with the police and who continued their activities were also subject to deportation. This was done not simply to clean up the society: it is known even from literature that most of those "ladies" had been police informers.

Only documented proof, and not a summary accusation, can be accepted as the basis for judgement. If for some reason documents are unavailable, we will still try to arrive at the truth by questioning witnesses and gathering evidence drop by drop.

[Question] When you look at deportation cases from 1949, will the rules be the same?

[Answer] Of course. Especially since according to existing laws persons deported unlawfully are entitled to compensation for their material losses. They will be compensated in kind, so to speak: they can either get their old houses back or a permission to build in the same community. They will also receive the value of confiscated property. Plus, the years of special exile will be counted toward pension. (We have recently decided a similar case.) These are rather important issues in any life situation. Set amounts, determined from the Ministry of Finance records, will come from a special budget.

[Question] Glasnost is a form of social control. What kind of information will we have on the work of the commission?

[Answer] The society will be kept informed, as a matter of course, of the results of our activity. Not one single decision will remain behind closed doors. We will open the commission's meetings to the mass media. In this way, there will be regular information on the results of our work.

[Question] Thank you very much for the interview, Valentin Boleslavovich.

12892

Latvian Purge Victim Rehabilitation Work Moving Forward

18300329b Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
7 Jun 88 p 3

[Interview with the LaSSR Council of Ministers' Deputy Chairman L.L.Bartkevich, Chairman of the Review Commission on Personal Requests to Consider Unfounded Administrative Deportation from the LaSSR, with unnamed LATINFORM correspondent: "An Honest Look at Our Past"; first two paragraphs are a boldface introduction]

[Text] The past does not consist exclusively of lessons that help us build the future. Our past also contains mistakes which we have to correct today.

As has been reported, the republic's Council of Ministers has established a special Review Commission on Personal Requests to Consider Unfounded Administrative Deportation from the LaSSR. Its chairman is LaSSR Council of Ministers' Deputy Chairman L.L.Bartkevich. Recently, at a scheduled meeting, the commission reviewed several requests from citizens. A LATINFORM correspondent asked Leonard Leopoldovich to comment on the progress of that important work.

[Answer] Indeed, it is a great responsibility. Events that took place in 1941 and after the war are complex and tragic. When one reads cases from that period one starts to understand the contradictions of a historical situation when it was difficult to tell a sincere supporter of Soviet power from a skillfully disguised enemy and when dozens, even hundreds, of citizens loyal to the socialist state were branded as enemies. It is very important not to be swayed by emotions and, in accordance with existing laws, to assess each individual case patiently.

Today, the fate of every family which had suffered in the mass repressions of Stalin's regime and which submitted an appeal is reconstructed in detail; it is enlivened by witnesses' testimonies and validated by documents. The circumstances of each case are thoroughly studied by the members of the commission, which is comprised of representatives of the prosecutor's office and the Ministry of Finance of the republic and officials from the LaSSR's Ministry of Internal Affairs and Committee of State Security.

An extensive preliminary investigation of citizens' appeals provides the basis for the commission to hold a meeting and to issue rulings. During the discussion, the

commission can request to clarify the necessary circumstances, and then issues a ruling. Here perhaps it should be stated that our commission has broad powers. It acts in the name of the government of the republic and its decisions need no additional approval.

Since its creation the commission has reviewed appeals from V.K.Apsitis, Yu.A.Bubindus, Kh.Ya.Klyavinsh, P.M.Vanags, Z.P.Devite, A.E.Postazh and others. Nearly all requests for rehabilitation have been decided favorably.

This is not just an act of mercy but a restoration of justice. The Riga party gorkom and city ispolkom should be praised for their initiative to hold a meeting in memory of the victims of Stalin's repressions on June 14, 1988.

It should also be noted that many cases of that period are very much of the same type. In 1941, the charges were collaboration with agents of world imperialism and counterrevolutionary conspiracy. In 1949, one of the main criteria for deportation was the data from the records of agricultural holdings compiled in 1939, not actual holdings in 1947-1949. In the complex postwar situation, middle-level and even poor farms were listed in the kulak estate category. As a result, some middle-level and poor farmers, as well as other loyal citizens of different nationalities, became subject to deportation.

Of course, there were among deportees persons guilty of real crimes, but even they should have been tried in accordance with existing laws. Still, it is cruel and unjust to punish a dozen innocent people for the crimes of one person. As a result, we now have grounds to view mass deportations of that period as unlawful. Our commission has submitted a proposal to that effect to the party and justice organs of our country. We are hoping that this question will be resolved favorably. We derive this hope from the CPSU Central Committee's Theses for the 19th Party Conference, which proclaimed: "It is our party and civil duty to rehabilitate the victims of groundless political accusations and lawlessness of the past." We must carry out that duty. There is no justification, neither moral nor legal nor political, to the illegalities perpetrated during the period of Stalin's personality cult—and there can be none.

Naturally, such rehabilitation cannot and will not include those who were engaged during that difficult time in banditry and sabotage. I think that such an approach will be supported by the people, who in their mass have always been on the side of Soviet power.

The commission has a lot of work ahead of it, and I can assure the public that that work will be carried out with maximum objectivity and care.

12892

NOVYY MIR Editor Zalygin on Present, Future of Perestroyka

18000507 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jun 88 p 3

[Interview under "Thoughts on the Theses" rubric with Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin, editor, NOVYY MIR, by V. Malukhin: "What We Have Already Gained"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] **It may seem strange that we talk about the past so much nowadays. But in arguing about the past we are deciding the destiny of the future and striving to break through into the light from the captivity of the Stalinist darkness. What do you think about this, Sergey Pavlovich?**

[Answer] It seems to me that history in general and very recent history in particular do not constitute abstract knowledge. It is necessary to human beings at all times in order to explain their own lives and to foresee the variants of their future. But here we also encounter an abundance of all possible speculations on the "topics" and "motives" of history. Literature has the capacity to revive one period of time in another, but how much danger arises here of belletristic arbitrariness, vulgarization, and a business-type profanation of historical truth! There is more. In my opinion, belles lettres has already created in the social consciousness a sufficiently complete idea of who Stalin was and what Stalinism was. If we take as our point of departure the ideas of Stalin himself, then we will have to acknowledge that he did create a very much improved state system, fully answerable to the principles on which it was based. It's quite another matter that these principles were in blatant contradiction to socialist ideals. The time has now arrived for historians as such, a time for archives. The path to our past is not only not forbidden to the writer; it is wide-open as never before. But will we achieve much nowadays by endlessly appealing in our discussions to a past which is already known, by summoning it up either as a witness for the defense or as a witness for the prosecution in the case of perestroyka? To me the presentations by journalists devoted to the problem of overcoming the Stalinist legacy on the paths of economic reform resound much more urgently. Here is one of the key problems for the country, and on its successful solution depends whether or not we will have the opportunity to subsequently read bestsellers about the year 1937 and other years.

It is said that our best writers safeguarded themselves during the years of stagnation and did not betray their predestined calling. A writer's work is an individual matter—that's the gist of the matter. If—God forbid—writing were a collective occupation, we would not have had honest and talented books written in previous decades. People about whom it may be said that they are the salt of the nation have often remained in isolation. But they have always existed, and I'm sure that they will always exist. Their time has now come.

[Question] **Perestroyka has come to us, so to speak, "from above." In your opinion, wherein should the guarantees lie of its irreversibility as well as the conditions of its complete support "from below"?**

[Answer] The new situation in society can find practical expression solely in the broad-based activity of public groups. With regard to the system of power, I'm for power belonging to the soviets. When a settlement soviet in Kamchatka refuses to grant an all-powerful department the right to predatorily exploit this kray's natural resources, that's a good sign. So that soviets may successfully cope with their obligations, they must be profoundly restructured at all levels. As the elective, constitutional system guided by the idea of the people's power, the soviets nowadays have very great possibilities. Public opinion is the natural ally of the soviets. In its present form, however, public opinion is amorphous, unsteady, and lacking in high standards of cultural know-how. Of course, it must also pass through quite a lengthy "school," but such a "school" has not existed up to now. Today possibilities for expressing public opinion have begun to appear, but how this is done must be learned as we go along. The main thing for us has become to spit out as rapidly as possible everything pent up within us, to cry out our own pain. In posing important questions, people are acting in a new way, as citizens and democrats. But people choose the old-fashioned, bureaucratic ways of solving problems: they keep on writing to all possible levels of authority, demanding that measures be taken and that the cause be moved forward. Thousands of such letters from all over the country also arrive at my desk. But when I ask my correspondents just what they themselves have undertaken to do in their own localities within the framework of the democratic possibilities which every citizen has nowadays, they feel offended by me and react somewhat as follows: we've given you the signals; we've done our duty, and now it's up to you to take some action.... People are succeeding in getting their letters published, but what they don't know is that, although it's not difficult these days to promulgate any opinion on any matter, it is precisely for this reason that the chances of any specific measures being taken on such letters have become less. During the years of stagnation any critical presentation implied preliminary sanction from above, and, therefore, it could not fail to be considered by those to whom it was addressed. But nowadays those who are criticized allow themselves to ignore any accusations being leveled at them. It's as if they had the following attitude: we have glasnost, everybody is writing about everything, so let them write about themselves....

[Question] **Is this a pluralism of opinions with a lack of equal conditions for victory within the framework of a democratic procedure?**

[Answer] As a result, glasnost is becoming more widespread, but the effectiveness of publications is declining. Letters pro and con are printed; at times public opinion sets forth extremely serious accusations, amounting to

many millions of rubles, of mismanagement, incompetence, and destruction of nature; but, tell me, has this spoiled anybody's appetite? Do you know how the Letts make butter at home? They drop a piece of old butter into some milk and then churn it. Before the new butter is formed, there is a point when the milk is no longer milk and the piece of old butter is no longer butter; it has dissolved. We are experiencing precisely such a phase: the past and the future have dissolved into each other, whereas the new quality has not yet emerged. During the initial period of glasnost the entire bureaucratic array, keyed to the output methods of management, was afraid that it would have to answer for the "tricks" of previous years. But this fright quickly passed, and now the voice of public opinion is ignored even more unabashedly than non-glasnost was ever ignored.

And so it turns out that the change-over of the northern rivers was stopped, it seems, merely so that the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources could invest the billions of rubles which had thus been freed up into the equally unjustified construction of the Volga-Cha-gray Canal. Because, you know, in our country, just as was the case previously, plans are not examined, are not proven, but rather coordinated. This is done more rapidly and without much fuss; the main thing is that it is done in the customary way. It's true that perestroika came down to us from above, but its fate depends on the masses. And so that it may turn out as conceived, the party and the government should take all measures to support the people's initiative, public opinion, and the public movement. In and by itself, public opinion can neither break up the old apparatus nor create a new one; it can neither pass a law nor abrogate an ukase. Its function is something else: to state an attitude toward a problem which will constitute the foundation for solving that problem at a higher level. Public opinion is that genuine force on which we can and must rely. If it does not exist, nothing will be accomplished. Because public opinion which fails to find a solution and which does not see the results of its own interference in the country's affairs will inevitably choke on itself, lose confidence in itself, and perish; and the anti-perestroika forces are leading their cause to this end. What will happen then is well known: an all-powerful apparatus and a powerless people. A certain bureaucrat with whom I had occasion to talk about this topic very precisely evaluated the danger threatening his "clan," when he said that nowadays the "main trouble with the public was public opinion."

Even now we could free ourselves from superfluous units, from intermediate and surplus structures. But in order to do this, we must be more determined to abandon unneeded institutions, plans, staffs, and positions. When we cast off an excess burden from our shoulders, the amount of what we must restructure will also be lessened. These days all our hopes are on the party conference. But we must come to it with a certain positive experience, not just with empty hands. This experience is extracted with as much difficulty as

mining gold. Take our journal NOVYY MIR, for example. At present it brings in approximately 10 million rubles of net profit annually to the state. This means that every staff member, including the janitor and the charwoman, earns 250,000 rubles each for the country. But over the course of two years I have not been able to secure permission to have deductions and contributions made to the editors' fund amounting to...two/tenths of a kopeck per copy of each issue. Nor does the collective have the right to form a staff registry proceeding from the interests of the matter, and that situation remains in effect to this very day....

[Question] If we are to speak of my personal impressions as a reader, it is specifically from your books that I first came to know what the periods of the NEP and collectivization were really like. I'm not sure that without your books "On the Irtysh," "The Commission," "Pickled Honeydew," and "After the Storm," the publication of V. Belov's "Kanunov" and B. Mozhayev's "Peasant Men and Women" would have been possible. Do you get satisfaction from the fact that your point of view, which was at one time unpopular and was promulgated with great difficulty, has prevailed and that the times have, so to speak, now caught up to you?

[Answer] Is it appropriate in general for a writer to have a feeling of satisfaction? He lives for that book which he is writing at present. I sometimes have a strange feeling of alienation from the books which I wrote some time ago, as if it were not I who wrote them. Like grown-up children, they have their own lives. But if you succeed in accomplishing something worthwhile, then you proceed to something else so that this time something turns out at least no worse. Therefore, the next work is always more important than the previous one, and there is just no time left for recalling the past. A book is born out of resistance—both within as well as outside of you. If you don't experience this, nothing good will come of it.

Nowadays there are two chief matters in my life—the journal and ecology. An ecological catastrophe is being prepared as the inexorable wages of millions of hands, inasmuch as we are all consumers. In virtually any form of activity the following may be said: we are unable to solve this problem today—let's solve it tomorrow. In the sphere of ecology we don't have any time for postponements. We are destroying nature every day and irreversibly. It takes a hundred years to restore one hectare of salinized land to fertility. But do we recognize this? The Magadan Oblispolkom has presented a bill for 4 billion rubles to the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources by way of compensation for the damage inflicted on the environment. The matter is being handled very simply: Comrade Shtepa, the deputy minister, ordered that it be deemed unjustified.... We have ruined the unique eco-system of an entire republic—that of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR. When I attempt to draw attention to this problem, I am told the following: But you, Comrade Zalygin, did not object 17 years ago to changing the courses of the northern rivers. Is this really an excuse?

Can one really conduct disputes on such a level? I'm talking about an ecological crime on a nationwide scale, and they remind me about a sentence which is 17 years old. But, of course, at that time we did not have today's experience which, alas, has not made everybody more responsible and more full of shame. What, then, are we really talking about—about one of Zalygin's statements or about a tragedy of the land and its people? Some departments of the USSR Academy of Sciences have come right out and called the planners in the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources falsifiers; the tragic mistakes of the USSR Academy of Sciences Water Problems have been written about by PRAVDA, OGONYOK, KROKODIL, NOVYY MIR, and NASH SOVREMENNİK, but there have been no results.

[Question] During the Middle Ages the Sorbonne utilized the form of teaching rhetoric known as *parti pris*: the students debated questions, alternatively defending opposing points of view. Nowadays in our country a collision of mutually exclusive points of view is nothing rare. I tried an experiment on myself by attempting to intentionally "play" for the team represented by the author of the well-known letter to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. But, you know, I was unable to construct any convincing defense of its theses....

[Answer] That's not surprising. The weakness of argumentation in this letter stems from the fact that the main thing in the author's point of view was the goal set from the outset. In journalism the scholastic method is generally very obvious. Here it's always evident when the results of the analysis are made to fit the conclusion and when the question is made to fit the answer.

[Question] It is not by chance that the appearance of this letter was also welcomed by persons who had become distracted and had lost their bearings. Acknowledgement of the fact that the "full and final socialism" of the Stalinist model turned out to have a powerful admixture of industrial-bureaucratic feudalism pulled the rug out from under many people. Having become accustomed during the course of their entire life to "bending with the party line," these people are now seeking a strongpoint in the past, albeit strict and clearly so.

[Answer] Furthermore, such people will more quickly trust a false guideline than agree to remain without guidelines even for a short time. I think that such people will be convinced only by the effectiveness of public opinion which defends the nationwide interest. Such a person distractedly observes a stormy polemic but fails to note that, as a result of it, something has now happened for the better in his life, and this is unbearable for him. After all, in our country ideals have always been eternal, and accomplishments universally-historical; somehow matters did not get to the salescounters. Nor did the men who ran things and those without passports need to be concerned with salescounters. Now we must reverse direction—from the global to the private, from

the society to the individual human being. Changes in society are composed of changes in the life of each of us—we must understand this well and bear it in mind.

[Question] A statement-type letter was recently published in support of perestroika, and it was signed by many well-known writers. What disheartened me, I confess, was the fact that side by side here were the names of persons whose understanding of perestroika is completely different and who are speaking out and fighting for different things. Does that mean that there will again be a unanimity simply for the purposes of show, a monolithic unity at any price? There is no, nor can there be, any talk of a civil war in literature. But such a peace indeed seems meager, for the arithmetical mean of two principal points of view entails the loss of the stronger one.

[Answer] In general, there is something unnatural in this. You are right in saying that such letters comprise the rudiments of a sham collegiality. In principle, if each of us issues books under his own name, then he should also formulate his own point of view on public matters independently.

[Question] Our society has already become sufficiently mature to acknowledge that Russian culture is indivisible. At some time in the future the syllabus for a course in our country's literature will be drawn up by proceeding from the merits of the text and making no distinctions between a book written in Irkutsk and one written in Berkeley. In fact, this principle is already being implemented today when it is a matter of the late writers Bunin, Nabokov, Khodasevich, and G. Ivanov. In last year's issue No 12 of NOVYY MIR I. Brodskiy's poems saw the light. Does the journal intend to continue acquainting its readers with literature created during our own days in Russian in other countries?

[Answer] Yes, that is our intention. But we consider it necessary to maintain a definite line in preparing such publications. I receive letters from abroad stating something like the following: if you publish my work, then I will believe that your country really does have perestroika. But, of course, I couldn't care less about the opinion of such a "genius," who, moreover, puts himself on the same level as Bulgakov, Platonov, and Nabokov. This is seen even in the West. A. Sinyavskiy, for example, has acknowledged that very few books written there are destined to have a long life. It must be said that I feel no pressure on myself in our country; however, people from the West do want to influence me. Foreign correspondents are endlessly trying to find out: why don't you publish so-and-so? And when will so-and-so be published? This is an incorrect posing of the question. Because, after all, I cannot allow myself to act in any such manner toward a foreign publisher or editor; I do not demand of any of them that they publish me or any of those authors whom I might recommend to them. When it is a matter of a writer with a world-renowned name, any person has the right to ask such a question, but when attempts are made to push third-rate literature

onto our pages, these are strange concerns. In the United States I was told that the Russian-language publishing houses there put out as many as 500 titles a year, but, you know, these do not include any works by contemporary Soviet authors who live "at home" in the Soviet Union. So there's a case of "indivisible" Russian culture for you! The traffic of in books should be a two-way matter. Exceptions, I repeat, are made in the case of writers whose importance is universally recognized and indisputable—their creative work is above any stipulations or limits.

In addition to everything else, a literary journal also exists for the purpose of preserving and supporting the worthwhile elements of the national culture. In some cases this is achieved by publishing a book by an emigre writer, while in other cases—by rejecting such publication. This dialectic constitutes the foundation of any editor's work. Worthy selection is the principal problem. Our journal receives some 3,000 manuscripts a year, among which difficult choices have to be made.

[Question] If an attempt were undertaken to imagine different variants of our future, what possible scenarios of it would you see?

[Answer] Elaborating a futurological scenario is a risky business. Let me say just one thing: I don't see a scenario for victory in any very distinct outlines. It must be sought after and created; that's all there is to it. I don't want to think about defeat, nor is there any purpose in doing so. Its outlines are very distinct and would mean returning to times which are all too well-known and remembered by everybody; only it would, most likely, be even worse forms than before. Even if we wound up at some point preceding April 1985, subjectively, from the viewpoint of the present day this would be perceived as a retreat not by just one step but by many, many steps. After all, we don't even realize what moral values and what priceless democratic possibilities we have already gained. Because, of course, what is happening in society today has not been the case for at least 60 years. Never mind that the material proofs of perestroika are not yet very evident; the moral climate has changed radically. When one loses his self-perception as a free human being, one experiences a loss which is more than can be imagined at present. And the farther we proceed, the more difficult it will be to deprive us of this self-perception. But it must be unlikely that a healthy person will want to live in the expectation of unhappiness....

2384

AzSSR Supreme Soviet Debates NKAO Transfer Appeal

*18300307a Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian
19 Jun 88 p 4*

[Article under rubric "7th Session of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet 11th Convocation": "Debate on the Question 'Official Request By Deputies to the Soviet of People's Deputies of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Concerning the Transfer of NKAO From Azerbaijan SSR to Armenian SSR'"]

[Text] Speech by Deputy A. M. Amanov, drilling foreman, Ali-Bayramly Administration of Drilling Operations

The friendship of the peoples of the USSR is the friendship of legally equal peoples residing in our Homeland. The working class of Azerbaijan has always followed, and continues to follow, with a pure heart the traditions in this area. I can state with pride that the Azerbaijani, both during the years of heavy historical tests and during the cloudless, peacetime period, have always been true friends of the Armenian people. No one is capable of changing that.

Representatives of many nationalities and nations live and work hand in hand in our republic. Brilliant confirmation of this friendship can be provided by our city of energy workers and petroleum workers, Ali-Bayramly. Workers of various nationalities work alongside of one another here, implementing the party's tasks pertaining to perestroika. And that is understandable, since we have one heart and one Motherland—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We are not proponents of living in a way that fences one people off from another.

The workers of Ali-Bayramly completely support the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, entitled "Measures to Accelerate the Socioeconomic Development of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of Azerbaijan SSR in 1988-1985." They feel that the actions and demands which have as their goal the changing of the existing national-territorial arrangement contradict the interests of all the workers of Azerbaijan and Armenia and are detrimental to relations among peoples.

We wholeheartedly support the Message of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M. S. Gorbachev to the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, in which he issues the appeal to expend all efforts to strengthen the gains of socialism—the fraternal friendship of Soviet peoples. We see our task in the further reinforcement of political vigilance, in the skillful application of all means that exert an ideological effect and that completely stop the unrestrained and illegal actions of certain individuals who are attempting to use national feelings to the detriment of society.

No one, no force, can turn us from the true path that was defined by the Great October.

I recommend declining the demand made by the deputies of the NKAO Council of Ministers.

Speech by Deputy D. B. Guliyev, vice-president of AzSSR Academy of Sciences, editor in chief of the Azerbaijani Soviet Encyclopedia

As a person who was born in Nagornyy Karabakh, I can say that the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples living on that land have been neighbors for centuries. The joint heroic struggle for freedom, against social and national oppression, and for the victory of socialism has established that friendship firmly forever. It is our sacred duty to cherish that friendship as the apple of our eye. Therefore we deeply regret the national campaign that has been organized with the participation of a number of party, soviet, and economic workers and representatives of science and culture of the Armenian nationality in NKAO, Armenia, and Moscow.

The speaker then dwelt in detail on the historical facts that prove that "the arguments on the Karabakh question" that arose for the first time in 1918 on the instigation of the foreign imperialists were used by the counterrevolutionaries to incite hatred among the workers of various nationalities, in order to suppress the revolutionary struggle in the trans-Caucasus.

Why then, the deputy continues, do my fellow countrymen, and especially the Communists, disdain historical experience? The so-called "territorial question" in the trans-Caucasus was resolved once and for all with the direct participation of V. I. Lenin. Since that time fraternal peoples have lived a joint harmonious life on that territory for almost 65 years. The specific historical premises for the formation of NKAO help us to analyze today's events and to find the deep roots of, and to understanding the reasons for, the events in Nagornyy Karabakh, in order to make the correct conclusions from this.

The demands that are aimed at the reconsideration of the existing national-territorial arrangement contradict the interests of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, and the Leninist principles of relations among nationalities. The speaker issued the appeal not to forget for a single minute that the interests of every Soviet people are best observed when the interests of the country, of all the peoples, are observed everywhere and in all respects.

Considering the fact that the decree of the Presidium of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet with regard to the official request by the deputies from NKAO completely correspond to those interests, the speaker said in conclusion, I recommend that we confirm it.

Speech by Deputy N. V. Nikitin, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni M. I. Kalinin, Ismaillinskiy Rayon

By virtue of the historical circumstances, representatives of various nations and nationalities currently live on the territory of Ismailinskiy Rayon. We have Azerbaijani and Armenian villages, and Lezghinian and Russian villages, and certain small nationalities: Lagichi, Taty, and Gapyty. And this diversity of peoples has not alienated but, on the contrary, has enriched all of us, has united us and helped us to live. Therefore I have been profoundly shaken by the events that have occurred in Nagorny Karabakh and around it. I cannot understand the irresponsibility and political shortsightedness of those who have been making completely unfounded demands concerning the separation of Nagorny Karabakh from Azerbaijan SSR and its annexation to Armenian SSR. It seems to me that those actions should be evaluated as a blow to the friendship of the peoples of the trans-Caucasus, our entire country, and the foreign policy of the Soviet state, and a blow to the job of perestroika that has been begun. I would like to ask: are we really to believe that the successes in the socioeconomic development of our rural areas are not a concrete example of the implementation of Leninist national policy?

We have listened and read very carefully about the workers' meeting in Baku that was held on 13 June at V. I. Lenin Square. The workers of Ismailinskiy Rayon heartily support and approve the new line of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

The population of Armenian nationality in Ismailinskiy Rayon also takes exception to the mindless actions that are harmful for the peoples of our republics. Certain comrades from Nagorny Karabakh found their claims concerning the transfer of the autonomous oblast to Armenian SSR by citing the Leninist principle of the right of nations to self-determination, but the Armenian people already determined its choice when it formed its republic and became part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. By that act the Armenian people realized its right to national self-determination.

Therefore I completely support and approve the decree of the Presidium of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet concerning the impossibility of satisfying the official request made by the deputies to the Union of People's Deputies of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast concerning the transfer of the oblast from Azerbaijan SSR to Armenian SSR. I feel that the question that has been raised is unacceptable, inasmuch as its realization contradicts the interests of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples and does not correspond to the tasks of reinforcing the friendship of all the peoples of our country or the deepening of perestroika.

Speech by Deputy E. Ye. Grigoryan, editor of KOMMUNIST newspaper (in Armenian)

For more than four months the workers of our multinational republic have been living through alarming and restless days as a result of the events in Nagorny Karabakh and around it. This concern has been caused

by the fact that they have already led to human sacrifices and threaten the international solidarity and brotherhood of the peoples of our country. Not a single Soviet citizen can be indifferent to the attempts on the part of certain individuals to cause a rift in the friendship between our peoples, a friendship that was forged in the joint struggle for the triumph of bright ideals.

We representatives of all the nations and nationalities residing in the republic have nothing to divide among ourselves except our common concern for the reinforcement of the economic potential of our multinational Soviet state. And everything that today promotes the incitement of passions, that leads to the violation of Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, hinders the normalization of the situation both in NKAO itself and in the republic as a whole, and complicates the resolution of the important socioeconomic tasks that have been advanced by perestroika, the success of which will determine the fate of the entire country.

The duty of each one of us at this critical moment is to give a decisive rebuff to everyone who wants to consign to oblivion the glorious international traditions of the workers of Azerbaijan. The alarming situation that has been created in the republic requires the careful weighing of every step and the display of political maturity, vigilance, and farsightedness. That is why I support the recommendation to approve the decree of the Presidium of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet concerning the undesirability of changing the territorial status of NKAO. I support the decisive steps being undertaken by the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee to improve the situation in the republic, to discontinue the illegal activities of various instigators, to strengthen socialist legality and public order, to guarantee the protection of the legal interests of the citizens, and to bring to strict accountability those who have been destabilizing the situation.

The speaker appealed to the deputies and to all the workers of Nagorny Karabakh to display an understanding of the responsibility of the moment, to demonstrate solidarity and high organizational spirit in normalizing the situation, and to guarantee by their creative labor the fulfillment of the planned broad-scale program to accelerate the socioeconomic development of the oblast, which was stipulated by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers and which is currently being carried out by the AzCP Central Committee.

Speech by Deputy Kh. Z. Abbasova, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni V. I. Lenin, Agdamskiy Rayon

The events that have been going on for several months in Nagorny Karabakh are very alarming to the people of Agdamskiy Rayon. We were disturbed and surprised by the unexpected territorial claims put forth by neighbors with whom, for many years, we have lived in harmony

and shared our last piece of bread in a brotherly manner, and beside whom, shoulder to shoulder, we fought during the years of the Great Patriotic War for the liberation of our Motherland.

The arising of this question during the period of the revolutionary perestroika that is under way in our country can be evaluated as the latest in a series of attacks by hostile forces against our society. The land is not bestowed on anyone. The Azerbaijani people has very close ties to its land and wants to live and work on it. The steps that are being taken by the current leadership of the republic are helping to resolve the problems that have been accumulating for years and, I believe, the previous errors will not be repeated.

The breadth of our people's soul, the limitless respect shown to representatives of all nations and nationalities residing in our republic, has found its expression also in the special attention and concern for the socioeconomic development of Nagornyy Karabakh. The central farmstead on our kolkhoz—the village of Karven—is twice as large as Askeran. But it was precisely thanks to our concern that, several years ago, Askeran became a rayon center. And today it is especially painful that I must say that a number of administrators of party, soviet, and economic agencies of this rayon and of other rayons in NKAO, concealing themselves behind slogans concerning glasnost and democracy, are actually completely refuting them and sowing seeds of national enmity. Using as their reason a number of problems in the sphere of the oblast's socioeconomic development, they have caused the most serious moral damage to both peoples, and especially the young people.

We must not leave unpunished those who have been sowing hatred between the two fraternal peoples and who, promoting unjustified territorial claims, forcibly drag people to rallies and demonstrations. The Armenian people are not guilty of this. We are well aware that these actions are machinations by opponents of the current policy of perestroika.

Extremists working according to a special program that took many long years to prepare accumulated tremendous amounts of money and today are using that money to provide food products to the Armenians who are not working. But they are preventing the Azerbaijani population from working. The leadership of the party's rayon and the soviet organizations of Agdamskiy Rayon organized assistance for 31 Azerbaijani villages.

From this high rostrum I want, as a mother and as a woman, to appeal to the famous Armenian poetess Silva Kaputikyan. I want to tell her that a people's poet must strive for the happiness of his people, for its well-being.

As an Azerbaijani woman I cannot fail to be alarmed by the fate of my countrymen who are living in Armenia. They must be assured full security. That is a question that the Armenian CP Central Committee and the government of Armenia must think seriously about.

We heartily approve and welcome the decree of the Presidium of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet.

I assure the participants of this session and the AzCP Central Committee that we shall mobilize all our efforts in order to correct the republic's economic situation, which has been tangibly damaged by the events in NKAO, and in order to increase Azerbaijan's contribution to the process of perestroika.

Speech by Deputy N. A. Babayev, chairman of the presidium of the Azerbaijani Society of Friendship and Cultural Ties With Foreign Countries

A great people also has great patience. The Azerbaijani people has completely confirmed that truth. At the time when the machine tools were standing idle at plants and factories in Stepanakert and Yerevan, our brothers and sisters did not leave their work stations, but with the sweat of their brows continued to work, in order not to become indebted to the Motherland. But how could that be done if the workers of an inseparable part of Azerbaijan—Nagornyy Karabakh—refuse to work?

During these days of the greatest difficulty for us, we believed in justice. We believed that one cannot take away from a people its beloved land. That does not fit into the confines of a single law. Nationalistically-minded elements have encroached upon that which is most sacred—the great friendship of the fraternal peoples of our country, upon their unity. Their hands stretched out to choke perestroika in our country. But that is impossible. Perestroika is such a great revolutionary process that nothing will be able to restrain it.

For more than four months the Azerbaijani land has known no peace. During these alarming days we are worried about our fathers and mothers, our sons and daughters, our grandchildren. We do not want to see any bloodshed.

From day to day the process of democratization has been widening in our country. However, those who are transforming democracy into disorder, into anarchy, must answer to the people. Democracy does not mean lawlessness. Democracy has its laws. And they must be employed against those who are committing lawless acts.

A year and a half ago, the speaker went on to say, I received from fraternal hands in Yerevan the Ye. Charenets Prize. It is a bitter thing for me to realize now that those hands, which I always considered to be friendly ones, were raised at a session of ArSSR Supreme Soviet in favor of separating our beloved Karabakh from Azerbaijan. Are we really to believe that friendly hands can be raised against friendship?

We reject the decree of the session of the ArSSR Supreme Soviet and state that Karabakh has existed on ancient Azerbaijani land and will always remain here. Every foot of Karabakh soil is beloved and close to us.

Speech by Deputy I. A. Ibragimov, rector of the Azerbaijani Institute of Petroleum and Chemistry imeni M. A. Azizbekov

I have been a deputy to the republic's Supreme Soviet for 28 years. And this is the first time during that period that there has been a discussion of a change in the republic's administrative boundaries. During a time when perestroika is in progress in our country, we must, in the name of fulfilling the tasks assigned by the party, unite the efforts of all nations and nationalities. The proposal to reconsider the administrative-territorial division contradicts the interests of our socialist state. This proposal cannot be accepted.

We frequently acknowledge that a number of unresolved economic and cultural problems exist in Nagornyy Karabakh. But these problems also exist in other parts of the country, including our own republic.

During the 1970's alone, when I was the deputy from NKAO, the Agdam-Stepanakert railroad line was laid, the Stepanakert shoe factory and electrical-engineering plant were built, the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute was opened, a gas pipeline was carried into the oblast, and, in addition, a number of industrial, agricultural, and personal-services projects were activated.

The request made by our comrades in Nagornyy Karabakh should not be accepted either for political or economic grounds, or for reasons of reinforcing relations between nationalities. It has been felt up to now that the national question in our country was completely resolved, but the process of democratization that is under way in the country has indicated that a large number of unresolved problems still exist in this sphere. The situation has been complicated by the fact that certain representatives of the young people and the intellectuals have succumbed to emotions, and that has resulted in violations of law and order.

The statement made by Ye. K. Ligachev at the plenum of the AzCP Central Committee that was held on 21 May 1988, the specific steps taken by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, and M. S. Gorbachev's concern for the resolution of these problems call upon us to consolidate ourselves even more tightly around the party and to become its worthy assistants in resolving these problems. This will help us to extricate ourselves more rapidly from the current critical situation and will promote our republic's further development.

Raykom 1st Secretary Kotandzhyan on Corruption in Armenia

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[Article by Gayk Kotandzhyan, first secretary of the Razdanskiy party raykom, member of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, and candidate of philosophical sciences, under the rubric "Toward the 19th Party Conference": "Will the Turning Point Come?"]

[Text] Every morning there is a pack of current newspapers on my desk and, to the extent possible, I begin the working day by familiarizing myself with the news. I read, and honestly, I am envious: somewhere thousands of kilometers from the Ararat Valley the process of democratizing society is gaining momentum, heated debates are underway, and opinions are clashing. The country's movement along the path of renewal is not without moral losses and economic costs, but still this forward movement is gratifying. Here is simple human proof that restructuring is becoming irreversible: imagine that you woke up and were again back in some year in the 1970's and on the television the same aged leader was receiving another Gold Star. Isn't that dumbfounding? No thank you, we do not want to go back! We do not want and will not permit more universal lying, hypocrisy, and saccharine complacency in a country choking from crisis.

M. S. Gorbachev's recent speech to the heads of the mass information media, ideological institutions, and creative unions does not leave any hope of retreat either. The front line of restructuring is clearly delineated: "We must defeat conservatism on the road to restructuring. Conservatism is fed among some of the people not only by dogmatic thinking, accustomization to stereotypes, and fear of new things, but also by selfish interests." But what about here, in Armenia?

The atmosphere here, unfortunately, is far from what would make you optimistic. In both Yerevan and in Razdan, where I headed the rayon party organization for almost a year, one and the same question hangs in the air: when will this truly "protracted stagnation," the deep-reaching corruption, report-padding, formalism, and provincial self-satisfaction be ended? What forces will be able to break up the "workstyle" imposed more than 10 years ago, and when? That is what people are asking one another today, both communists and non-party members.

If we do not confuse cause and effect, which people often love to do, then there is, of course, an answer: it will happen when our republic finally hears the whole truth.

You sometimes feel as if you are living on a ship on a lone cruise. And the armor is strong, so strong. The crew lives by one simple condition: if you want to have it easy, don't stand out, don't try to tell the captain anything,

don't grab the wheel too strongly, and don't prophesy that the ship is heading straight for the rocks. Anyway, who are you? An ordinary sailor, well at best a warrant officer! So what if the squadron has long since changed course? Our watch is in place, and we know where we are going.

But enough metaphors and analogies. The situation in the republic party organization has aroused the concern of the party Central Committee for a long time. The criticism was especially sharp at the June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: "No effective struggle against bribery, speculation, and protectionism has been launched" in Armenia. It was expected that such serious charges would be analyzed in detail a month later, at the July Plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. Sadly, those who attended heard nothing more than moderate dosages of criticism and self-criticism and obvious reproaches addressed to the leaders of the republic. Then I sent a note to the presidium and asked for the floor.

Afterwards I heard almost every kind of thing! They said Kotandzhyan hurled unfounded charges at "people who are respected in the republic," that he supposedly tried to split the harmonious ranks, and even that the first secretary of the Razdanskiy raykom was "playing a game," "trying to kiss up to Moscow," and that he himself hoped to "climb the ladder." The things I talked about were widely known, but very unpleasant for the presidium of the plenum, the very things that in one way or another touched their own personal interests. But really, is it news to members of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party that some of the working people registered in state-organized jobs receive compensation for their labor (wages and "shadow supplements," promotions, awards, and so on) not primarily as an evaluation by the socialist state, but rather as added partial payment for service to recognized masters of the unofficial economy, often people holding the powers of state and party leaders? Is it news that we have report-padding, bribes, and protectionism at all levels of the party, state, and economic apparatuses?

"Facts! Give us facts!" they shouted from the audience. All right, let's look at a few facts.

On 17 April 1986 the procurator of Leninskiy Rayon in Yerevan filed criminal charges against the managers of the Yerevan Machine Tool Building Production Association. In order to "fulfill the plan" they allowed the reports for sales of output to be falsified by 3,991,000 rubles in 2 years. As the investigation revealed, this is how the "sales" were made: large sums were transferred from various organizations to a special administrative account of the Yerevan Machine Tool Plant on the basis of non-commodity dispatch notes and invoices without receiving any output for these sums. Association director A. Sarkisyan was relieved of his position and criminal charges were brought. Nonetheless, the criminal case was

dropped. Why, you ask? Very simple: it was part of the amnesty in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

V. Davtyan, director of the Razdan Food Combine, in conspiracy with A. Chobanyan, a shop chief, shipped 54 tons of water with two-percent alcohol content to Kazakhstan in place of alcohol steeped in tarragon. The loss to the state was 2,348,000 rubles.

And these examples could go on and on.

Judge for yourselves, how else but through blatant protectionism could one and the same person hold so many positions in just 3 years—first secretary of three party raykoms (Merginskiy, Bagramyanskiy, and Oktember-yanskiy) and finally secretary of the Central Committee?

Do I have to say that after my speech at the plenum the persecution began? From anonymous phone calls to my home with threats of revenge and attempts to scare me by thugs along the route I have to travel to work each day to the case where while I was sick the members of the bureau of the Razdanskiy party raykom, receiving a phone call from Yerevan, tried to "express mistrust of Kotandzhyan" and petition to have me recalled from my position. Finally, an unprecedented step was taken: an authoritative commission was formed to review the critical remarks made at the plenum—not everyone's remarks, only mine!

The quiet persecution continued, but I still had work to do. The situation I inherited from S. G. Danielyan, my predecessor in Razdanskiy Rayon, was pretty bad. When I took over the duties in August of last year I was simply astounded by the epidemic of thievery, corruption, and universal bribery that had engulfed the rayon. It was as if some unbelievable contest was under way to see who could steal the most money from others. We began digging into these "Aegean stables" and from the start I realized that it was no accident that S. G. Danielyan had been removed from his post for "lack of principle" and given a party reprimand. This was the least the republic party leadership could allow itself, remembering also that before his appointment to Razdan Danielyan, "a very sweet man" as many in Yerevan called him, had worked as assistant to the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party.

But meanwhile the procuracy had taken an interest in this "sweet man," and the investigation began. A few months passed, and then what? We learned that they had shown truly paternal concern for the former leader—from first secretary of the party raykom he was moved to deputy director of the Center for Scientific Organization of Labor and Management of the ArSSR Ministry of Light Industry!

But we should not be under any delusions: paternal concern is not shown for everyone among us in Armenia—it is very selective. In his day Danielyan was able

to get V. G. Avetisyan, chairman of the Charentsavan City Soviet, removed from his post, that is, he forced him to write a request to be relieved. As a result justice has not been restored in the Avetisyan case to this day. The question was not even resolved after a categorical demand by the CPSU Central Committee. R. M. Geborkyan, former secretary of the Razdanskiy party raykom, did not fare any better. With the help of highly-placed patrons in Yerevan Daniyelyan got him to retire too. For what reason? Gevorkyan, you see, "was so bold" as to remark to the first secretary about the raykom's poorly conceived personnel policy.

At the July Plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, soon after I was elected first secretary of the Razdanskiy party raykom, I spoke. Naturally, already in the break between sessions of the plenum there were people who gave me "friendly" advice: "That was a mistake! You won't beat down the wall with your head, and you're just a new, young secretary. You can be sure that they will remember this criticism. You've been given a tough rayon, and in a few months the inspections will begin. How are things going, they'll ask, under the new secretary? You won't get out of this one." I understood all of that very well myself, without any advice.

And indeed, from the organizational department of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party there came a memorandum entitled "Some Criticisms of the Work Style and Methods of the Razdanskiy Party Raykom Since July 1987." I will not enumerate all the things I do not agree with in it; the refutation would take two typed pages. In all likelihood the memorandum is a clear warning.

In December of last year at the regular Plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party I again took the floor and presented criticism. Following this 24 people proposed that I be removed from the Central Committee and some even wanted to expel me from the party. But at that December plenum one other communist, S. M. Khachatryan, chairman of the party control commission of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, also made a sharp and principled statement. And then, it appears, the leadership's patience came to an end. At first it was not a matter of Khachatryan, because the turmoil about Nagornyy Karabakh began and the Central Committee assigned him to go to Krasnoselskiy Rayon for work among the population. He came down sick there. And when he recovered he learned that on 21 April, in his absence and without his personal request, Khachatryan was relieved from his post "in connection with reaching pension age."

Sarkis Makarovich is 63 years old today. I want to talk about him specially. His "misfortune" is that during his long years of party work he simply did not learn how to tailor himself to the tastes of his leaders, to slavishly carry out their orders, and blindly respect their personal

interests. Khachatryan is a humble man who recognizes only one authority—the authority of reason and talent, and is guided by only one interest—the interest of our party cause, the cause of Lenin. His personality and his position forced him to refuse to bow to anyone and to assimilate the rule that the apex of truth does not always coincide with the apex of power.

Of the 24 people who attacked me without mincing words, at least 7 also spoke about Khachatryan. But here is what is strange. They spoke of Khachatryan with approval. They said that Sarkis Makarovich was right in many things. And we, they said, share his concern about the state of affairs in the republic. These bows toward Khachatryan are easy to explain. In recent years Sarkis Makarovich has concentrated an enormous amount of information in his files, and hardly anyone in the administrative apparatus of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party is better informed about shortcomings in party work.

Khachatryan said very important things. He observed that restructuring in the republic was being suffocated by artificially created and very cunning traps and that, despite this, democratic forces in Armenia were consolidating around the platform of the CPSU Central Committee. He described the report of the Buro of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party on management of restructuring as a half-truth. He disagreed with the part of the report that said that the Buro of the Central Committee had intensified its demands of cadres and that misdeeds by particular executives were receiving principled party evaluations. Only second-rank offenders are being exposed and held responsible in the republic, Khachatryan said, while the bigger criminals are evading punishment.

For example, in July of last year the party control commission learned that M. S. Ayrapetyan, first secretary of the Nairiyskiy party raykom, was abusing his official position and allowing protectionism in selection of personnel and admission to the ranks of the CPSU. Party controllers traveled to Nairi and determined that the reports were correct. In fact, at the initiative of Ayrapetyan the raykom had promoted to executive positions people who had compromised themselves in past work. For example, they nominated a certain Makagelov to be director of the bread combine; he had already been held to party accountability for illegally building himself a "residential palace," and for all kinds of other things. The commission justly proposed to the Buro of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party that Ayrapetyan be expelled from the CPSU. No, the buro members objected, that is too severe. Khachatryan made another suggestion, that Ayrapetyan be given a stern party reprimand with entry in his party record and be relieved of his position. This was rejected too. Finally, Ayrapetyan received a stern reprimand (without entry in his record) and was forced to retire.

Or here is a very recent case. When the party control commission together with the Razdanskiy party raykom tried to check on reports of major report-padding at the Razdanmash plant, no one supported us and the appropriate department of the Central Committee stood completely aside, in effect removing themselves even though they initially promised effective help. Incidentally, it was a serious matter; the report-padding at Razdanmash is several million rubles, about 500,00 of which is illegal wage payments.

But now the general director of the enterprise can relax. He has patrons, so he does not have to hide from the party controllers by shuffling documents, and he does not have to think up explanations to give. Khachatryan has been "taken out of the game."

Three years have passed since that historic April which marked the beginning of changes in the country. That is not long enough, of course, for Soviet society to have achieved a "new look in socialism." But it is enough for us to look back and ask ourselves, have we communists done everything we could to make restructuring irreversible?

Both communists and non-party members—simply honest people, true patriots of their native land—understand today that the fate of the revolution is in their hands. It is all a matter of the level of thinking. We probably should have expected it, and it has been the subject at numerous plenums of the party Central Committee: it is naive to think that the process of democratization and glasnost will develop evenly in all regions of the country. We were not naive, and we were not mistaken. But something else is also apparent today: the stronger and deeper the authoritarian-bureaucratic perversions are, the more slowly, tortuously I would say, restructuring goes. Armenia is an eloquent example of this.

What has happened here? Sharp criticism (let me repeat that it was given more than once) of the activity of the republic leadership did not bring about any fundamental changes. But still it seemed that our faith was not depleted: work hard, we thought, and prove in fact that you can handle the new challenges which the party has posed. However, there is still hardly any republic, kray, or oblast where one is so struck by how many "initiatives from below" die away in the cold, quiet, seemingly frightened corridors of the institutions. I would like to call the concealed, hypocritical resistance to restructuring "counter-restructuring." Among those who support it are those who desperately need to protect their rights and privileges, who are finding it harder and harder to preserve their former prestige and inviolability, their unquestioned influence. Their words, spoken or printed, are believed less and less, and their appeals do not receive the same enthusiastic response they did 10 years ago. They are the ones who cannot or do not want to understand that it is no longer possible to enlist people for even the best actions, even with good intentions, using the former methods, in the former spirit.

That is why, when watching Moscow television, listening to the radio, and reading the central newspapers, you often feel as if all this information has nothing to do with your own republic, and you are amazed at the size of the gap in the level of comprehension of current party policy. You watch, listen, read, and compare.

In Moscow on the eve of the party conference they are already saying openly that a new and very complex stage of restructuring is beginning. The communists of the country are preparing to talk about the fact that the novelty of the problems and the scale of new phenomena have put the party and our cadres in a qualitatively different situation. In Moscow they see and understand that without solidarity, consolidation of society, and joining the efforts of those who think alike it will be difficult to move ahead economically, politically, and morally. But in Yerevan the appeals for consolidation are sometimes perceived as a way to reconcile the democratically-minded community with those who are simply unable to give up the archaic methods of the command-administrative system. In Moscow, finally, they think that vigorous restructuring is not at all a retreat from socialist principles. Furthermore, the challenge is being posed of rethinking traditional ideas of socialism, raising them to the level of contemporary demands, and giving room for socialist pluralism of opinions, interests, and needs. That is how V. I. Lenin saw socialism, and that is the kind of model of socialism that will be discussed at the all-Union party conference. But in Yerevan it is too often true that any independent statement, any criticism that, in the opinion of the leadership, goes beyond "the limits of the permitted," is perceived as a hostile challenge, as the beginning of some kind of confused administrative games, games which are very dangerous and may ultimately lead to losing what is most valuable—namely, power over people.

These are different times, when society is struggling and defending democratic liberties precisely to save itself in the future from executed party congresses, from millions of broken, destroyed lives, from rampant corruption raised onto a pedestal with musical flourishes by the band. So that the first secretary of the party obkom will not be afraid to go into a store to buy bread, but will boldly walk up to the microphone before a crowd of thousands who have gathered spontaneously in front of the party building, and without a written text will tell the people the truth, unafraid to look them in the eyes. So that in the hour of disaster it will not be our own children first of all, but those of others, who are put on the plane and carried away from the invisible, intangible, soundless, but deadly danger. So that the party leader of any rank does not shut himself off from the people with impenetrable walls, does not set up a strict pass system outside his office which makes even a CPSU member, to say nothing of an ordinary visitor, wait for hours, wasting time and suffering humiliation, to receive his almighty permission for an audience. So that it is possible among the workers to talk as sincerely, and laugh and joke as heartily and infectiously, as Lenin and Kirov could. This is also restructuring, of the consciousness.

Yes, the central newspapers give you a lot to think about. A. Gelman's article "A Time for Gathering Forces" gripped me. To me it seemed a fighting manifesto of democratic, restructuring forces before the party conference. "It was precisely the command principle of activity that caused the massive over-simplification," he writes. "The sin of over-simplification is an old favorite of ours, and it is very hard to get over it. This is one of the reasons for the resistance to democratization. Many party workers are simply unable to handle the complex tasks; they do not have the qualities needed for this. And each person wants what he can have. And if he cannot have something, he says it is not necessary, that it is harmful and dangerous to the foundations of socialism." Let me add from my own experience that over-simplification goes hand in hand with incompetence and organizational ineffectiveness. This becomes especially clear in the extreme situation.

Three years after April we party workers still have a strange feeling; words about restructuring in the republic were spoken from somewhere up above and carried out over the sluggish, immobile silence of those who have lost hope for changes. It was even said that the inhabitants of Armenia did not need to restructure themselves, that we are, so to speak, born revolutionaries and supposedly began restructuring earlier than anyone else, way back in 1975. Sober, honest voices were drowned in the suffocating atmosphere that followed. But the atmosphere had to be discharged, and the storm broke.

The first rolls of thunder came from Nagornyy Karabakh. Blood was spilled in Sumgait. Thousands of Armenians went out into the streets of Yerevan. Which of them remembered then the words from the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Buro report, which came out less than 2 months before the Karabakh events: "More attention has begun to be devoted to questions of interethnic indoctrination of the working people. Overall the comprehensive plan of measures of the Central Committees of the communist parties of the three fraternal Transcaucasian republics for further development of inter-nationality ties is being successfully realized"? It hurts to talk about all this. Unfortunately, in this alarming situation the leadership of the republic fell once again into the "sin of over-simplification." As the first secretary of a party raykom, I had occasion to experience this personally.

In Razdanskiy Rayon we in fact have about 2,700 Azerbaijanis, agricultural workers and employees in the service sphere of the resort region. After the tragedy in Sumgait refugees flooded into Armenian territory. Needless to say, Razdan people accepted about 200 of their relatives and friends from Karabakh. And then I learned of the decision to settle roughly another 1,500 Armenians from Sumgait in our rayon, in the mountain resort hotels. I appealed, without success unfortunately, to the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party: is it wise to place people from Sumgait in our rayon? Wouldn't it be better to settle them in a more suitable place?

Again and again in my memory I recall last December, the session of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, the disapproving murmur in the hall during my talk and Khachtryan's, the faces of the people, the tense whispering in the presidium. It took a lot of hard thinking about the placement of personnel and then about nominations for non-voting and full members of the Central Committee in order for a majority of them to be turned into an obedient mechanism that smoothly condemned and approved, voted unanimously for any decision as quickly as the conductor waved his baton.

I remember and I try to understand the deep-seated causes of this profanation of restructuring using supposedly democratic methods, the growing aggressiveness of the opponents of restructuring from time to time. Just yesterday they were hoping that the road of changes would run into a blind alley by itself. When these hopes were disappointed they began talking about some kind of "specific Armenian situation," which in reality camouflages the problem of the absence of full-fledged democracy.

The situation has become more critical today. The masses are pitted against immoral silence and putting on a good face when the game goes badly. The people below are doing what the people above do not want to see—each day advocates of restructuring in the worker collectives and at meetings carry on their consistent work to expose and discredit the conservative position. So will the turning point come?

This question is largely rhetorical. Despite significant personnel changes, we are left with a very mixed party aktiv from the period of stagnation. This has to be taken into account. At the same time the CPSU Central Committee is placing great hopes on the party as the political vanguard of society and calling on us to think through its growing role even more deeply before the party conference. And these are not just words. Whereas the party worker before could simply "function," now he is expected to show definite actions, political boldness, and the responsibility to undertake to perform this growing role. That is the unexpected facet that restructuring has revealed—it compels us to make ideological, moral, and political choices every day, every hour, in order to lead people in the right direction! And the further we go along this path, the more people will have to make this choice in one way or another.

Let us remember: restructuring still is not completely well-defended. There is still a danger that conservatively-minded officials of all ranks by hook or by crook will turn some of the working people against the basic line set out by the 27th congress, attempting in this way to keep power in their hands. We cannot permit this.

Volga River Environmental Debate Sparks Reader, Official Responses

Introduction

18300322 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 May 88 p 4

[Related Articles: "Readers Continue Discussion of Publication 'The Groans of the Volga'"]

[Text] On 18 November 1987 a discussion of a SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent with F. Shipunov, chief of the laboratory of biosphere research, Lithosphere Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences, entitled "The Groans of the Volga," was published. It concerned the ecological consequences of management on the Volga, in particular the construction of a cascade of hydroelectric stations, reservoirs, canals, and irrigation systems. The editors received many letters, some of which were used in publications of 29 January of this year. Gidroyekt employees L. Bernshteyn and N. Sonichev took exception to F. Shipunov ("The Only Sin"). The problems of the Volga were discussed in the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA readers' club in Saratov ("Consultation at the River").

Today we continue our discussion of the Volga problems.

Hydro Projects Questioned

18300322 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 May 88 p 4

[Article by M. Vaysfeld, M. Glazov, and A. Tishkov, scientific associates, Institute of Geography, USSR Academy of Sciences, candidates of geographical sciences: "A 'Sin' or a Cascade of Sins"]

[Text] Employees L. Bernshteyn and N. Sonichev from Gidroyekt entered into a polemic with F. Shipunov ("The Only Sin," 29 Jan 88). This publication so troubled us that we could not let it go by in silence.

The authors write that the "only 'sin' on the entire Volga that hydraulic engineers committed against antiquity" was the partial flooding of Kalyazin Bell Tower. Forgive us for our frankness, but such a statement cannot be considered anything other than a joke. If one knows Russian antiquity, one can name hundreds of other, no less valuable memorials, with which the Volga region has forever parted. And how can one pass by in silence the flooding of a tremendous number of towns, villages and several ancient cities? Stavropol has been buried by the waters of the Kuybyshev Reservoir; from Kalyazin only the settlements on the outskirts remained on dry land, and at Myshkin the entire lower part of the settlement ended up under water. The ancient Russian city Mologa, with its churches and magnificent Afanasyev Monastery, was completely inundated by the waters of the Rybinsk Reservoir. And what about flooded Korcheva and Puchezh?

"Man-made seas" also drown millions of hectares of fruitful land. Where today are the famous Volga black earth regions? And the water meadows? The most productive fodder lands went to the bottom, and those that remained dried out due to a lack of high waters. Meanwhile, in the Mologa-Sheksna lowland, where now the waters of the Rybinsk "sea" splash, which have been contaminated by the Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine, one of the most highly productive water meadows in Russia was wiped out. These meadows constituted the state fodder reserve for the Red Army Cavalry.

Water meadows occupied approximately 36 million hectares in the republic as a whole in the 1920's. They provided more than two thirds of all the grain, and served as magnificent pastures. Today the area of water meadows is only a quarter of that total. Both the hydraulic construction and land reclamation personnel played their role in this. The meadows were dried out for subsequent tilling. Then this was done frequently to the water line, as a result of which the fertile upper layer of soil was intensively washed into the rivers.

During flooding of the reservoir bed, simultaneous damage solely from the fact that the country was deprived of productive agricultural lands reached at times a third of the entire value of the project! However, this, we emphasize, is simultaneous damage. After 50 years the sum will be multiplied many times over. You see, from the lands flooded today agricultural products could have been obtained every year. Who calculated its value?

The hydraulic engineers "did not bother with trivialities," although in creating the reservoirs it could have been entirely possible to preserve thousands of hectares of agricultural lands. We are speaking about shallow water lands, which do not play a tangible role in energy production, but on the other hand inflict tremendous damage on agriculture and fishing. After "wearing away the level," caviar in these vast territories is drying up. The adjacent lands are becoming partially submerged, which is sharply reducing their productivity. The flooding of the lands, and swamp formation and filtration are a problem that requires a special discussion. It also must be said that, through the fault of the hydraulic engineers, irreplaceable genetic forest resources have perished.

In the "pre-cascade" period the Volga gave the country a tremendous quantity of fish, including delicacies. Today, the yield of even such fish as bream, carp, perch, pike and aspik has declined. The successors of the authors of the "great projects" seemingly do not notice the trouble, and insist that there are good feeding conditions for fish at the reservoirs. But, what is the use of feeding, if there are no conditions for reproduction of the fish? In natural lake ecosystems, the area for fattening the fish, and that where fish spawn, are precisely balanced. Disruption of this balance in the Volga and Dnieper cascades is the reason for their low actual productivity.

In short, the cascade of sins of the hydroelectric personnel can be continued. The question is: Is it necessary to do so? It is the same as locking the barn door after the horses have left. The hydraulic construction personnel and their spiritual comrades in the "conquest of nature," the land reclamation workers, have introduced into state practice a method of implementing their projects that completely eliminates anyone else's point of view. This is done very simply; they begin to implement the project before it is approved. Their objective is to succeed in investing funds as rapidly as possible, so that later they can appeal to economic "savings," and say that construction is in progress, money has been spent, and it is necessary to continue. At the Gosplan experts' commission, which discussed the Rzhev Hydrosystem, the specialists who were called upon to express their views on the advisability of the project suddenly find out that millions of rubles of the people's money have already been spent on its implementation.

What is it that moves the "conquerors" of nature? Is it the desire to provide their homeland cheap power? Hardly. You see, such cheapness is a fiction, which the Gidroproyekt employees cannot help but understand. The real expenditures are not merely huge, but they multiply before one's eyes.

We shuddered when we read the concluding lines of the article by the Gidroproyekt employees: "So let us go forward, overcoming the inertia of nature and thinking. Ahead of us are the Katun, Turukhansa, Lena, cascades on the tributaries of the Sulak, on the Inguri, Pyandzh, Vitim, Kolyma, and many other GES, which will bring still more beauty to our land." Of course, the country requires new energy sources. But, it is also obvious that the projects must be developed taking into account the rational use of nature. Only if the need for building a GES has been fully justified, weighed and proven, and if the project does not encounter serious, reasoned objections from specialists in various branches—ecologists, geographers, economists, agricultural, forestry and fisheries workers, and others—only then may one dare to "conquer" nature. We pay too high a price for the monopoly that the hydraulic construction and land reclamation personnel have on the development and implementation of their projects.

Specialists on Dam Effects

18300322 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in
Russian 18 May 88 p 4

[Article by correspondent V. Drobotov: "Discussion With a Specialist—Economy or Ecology"]

[Text] The discussion with F. Shipunov concerned the many problems that require solutions in order to restore the natural ecological systems that have been destroyed on the Volga. But, one very important aspect of the matter was not touched upon. Many Volga area readers indicated this in their letters: use of the water resources

that exist today in this great river basin, and the proprietary and intelligent distribution of the river flow for electric power, navigation, agriculture, fishing, and especially to maintain the level of biological life in this unique region—the Volga-Akhtubinsk flood plain and delta.

I recall during a discussion of a project for turning around the flow of the northern rivers, V. N. Kunin, then director, Institute of Water Problems, and corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences (now deceased), who fervently and furiously opposed this reversal, was asked: "But where can water be gotten for the south, which is suffering from drought?" Vladimir Nikolayevich answered: "And are you considering how much water is wasted in the south by energy or land reclamation workers, and how much runs off due to spring releases that have not been thought through, the so-called regulated high water periods? Bureaucratic distribution of spring waters goes on every spring, and the Volga flows and does not suspect how they try to snatch up her waters. Strict and impartial economic calculation is required, and in no way should the 'punching power' of departments or local leaders determine how the Volga flow will be used."

Now is the perfect time to talk about this. The address of a co-discussant was even prompted by the mail received from our readers: the most senior researcher of the life of the great Russian river, Volgograd scientist, candidate of agricultural sciences, hydraulic engineer P. A. Sheppel. I have known Pavel Antonovich for a long time. We became acquainted for the first time about 20 years ago. He was then deputy director of an experimental scientific land reclamation station, and still earlier was a kolkhoz chairman in the floodlands, and then a hydraulic engineer. A scientist from the land, Pavel Antonovich dedicated virtually his whole life to the Volga, to studies of its natural or, as he says, "everyday" state. And for almost 30 years already he has studied the influence of manmade flood waters, and the distribution of the river flow, on the ecology of the river and the entire region.

"Pavel Antonovich, what is it like today, the high waters on the Volga?"

"The springs of my youth live in my memory, when there were neither cascades, nor even a single dam on the Volga. The spring waters brought joy. I know nothing more beautiful than the overflow taking place before one's eyes. Nature has its effect today as well, and when the gates on the hydrostation dam are raised it is though the killed river is resurrected, one feels some sort of joyful trembling in her, and in all nature. The Volga again becomes mighty, and then one understands why the people call her the mother river. But, one stands on the bank admiring the flood regenerated by nature, and in one's soul the pain is still more acute, for you see it is all deception. The Volga is not able to romp a bit and rejoice in her freedom, when the mechanisms controlled

by the hand of man close the gates on the dam, and the joy ends. The flow falls, the brief beauty fades, and the river becomes somehow weak.

"The Volga still carries a tremendous amount of water—an average of approximately 250 cubic kilometers per year, and in a low year 170-185 cubic kilometers. However, the reservoirs of the cascade greatly change the regime of the river. The winter run-offs, sharp fluctuations in level during the week and month, and brief peak run-offs during the period of regulated high water, all do damage to nature."

FROM THE REPORT

Scientific associates from the Caspian Expedition prepared a report on their studies of the regime of activity of the hydrosystem cascade:

"In many cases there is no direct power necessity for profound winter draw-downs of the reservoir. By greatly increasing the flow in winter, the hydro workers reduce the spring high-water periods. This causes erosion of the banks, and the land in the lowlands perishes. In spring many areas are not covered by water. Fish perish.

"It is entirely possible to limit the participation of the GES in winter solely to maintaining a balance of power system capacities."

P. A. Sheppel:

"The powerful Volga-Kama cascade is not being used efficiently. There are tremendous water reserves in its reservoirs, while the lower part of the river—the Volga-Akhtubinsk flood plain, delta and the Caspian region—are living on starvation rations. It is namely here that every year the full amounts of water necessary to maintain the biological balance in nature are not provided.

"The results are bitter. The harvest of grasses in the meadows—and there are approximately 500,000 hectares of them here—have declined 7-8 fold compared with conditions of the spring floods on the 'old' Volga. Catches of semi-migratory fish (according to data from the Caspian expedition) have declined 13-fold. The cascade has killed the oak woods in the flood plain. Oak groves, even young ones, are drying out. A term has already appeared in official studies, scientifically explaining the process that is taking place: 'The flood plains and deltas are becoming steppe-like;' i.e., the steppe, the desert, is encroaching."

The picture is a traumatic one. Are you not painting it too black, Pavel Antonovich? Can something be done?

"It is still not too late. I am convinced that a proprietary approach to the use of the cascade will make it possible to approximate the conditions in the lower reaches of the Volga to those that existed before regulation of the river and halt the process. How? It is necessary to seek a way out under the conditions that have taken shape: to make

intelligent use of the cascades for scientifically grounded distribution of the flow.

"In my opinion it is not the dams on the Volga hydrostation, the last stage of the cascade, that are destroying the environment in the lower Volga region, but the disruptive technology during its construction, and the one-sided use of the cascade to the benefit of electric power and harm of the ecology. There are few who know about this now. Before the start of construction of the Stalin-grad GES there was a single, comprehensive project, which provided measures to preserve the ecology in the lower Volga from fatal consequences. A special volume of materials in this regard was compiled on the agricultural use of the Volga-Akhtubinsk flood plain and delta after construction of the hydrostation. But, as soon as financing construction of the GES was begun, this volume was thrown away.

"Today the hydrostation builders do not like to remember this, but one must not remain silent. I know that the hearts of many electric power workers also ache. Last year, for example, they listened, and maintained the high water periods at almost normal levels. But so far only 'almost.'"

"It is good that their hearts ache. But, apparently, Pavel Antonovich, it is not a matter of condolences, is it?"

"Today the problem is to provide a constant normal run-off in the lower part of the Volga basin, but the release of spring waters to here is still being determined by bureaucratic interests. The Volga-Kama cascade has been in operation for almost 30 years, and for all these years the water resources, especially in spring, have been basically under the jurisdiction of the power officials. They take the bulk of the flow, and the rest, the crumbs let us say, are divided for agriculture and fishing.

"If the time periods of high waters are satisfied, as happened last year, the duration of maximum release is reduced. Under natural conditions the peak continued for 9-10 days; the power plant officials reduced this to 5 even in the best years. Having reduced the duration of the maximum spring release, they thereby reduce the times for flooding of the higher sectors of flood plain and delta, and it is they that are the most valuable meadow and fish spawning lands.

"It is also necessary to adjust intelligently the time for the beginning of artificial flooding. Usually this begins in the first 10 days in May. Under this schedule, first the lower sectors are flooded, and when the water reaches the meadows and spawning areas the flooding turns out to be late. Studies have shown that it is necessary to begin flooding the Volga-Akhtubinsk flood plain and Volga delta at the end of April, or no later than the first two days in May, and absolutely maintain the duration of peak release.

"In short, it is obviously acutely necessary to concentrate in the hands of single proprietors the destiny of nature in

the region, and, most importantly, to arm the specialists with knowledge of the origin of high waters under conditions of the cascade, and of the methods of ensuring their effective distribution. A directorate of reservoirs could become this proprietor. Such a directorate was created in Volgograd over five years ago, but as before a controller service from Moscow is in command of the flooding."

"Pavel Antonovich, what is the role of the water divider that was constructed several years ago on the lower Volga?"

"It has practically no role. They went through over 130,000,000 rubles, and the water situation became no better. They planned to redistribute the flow, increasing the water sent to that part of the delta and flood plain where the fish spawn and vegetables are grown. But it turned out otherwise. The optimal speed of the current was not attained. There was nothing to divide. This great hydrotechnical structure is being used only during the periods of high water.

"In addition to everything else, for the sturgeons this water divider is one more barrier on the way to the spawning ground. When it was being built, the sycophantic "specialists" placated everyone, saying it is nothing to worry about, we will turn the sturgeon... toward the Urals! But, for some reason the Volga sturgeon did not obey them.

"The Volga offers lessons to all: power plant officials, land reclamation personnel, leaders of various ranks—be careful infringing on its power. Now the land reclamation types, having developed the grandiose structures of the two new powerful canals—Volga-Don II and Volga-Chogray—are also placating themselves and us all, saying there is nothing to worry about, the flow of water in the Volga is great, there is enough both for these canals, and for the planned millions of hectares of irrigation. Is there enough? The lessons of such lulling are too alarming: Here stands the water divider, like an eyesore... it would not be a sin to bring forth for public, open discussion the projects for 'borrowing' the Volga waters that are being implemented. It is necessary to safeguard against a new mistake. It is necessary to make the choice from national, and not bureaucratic or local positions. Merely economic measures are no longer sufficient. Ecological-economic measures are needed. Is this not the intelligent way?"

Power Engineering, Ecology Relationships

*18300322 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in
Russian 18 May 88 p 4*

[Article by V. Cherkasskiy, professor, Ivanovo Power Institute imeni V. I. Lenin: "On the Outskirts or in the Middle of the Country"]

[Text] Mother Volga, having experienced over the course of a half century more than one "bold" plan of the energy workers, gave the country billions of kilowatt hours of energy. Cheap energy! That is what always touched the managers. But is it cheap?

Modern large and super-large hydroelectric stations are, essentially, incomplete works, which over time will require ever more and more resources to eliminate undesirable consequences. We will have to free the flooded meadows of swamps and viscous muds, protect arable lands, preserve architectural memorials on this territory, struggle against the aging and silting up of reservoirs, and against ice cover. The perimeter of the reservoir is expanding continuously, and no end to the struggle against this is anticipated.

Moreover, en route from the major stations energy is lost; losses reach 10 or more percent. The extended power transmission lines are also depriving us of arable lands, productive forests, water, fuel, and the metal that goes to their construction and operation.

But why such slavish bowing before the gigantic hydroelectric power plants and non-renewable energy sources, and total disdain for renewable sources? Direct solar radiation, wind, tides, and vegetation—all these sources are distributed along the earth's surface, in the same way as, essentially, is agriculture. For centuries the energy of the wind was used actively across the vast territory of Russia for grinding grain, and processing groats and vegetable oil products. Up to 1917 about 800,000 wind millstone mills and grinders were operating in Russia for hemp and flax seeds. The number of water-driven mills with hydraulic engines of various types and capacities was also great. Essentially, not a single unnavigable river lacked a consecutive cascade of hydraulic power plants. Russia would not have been able to exist as a developed agrarian country without developed, autonomous power, based on renewable sources; i.e., that which we today call ecological. In the years of the Great Patriotic War, due to a shortage of electric power a significant number of hydroelectric plants on small rivers were also built.

Unfortunately, we were unable to save all of this.

What is the reason for this? The existing assessment of the effectiveness of electric power plants disorients us. They say that the cost of a kilowatt hour is less at the large GES. But, in the flat lands of the GES millions of hectares of the most arable land are flooded. The cost is immeasurably high. Obviously, today it is possible to orient ourselves only using one index—relative energy output from a unit of area. You see, it determines the preservation of the most important wealth—arable land.

By the way, approximately 20 percent of all the electric power produced in the USSR comes from the large capacity river GES. The hydroelectric workers use the large rivers in cascades. And the small rivers, where hydroelectric stations up to 5,000 kilowatts in capacity could stand, representing overall throughout the country a substantial power resource, have been forgotten as energy sources. Although they are a resource both in irrigated agriculture, and fish breeding, and are a factor in regulating the climate.

Today construction of reservoirs on the small rivers in the European part of the USSR is going on, but only for the purpose of irrigation. And it is necessary to use them comprehensively. Mismanagement can easily be seen. Some 468 reservoirs have been built in the country, each 200,000,000 cubic meters in size, and only 198 of them have GES. And 90 percent of the reservoirs with individual capacities of one million cubic meters are not being used for power purposes.

Given the modern state of machine building, the use of the power of small rivers with the aid of automated hydraulic turbogenerator units presents no difficulties. In Ivanovo Oblast there are 130 small rivers extending approximately 3,600 km. Use of this power resource will have a tremendous effect.

Today our institute is developing a program for shifting the economic entities of Ivanovo Oblast to ecological types of power. Comprehensive hydro-wind plants are advisable. Small GES with a capacity of 100 kilowatts can provide energy for 500 modern residences, even with air conditioning. It happens that all the central farmsteads of the kolkozoes and sovkhoses, and many rayon centers and settlements, villages and towns can shift to the use of this type of power.

In recent years, in connection with the introduction into the country's energy balance of powerful thermal and nuclear electric power plants, it is natural to pose the question of reducing reliance on certain GES of the Volga cascade. Thus, most valuable agricultural lands, flooded during the erecting of dams, can be returned to agriculture.

I am confident that the future of power engineering must belong to its ecological branch. One other thing is also clear. Energy problems have expanded beyond the framework of the interests of only one department, the Ministry of Power. These are complex problems of environmental protection, which must be solved by the population as a whole.

Deputy Minister on Fishing Aspects

18300322 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 May 88 p 4

[Article by N. Kudryavtsev, first deputy minister of the fish industry, USSR: "Attain or Restore"]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry reports the following. Hydro-construction on the Volga, redistribution of river flows throughout the year, fluctuations in the water level in the lower reaches of the Volgograd hydrosystem, limitation of the volume of spring run-offs, diversion of a large quantity of fresh water for irrigation and other needs, and its contamination, have led to a sharp worsening in the reproductive conditions of valuable types of fish in the Volga-Caspian Basin, and a decline in their supplies. Catches of bream, perch, carp, vobla, sturgeon and other valuable fish have declined from 180,000 tons in the 1950's to 60,000 tons at present. Spawning areas for sturgeon on

the Volga have declined from 3,600 to 450 hectares, and spawning areas for white salmon and migratory herring have been completely eliminated.

USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry has implemented a number of measures to preserve the fish supplies of this unique area under the existing extremely unfavorable conditions. Seven sturgeon fisheries and three spawning and growing farms have been built in Astrakhan Oblast, which are producing more than 2.8 billion fry, including 19 million white salmon and 67 million sturgeon. To improve the conditions for the natural reproduction of valuable commercial fish, every year work is carried out in the impounds of Astrakhan Oblast in land reclamation for fish breeding, and natural spawning areas for sturgeon and white salmon have been drained.

A large hydrotechnical structure, a water divider, has been built in the lower reaches of the Volga, which makes it possible even in years of low and average water to flood adequately the natural spawning areas for valuable types of fish in the eastern part of the Volga delta. Fishing practices are undergoing restructuring; the industry has shifted from the sea to the rivers, and limits on the catch of sturgeon, vobla, migratory herring and other valuable fish have been introduced.

However, practice shows that measures taken solely by USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry are insufficient to preserve and restore the fish supplies of the Caspian Basin. Further growth of irreversible water consumption for irrigating agriculture, and retention of the present system of developing and filling the reservoirs in the interests mainly of power engineering, the reduction of spawning releases of water, increasing contamination and other negative factors may in the immediate future lead to loss of the Caspian Basin as a unique fishing impound. USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry shares the alarm expressed by Comrade F. Ya. Shipunov on the fate of the Volga-Caspian basin, and supports the author's proposal on the need for economical use of the Volga River water resources, prevention of pollution of Volga water, and establishment of a system of operation of the Volga cascade reservoir that would make it possible to maintain an optimal ecological environment, and favorable conditions for the reproduction of the fish supplies of this region.

Minvodkhoz Role Assailed

18300322 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 May 88 p 4

[Article by V. Rybin, manager, Department of Ancient Russian Art, Kirillo-Belozersk Museum: "Do Not Slacken Efforts"]

[Text] I share fully the position of the article "Groans of the Volga." It is only too bad that so far there are too few people like Shipunov. The editors did a great thing in

giving him an opportunity to be heard. Let us hope that in the future as well SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA will defend Russian soil with the same consistency that the departments are destroying it. The resolution that abolished the transfer of the northern rivers will disappear into the sand if the anti-ecological policy of Minvodkhov is not dismissed. Why, in defiance of the "Fundamental Direction" of the 12th Five-Year Plan, is a second Volga-Don canal being dug? Why—up to the present time!—does Minvodkhov remain a super-state department? Why, as if laughing at the publications of the central press, do people with anti-ecological thinking remain in scientific and economic power?

In the spring of last year, in defense of the Nikolsk Swamp (in the environs of Nikolo-Torzhok Village), a letter was sent to the editors of the central newspapers and journals. There was no reaction at all. Is it worthwhile to defend merely one swamp? But, if today we let one strip of land go, and tomorrow another, what will remain?

Concern about preserving the natural appearance even of our Kirillovskiy Rayon is important not only from an ecological and economic standpoint, but also from a cultural and historical. We are speaking about an environment of habitation of such unique assemblages as the Kirillo-Belozersk and the Ferapontov Monastery. We should not pose the question of more and more transformations of nature in our area, but that of the creation of a national park.

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Minvodkhov Scored For Dnepr Estuary Dam Project

18300323a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 19 May 88 p 6

[Article by A. Palm: "A Delay to the Dnepr"]

[Text] Where the waters of the Dnepr-Bug Estuary meet the Black Sea, for several years already so-called preparatory work has been going on. As a matter of fact, the leaders of the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources are preparing a bridgehead for the decisive destruction of the estuary, and at the same time also restriction of the Black Sea. They plan to build a gigantic dam near Ochakov, seventh by count in the Slavuta chain, needless to say, for the benefit of the residents of the southern Ukraine. Bureaucracies always cover their activity with splendid phrases and slogans.

And now the main point. The work on the construction site is going on in circumvention of the law, according to a plan that has not been approved. The calculation of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources is a traditional one—to bury as many rubles as possible in the ground, and you look around and there seems to be nowhere else to go.

What are the arguments of the land reclaimers? In the Ukraine reserves of drinking water are insignificant. Their supply per capita is only one-fifth that of the average for the European part of the USSR. In fact, thousands of villages and settlements in the republic still do not have a water supply. In Nikolayev, Odessa and Kherson oblasts schedules have been established for delivery of water to the population. Nevertheless, people take for their needs barely a tenth of the total water consumption. The rest goes to industry and agriculture.

In order to irrigate approximately an additional million and a half hectares of land in the south, it is necessary to increase the expenditure of water by 6-7 cubic kilometers! From where is it to be taken? If from the Kakhov Sea reservoir, the already scanty sanitary runoff into the Dnepr-Bug Estuary will become still less. In turn, this will intensify the arrival of salt water in the estuary. Already today the waters of the Black Sea reach the Kherson area, making the soil salty. Deserts have advanced to these shores.

What are the arguments of the enemies of the dam? There are many. The main one is that this latest interference with nature will intensify the already unfavorable ecological situation at the mouth of the Dnepr. Numerous letters from workers sent during these years to the editors of local and republic newspapers, and to the republic Central Committee and Council of Ministers, demand a stop to construction.

Scientists believe that reserves of drinking water do exist in the Ukraine. They are primarily underground waters. It is also necessary to redesign the Dnepr Reservoir, bring old irrigation systems to order, and place in man's service the more than 2,000 large and small rivers, which are in critical condition. And, finally, it is necessary to shift decisively to resource conserving technology in industry. There are also other variants.

Under the pressure of public opinion the dam project was finally thoroughly discussed at a special session of the USSR Academy of Sciences. What was its conclusion?

The following is from the resolution of the bureau of the USSR Academy of Sciences scientific soviet on problems of the biosphere:

It is recognized that building the dam in the Dnepr-Bug Estuary is economically unjustified and ecologically dangerous;

The Kremenchug and Kakhov reservoirs on the Dnepr should shift to a system of multi-year regulation of the water flow;

The report of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, "On the Inadvisability of Damming the Dnepr-Bug Estuary" should be presented to Yu. D. Maslyukov, chairman,

USSR Gosplan, as an official document for examination by the USSR Gosplan State Commission of Experts;

F. T. Morgun, chairman, USSR State Committee on the Environment, should be asked to examine the report of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences on the essence of the questions raised therein, as well as to implement a state ecological examination of the dam construction projects, as a structure capable of having serious influence on the state of the environment in the Ukrainian SSR.

I just phoned Ochakov, where I was told: the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources is continuing to dig.

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Officials Comment on Volga-Chogray Canal Project

18300323b Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 May 88 p 3

[Article by B. Shtepa, USSR Deputy minister for land reclamation and water resources, and N. Kotlyar, USSR minister of the fish industry: "Two Billion for Wind?"]

[Text] A letter by a group of scientists under this headline was published in the newspaper on 29 March of this year. It placed in doubt the advisability of building the Volga-Chogray Canal. Today the PRAVDA publication is answered by:

B. Shtepa, USSR deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources:

"The problem of supplying Volga water with the aid of the Volga-Chogray Canal arose at the initiative of Stavropol Kray party and soviet organs, and was supported by the obkom and the Kalmyk ASSR Council of Ministers. Distinguishing features of these areas are extremely dry climate, a lack of good quality water resources, progressive desertification of the lands, and an unfavorable sanitary-epidemiological situation. Droughts, which are repeated every third year, slow the development of productive forces on the territory, where 330,000 head of cattle and more than four million sheep are concentrated.

"Materials in Justification of Construction of the Volga-Chogray Canal' were examined by a USSR Gosplan commission of experts, with participation of highly qualified specialists of all interested orientations.

"The Volga-Chogray Canal project has been examined and coordinated by the Astrakhan Oblast Ispolkom, Kalmyk ASSR Council of Ministers, Stavropol Kray Ispolkom, RSFSR Council of Ministers, USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry, and other interested organizations, and has been approved in the established way. The cost of building the canal has been determined to be 687,520,000 rubles. The canal is intended to irrigate 135,000 hectares of land in Stavropol Kray, and 75,000

hectares in the Kalmyk ASSR, as well as for water supply of rural populated areas. Additional products—grain, vegetables, fodder, meat, milk and wool—valued at 320 million rubles annually will be obtained from the planned irrigation measures, and the total additional net income of the farms will be 180,100,000 rubles.

"The project provides measures to protect fish supplies. During the period the young fry are moving down river, the water intake from the Volga ceases; for this purpose regulating reservoirs are being created on the canal route. The water intake is equipped with devices for fish protection. Construction of fish processing plants is anticipated. Measures are being considered to protect the Saiga antelope; crossings over the canal are anticipated in areas of their migration.

"In November 1987, the section on earth sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium created a commission for ecological and economic examination of the Volga-Chogray Canal, under the chairmanship of academician A. L. Yanshin. The results of the commission's work were examined in the USSR Academy of Sciences, and VASKhNIL. In the decision concerning the representation made by academician A. L. Yanshin, approved by comrades F. I. Marchuk and A. A. Nikonov, academy presidents, it was noted that construction of the Volga-Chogray Canal was stipulated by the ecological, economic and social situations existing in the eastern areas of Stavropol Kray and the Kalmyk ASSR, and a listing of questions was defined that needed to be further and more thoroughly worked out."

The editors also received a letter from a group of Stavropol Kray workers. N. Tereshchenko, CPSU Central Committee member, RSFSR Supreme Soviet Deputy, twice Hero of Socialist Labor, and chairman of the Path to Communism Kolkhoz; five heroes of socialist labor—V. Moroz, director, All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Sheep Breeding and Goat Breeding, doctor of agricultural sciences; V. Fisenko, senior shepherd, Path to Communism Kolkhoz; N. Mochalov, chief agronomist, Komsomolets Kolkhoz; D. Nesluzhenko, chief, mechanized complex, Stavropolvodstroy Association; and, N. Tolstoy, first secretary, Petrovskiy Raykom, CPSU—V. Nekrasov, veteran of land reclamation construction; V. Makarov, team leader, Path to Communism Kolkhoz; M. S. Aliyev, senior shepherd, Urozhaynenskiy Sovkhoz; Yu. Nikitin, director, Kaya-sulinskoye Experimental Farm; G. Donskoy, general director, Stavmelioratsiya scientific-production association, candidate of technical sciences; and, I. Koshel, first secretary, Apanasenkovskiy Raykom, CPSU, substantiate the need for construction of the Volga-Chogray Canal. In particular they write: "The Stavropol experience indicates that where canals are built that use the latest technology, and the run-off is conducted competently, not only is a significant economic result obtained, but restoration of the ecological wellbeing of the territory is facilitated."

N. Kotlyar, minister of the fish industry, USSR:

"USSR Minrybkhos has repeatedly confronted situations when, against scientific opinion, a number of departments display vividly expressed extensive technology for the use of water resources, and unjustified prioritization for their use by some branches, while ignoring the interests of others. The interests of the fishing industry are infringed upon most of all. This explains the tremendous irreparable harm done to the fish resources of many basins. The catch of valuable types of fish (sturgeon, herring, and small netted fish), which was approximately a million tons in 1948, has declined to one fifth that total. The Aral Sea, which provided 40,000 tons of valuable fish, has completely lost its commercial fishing importance. Catches of valuable fish in the Azov have fallen 25-fold. According to data of Azov Scientific Research Institute of Fisheries, in the last five years the average annual concentration of pesticides in the Azov increased more than five times over. Concentrations of toxic chemicals in Kuban estuaries in 1985-1986 reached hundreds of PDK [maximum permissible concentrations].

"In the Caspian Basin the average annual catches of the most valuable food fish—perch, sazan, bream, vobla, and herring—have declined more than six-fold. Violation of the requirements of the fish industry for the water system on the Volga River alone leads to an annual damage assessed at approximately five hundred million rubles.

"Despite the critical situation that has been created with respect to the Caspian fishing industry, today again work is in full swing on large scale projects for new withdrawal of the Volga River flow.

"On instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers of 13 May 1987, Ministry of Fish Industry sent to USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources a 'Listing of Fishing Amelioration Measures Proposed to Compensate for Damage to Fish Supplies of the Caspian Sea in Connection with Construction of the Volga-Chogray Canal,' with a request for coordinating the project documentation for construction of the canal in the established way with the Central Directorate for Fish Industry Examination and Norms (TsUREN). However, USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources did not do this.

"Scientific and design studies that have been conducted have shown that the fish protection measures provided for by the Volga-Chogray Canal project (equipping the water intake with a fish protecting device, and halting the water intake during the period of spawning and the spawning run of young food fish for three months) will not be able to prevent completely a sharp worsening in the reproduction of valuable food fish, and especially the unique school of sturgeon (which comprise approximately 90 percent of the world supply).

"The indicated solution to this problem (halting the water intake for three months) is theoretically correct; however, in a real situation its fulfillment is extremely problematic, since it cannot be buttressed by real guarantees.

"Meanwhile, the Volga-Chogray Canal project has not examined the problem of discharge of collecting and drainage waters. In the future it is anticipated that through an additional project polluted collection and drainage waters will be discharged from the territory of the Kalmyk ASSR and Stavropol Kray into the northern Caspian. The discharge of a huge amount of drainage water inevitably will lead to catastrophic consequences for the entire Caspian fishing industry.

"Recently the ecological situation in the lower Volga Basin has become sharply exacerbated as a result of the placing in operation of the Astrakhan Gas Condensation Complex. It will become still more intense after the planned large scale involvement in economic exchange of other Caspian region hydrocarbon raw material resources. To this must be added the growing pollution of the waters of the Volga and Ural and the entire northern Caspian with toxic chemicals, technogenous metals, petroleum products, etc. Any measures for discharge of water from the Volga, or for economic construction on it, lead to fatal consequences, both for the river and the Caspian."

I. Barishpol, acting chairman, Central Soviet Presidium, All-Russian Society for Environmental Protection:

"The information that we possess indicates possible catastrophic consequences of construction of the Volga-Chogray and Volga-Don canals to the environment in the southern European part of Russia. Thus, questions of land reclamation and agricultural production, and the narrow bureaucratic approach taken by USSR Minvodkhos and North Caucasus State Institute for Planning Water Management and Land Reclamation Construction toward implementation of the inadequately studied Volga-Chogray Canal project, was examined at a joint session of the Stavropol Department, USSR Geography Society, and the Scientific and Technical Society, Stavropol Kray Soviet, All-Russian Society for Environmental Protection. In discussion of the project, the authors were given well-reasoned arguments that along the canal, running along an earth bed through salt-bearing soils, waters salinized along the way will be discharged into the Chogray Reservoir, which will become unsuitable for irrigation.

"From letters arriving at the Central Soviet, the conclusion follows that construction of the Volga-Chogray Canal will bring nothing but harm to the economy. The project was not widely discussed in the press. Advocates of the project believe that it is sufficient for public opinion to name thousands of hectares of land that, in their opinion, will be irrigated after construction of the canal, as well as impressive amounts of work.

"We are sure that it is necessary and not yet too late to bring forth for broad discussion the Volga-Chogray and Volga-Don canal construction projects, which were developed as part of the project for transferring the northern and Siberian rivers long before the CPSU Central Committee resolution, 'On Cessation of Efforts to Transfer Part of the Flow of Northern and Siberian rivers'"

Thus, the opinions are poles apart. And this, in the editors' view, is sufficiently convincing evidence that the question of the advisability of building the Volga-Chogray Canal cannot be considered decided. New and impartial examination is needed, without the participation of the party clearly interested in production of the projects, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, of the arguments pro and con, checking their justification, as well as studying alternative variants for overcoming the existing impoverished situation in the region.

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Krasnoyarsk Kray Pollution Story Evokes Defensive Responses

*18300323c Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 18, 2-8
May 88 p 12*

[Article by V. Markov: "'Mirror of Misfortune' in the Mirror of Responses"]

[Text] 5 May—Day of the Press—is for journalists not only a holiday, when we can recall once again the increased readers' interests of late in the newspapers and journals. On this day we look more closely: How are our words working? What have they helped change for the better? Where are they slipping and why?

"Mirror of Misfortune." That was the name of the reports by special TASS correspondents L. Chuyko and V. Medvedev, published in the 6th and 7th issues of NEDELYA. Their reports concerned the grave ecological situation in Krasnoyarsk Kray.

The reporting brought forth many responses. They were sent by residents of the kray, its leaders, readers who had visited in the Krasnoyarsk region, and even those who had not visited there, but who saw in "Mirror of Misfortune" a reflection of the misfortunes of their own cities and villages. EIGHT MINISTRIES INVOLVED IN THE SITUATION SENT OFFICIAL RESPONSES. And we begin our survey with a letter that at first came to us unexpectedly.

It was a protest from those for whom the authors were fighting, for whose fate they were concerned, residents of the city Achinsk, members of the horticultural society, "Anniversary No 1." Here is that letter, somewhat abbreviated:

"Our Achinsk was beautiful and became still more beautiful, green, and modern... Everything we have, our

streets, houses, trees and grass, looks no worse than the other cities of the RSFSR. Our city was even judged first in the republic in public services and amenities and planting of trees and shrubs. And comrades Chuyko and Medvedev presented our Achinsk as a second Pompei. Perhaps, our sick rate even increased, but not through the fault of the aluminum oxide combine, but as a result of worldwide disruption of ecological processes. For example, disruption of the nitrogen (apparently ozone?—V. M.) layer of the earth, and the cutting down of forests.

"'Having barely entered the city,' you write, 'we saw it with our own eyes.' What do you mean, you immediately saw the ill stomachs and kidneys, clumps of cinders on the streets, the grass and the roof tops? You were totally unobjective. The fact that 'some old woman' had not washed her parsley and was selling it does not mean that the horticultural society 'Anniversary No 1' is buried in dust. Our society is one of the best in the city and kray. In 1987 it was awarded diplomas. It was named 'Anniversary' in honor of the 100th Anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, and we strive to justify this through our work, and bring up our children and grandchildren in the same spirit. Achinsk residents consider it an honor to acquire a section in our society.

"The train of smoke discharges from the pipes of our combine always rise toward the Chulym River, and the society is directly perpendicular to this. We often eat berries and fruits even without washing them, and for root-crops it is all the more so that there is no danger. You write that we stretch a coating over our apple trees. This is not a coating and they are not apple trees, but june berries with gauze stretched over them (so that birds do not eat them).

"We expect only truth, tact and objectivity from correspondents, so that individual correspondents do not undermine the authority of our Soviet press as a whole. We do not need sensational articles; this is only harmful to society."

The letter was signed by more than 90 people.

There was, you will agree, something to be confused about here. Of course, it was not a matter of the fact that vegetables and fruits always have to be washed; even children are taught this. And it was not a matter of journalists being able to distinguish between a polyethylene coating and gauze (this was even apparent in the photographs).

It was a matter, I believe, of the fact that for many years people were broken of the habit of truth. It was concealed from them so insistently and successfully that now, when the truth has begun to seek the way to people, they stubbornly do not want to have anything to do with it, although they even demand it verbally. You see, it is much more customary, simpler and patriotic to ascribe all problems to the perfidiousness of the worsening

ozone layer, than to reproach one's own combine. But, it is not only the imperialist enterprises that are destroying that layer. And it is not only in Brazil that the forests are being cut. In Krasnoyarsk Kray, under the noses of the Achinsk residents, the wood cutters are also striving.

This is a pity. It is a pity because until we all learn to look truth in the eye it will be difficult to change our affairs for the better. Both large and small ones.

And as for Achinsk, the truth is such. According to data of the regional hydrometallurgical service, annually 265,600 tons of harmful substances are discharged into the atmosphere of the city. Seventy-eight percent of them (209,000 tons) represent the "contribution" of the aluminum oxide combine. The air pollution index in Achinsk is 2.5 times higher than the nationwide average, and on some days the maximum permissible concentrations (PDK) of components harmful to health are exceeded nine or ten times over! What does this have to do here with the ozone "hole" over the Antarctic? What does the "worldwide disruption of ecological processes" have to do with it, if after an inspection conducted last year by the union Ministry of Health, Ministry of the Coal Industry, Minvudkhos Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and a number of other departments, it was noted officially that "as a result of the lag in implementation of air and water protection measures... the ecological situation in the kray, and especially in the cities of Krasnoyarsk, Norilsk, and Achinsk remains intense?"

However, it is still hard for truth to find its way not only to the hearts of the Achinsk gardeners. It is also difficult for the truth in the ministry offices, hidden behind devilish figures and percentages. Let us re-read the official answers obtained by the editors. Frankly speaking, they are eight detailed listings of measures already implemented or planned. The listings are impressive, although to understand them, and separate out the actual from the desired, is not so simple. In this effort A. Khmelkov, chief of the department of environmental protection and rational use of natural resources of the Krasnoyarsk Kray Plan, assisted the editors. By the way, he stated that after publication of "Mirror of Misfortune" many enterprises and local soviets at all levels became noticeably more serious in their environmental protection initiatives.

However, let us seek the truth. Here is the answer provided by B. Zlokazov, member of the Collegium, USSR Ministry of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy, and chief of Soyuzaluminii (to whom is subordinate the Achinsk Aluminum Oxide Combine (AGK) among others). It was reported to us that in the last two years discharges of pollutants at the AGK have been reduced 18 percent. Hold your applause, for these percentages are not even drops, but droplets. Discharges even today exceed the "norm" (if this word is right to use in such cases) several times over! We add, apropos of this, that all the ministries juggle the percentages of "reduction of discharges."

One of them by 15 percent, one by 20, or even more. And, for some reason, no one writes that in reality it would be necessary to reduce it many fold. Are these the "small deceits" of large bureaucracies?

From Comrade Zlokazov's answer we learned about a truly vast program for modernization of dust and gas cleaning at the Krasnoyarsk Aluminum Factory. But, you see, specialists know well that, given the technology that exists here, it is virtually impossible to provide normal discharges. It is necessary to change namely the technology, and to transfer the enterprise to that which is used, for example, at the Sayansk Aluminum Factory. It is, of course, more expensive, but is there any higher price than people's health and cleanliness of the environment?!

V. Smirnov, deputy minister of the chemical industry, stated in his answer, in particular, that the first phase in cleaning the industrial discharges of hydrogen sulfide and carbon disulfide at the Khimvolokno Production Association in Krasnoyarsk were being implemented. Our commentator added to this that, according to a decision made back in 1976, by 1985 all phases of these instructions were to be in operation. So should we rejoice at the rates being achieved by Minkhimprom? For the sake of fairness, let us single out in the minister's answer the fact that by 1992 (Oh these tempos!) production of viscous cord thread will be replaced by the ecologically cleaner production of caprone cord thread.

We learned from Yu. Sivakov, deputy minister, USSR Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, that the Krasnoyarsk Synthetic Rubber Factory had reduced its discharge of contaminated waste water by 23.4 percent (by 1.1 million cubic meters), and in 1989 will halt it entirely. The operation of the cleaning structures at the Krasnoyarsk tire factory is also improving. Figures are cited about the reduction of harmful discharges into the atmosphere. By the way, it is not stated that many of the previously mentioned matters did not get into the 1989 plans, and will be included only in the next five year plan.

The list of measures to reduce dust discharges at Krasnoyarsk power stations that A. Dyakov, USSR deputy minister of power and electrification, familiarized us with, appears to be very sound. But, its soundness was somewhat tarnished when it was reported to us from Krasnoyarsk that one of the results of the modernization carried out at the stations was an increase in discharges of 12,800 tons per year.

Yu. Guskov, deputy minister of the forest industry, writes that "a schedule of measures has been approved for the complete cessation of the discharge of unpurified waste water into the reservoirs of the Arctic Basin before 1995. Inspections have established that the construction of new and expansion of existing cleaning structures at

enterprises in the kray are by and large being accomplished in the planned time periods." And he immediately adds: "However, in a number of enterprises, due to limited funds for contract work and a lack of certain types of equipment, the time periods... are not being met, and require adjustment." In order to understand this contradiction, let us listen to Krasnoyarsk: "The schedule for complete elimination of discharge of unpurified waste water by enterprises of the ministry is continuously violated. Purification structures are not being built in Igarka. Capacities are being introduced extremely slowly at the Lesosibirsk Wood Processing Combine. Near term plans do not include a number of objects (for example, purification structures at the Artemovsk Lumber Industry Plant) that should have been built by 1988 according to one of the government decrees. Government decisions concerning the Krasnoyarsk cellulose-paper combine are not being fulfilled."

Finally, we have the answer from the Gazoochistka Scientific Production Association, USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building. I. Shemyakin, its general director, having enumerated the enterprises where electrofilters and other equipment developed by Gazoochistka are operating, noted that "the dust content of the clean gases, under normal levels of operation, should correspond to sanitary norms." They should—precisely! Why do they not correspond? The fact is that, as specialists believe (not at Gazoochistka itself, understandably), the existing electrofilters are simply unable to provide the planned effectiveness in catching harmful substances. We are left to set our hopes on the fact that by 1990, as Comrade Shemyakin assures us, 90 percent of Gazoochistka products will correspond to the world level.

The USSR Ministry of Heavy, Power and Transport Machine Building, and USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry also responded to the NEDELYA report.

It is entirely possible that the authors of the responses to the editors took offense at us. "We reported to you so reassuringly, and you find fault and catch us in particulars." Yes, there are businesslike plans, and it is firmly promised in the majority of official responses: "The ministry has taken under its control fulfillment of the measures in Krasnoyarsk Kray." But, just the same, let us not hide behind a faceless percentage of even "objective" causes, even in the particulars. Let us speak the truth to the end.

We will conclude this survey as we began it, with a collective letter. It was signed by 170 members of the Krasnoyarsk Department, USSR Geography Society:

"We express our true gratitude for the publication in NEDELYA of the report "A Mirror of Misfortune." The factual material and photographs give a specific impression, merciless in its bitter truth, about the ecological situation in our region. This reporting called forth discussion of ecological questions, specifically, at all levels,

by workers, and party, soviet, and economic leaders of the city and kray. We hope that further discussion in the press of measures to clean up the ecological climate will lead to the desired results."

We also hope for this. And even believe that it will.

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Laboratory Head on Lithuanian Water Pollution Issues

18300336a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
5 Jun 88 p 2

[Article by D. Krasilshchikov, doctor of medical sciences, head of the Laboratory of Human Ecology of the Scientific Research Institute of Epidemiology, Microbiology and Hygiene: "Ecological Strategy: Decision-Making Time."]

[Text] "A concern of paramount importance is the activation of efforts with respect to conservation of the environment and the implementation of a whole series of measures for radically improving the ecological situation in the country," state the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee presented at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. A constituent part, which confirms the far from satisfactory state of our environment, is the ecological-sanitary problem, which requires urgent attention. Until recently the concern of a small group of experts, it is currently one of the most crucial issues not only for physicians and hygienists, but also for writers, journalists, mathematicians, sociologists and lawyers. On the one hand, it is very encouraging that the widespread discussion of these issues is serving to enlighten the public concerning the ecological situation and mobilize public opinion to fight to protect the health of the environment.

However, it must be noted that the unilateral initiative of some authors has been noticeably revived recently. With no medical-sanitary training, they have initiated a discussion of the medical aspects of the question concerning the causal relationships between the morbidity of the population and the factors of environmental pollution. It should come as no surprise that the conclusions presented in these publications or speeches are not supported by sufficient scientific reasoning, are often based on unjustified assumptions and conjectures, and the morbidity of the population is blamed solely on chemicals such as pesticides and nitrates, which contaminate agricultural products. In so doing, the numerous other factors which contribute to the ecological loading of the human body are overlooked.

Moreover, the air in our apartments alone may contain up to 100 different chemical substances; these are compounds which are released from synthetic decoration materials, plus the products of burning natural gas in the kitchen. The exhaust gases from motor transport contain up to 200 chemical pollutants, including benzpyrene,

which is known to be a carcinogenic. In addition to well-known nicotine, tobacco smoke contains as many as 90 other toxic substances. Noise, vibrations, electromagnetic and electrostatic action and biological factors of environmental pollution (bacteria, viruses, microscopic fungi, etc.) have a certain effect on health.

The unfavorable consequences of the overall effects of ecological loading of the human body depend on the composition and quantitative level of all these diverse factors. Therefore, it is also necessary to analyze them in combination.

This very approach forms the basis of a scientific program developed by the Laboratory of Human Ecology of the Scientific Research Institute of Epidemiology, Microbiology and Hygiene of the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Health, which has been in operation since the middle of last year. These efforts will result in answers to questions concerning the special features of raising the state of health of various adult and professional groups of our capital depending on the specific ecological situations and taking into account all of the factors. In so doing, it will be determined which of them are the most important, i.e., are of the greatest ecological significance with respect to their effect on the state of health and morbidity of the population.

A task of paramount importance in this direction is the drawing up of measures for protecting foodstuffs from contamination with pesticides and nitrogen-containing mineral fertilizers in concentrations which exceed the permissible safety regulations. The main reason for contamination of agricultural products in the past, as well as in the present, is still the insufficiently high level of our agrotechnical culture. The strategy of chemicalization of agriculture itself, replacement of toxic substances with biological preparations for plant protection and streamlining of the system of bureaucratic laboratory control of the residual amounts of pesticides and mineral fertilizers in agricultural products on the part of the agricultural industry require radical reorganization.

Under the current conditions of glasnost, it is also appropriate that every store which sells agricultural products is required to provide their customers with comprehensive information on the ecological purity of the product, i.e., information on the residual content of pesticides, nitrates, nitrites and other chemicals used in the production process and storage of fruits and vegetables, potatoes and greens, milk and dairy products. The ecological purity of agricultural products should become an important criterion for their pricing. The introduction of this principle will make the index of ecological purity of the product an effective economic stimulus, since under the conditions of cost accounting, the production of contaminated produce will become unprofitable for the organizations and enterprises of the agricultural industry.

I do not think it is necessary to prove that water is one of the fundamental conditions contributing to the health of

the population. Thus, we cannot help but be concerned about the trend toward an obvious increase in the level of nitrites and nitrates in the subsoil waters used for drinking. Unfortunately, this trend has been noticed in recent years in several regions of the republic. Increased concentrations vis-a-vis the standards of these contaminants creates a real sanitary danger for water consumers, especially young children. However, the reason for pollution of the subsoil waters is primarily a violation of the specifications for the storage and use of mineral fertilizers. Sewage and wastes from live-stock industries which penetrate through the soil into the ground contribute significantly to the "mineralization" of water with nitrites and nitrates. In addition, under our soil and geographic conditions, i.e. with our multitude of rivers, streams and lakes, it would be necessary to ban the use of agricultural aviation both for treating fields with pesticides, as well as using mineral fertilizers on them.

It should also be revealed that in recent years a number of ecological mistakes and miscalculations have been made for which we are now suffering. Here is one such mistake: the general discharge of sewage from the city of Alitus located 3-5 kilometers higher up-stream along the Njamunas River than one of the reservoirs supplying the city water. The hydrogeological characteristics of the area at the site of the reservoir do not exclude the danger of contaminated river water filtering into the reservoir. In order for the sewage to enter the river below the reservoir, it would be necessary to build a drainage pipe of approximately 5 kilometers. This would entail significant additional funds. So now Alitus has a problem with clean water!

Could this have served as a lesson for the future? Not at all! The proposal made by hydrogeologist experts concerning the prospects for supplying Kaunas with drinking water for the next 15-20 years is currently under discussion. The plan stipulates the construction of an additional reservoir with a system of artificial replenishment of underground water using river water. It is intended that this river water will be taken from an area located down-stream from the town where the Njamunas converges with another extremely polluted river, the Nevezhis. This means that the river water polluted within the boundaries of the large industrial center will penetrate into the subsoil. And it has long been proven that this does not effectively clean the water of petroleum and petroleum products, pesticides, mineral fertilizers, organic pollutants, synthetic detergents and the salts of heavy metals: all of these contaminants can essentially penetrate the artificially replenished underground water unchecked. (It would not be out of place to say that when this same water, which is polluted by carbon and other organic substances, is chlorinated, several compounds which are resistant to breakdown form, many of which have the distinct ability to cause malignant tumors). The danger of polluting the Njamunas River above the reservoir remains viable even if all the sewage from the city is drained away by a very long and expensive pipeline down-stream from the new

reservoir. In short, if the plan is implemented, it will be necessary to include a significant part of the city in the second belt of the sanitary protection zone, the organization of which is extremely difficult under these conditions. We would like to add to this the fact that various atmospheric pollutants of a large city will inevitably be washed into the reservoir in the form of residues. It also contaminated by pollution from the planar washout from the city territory, not to mention possible volley discharges of industrial waste water during emergency situations, which can hardly be completely eliminated. Is it not ironical that while engaging in a widespread discussion of ecological problems, we are also ready to make serious mistakes, the consequences of which are difficult to overestimate!

A certain amount of concern is also aroused by the ecological situation surrounding the Klaipedskiy pipeline, articles concerning which have already appeared in SOVETSKAYA LITVA. The hydrogeological structure of the local area essentially does not prevent pollution from filtering down through the soil into the ground to the underground waters used.

However, the most extreme pollution of natural waters and other aspects of the environment in which we live is occurring in areas of oil fields where, in addition to petroleum products, products from burning casing-head gases enter the environment which wash out other pollutants from the atmosphere in the form of residues. How can we fail to recall the current plan to organize oil drilling at Shilut, in the region located close to the Miniy River?! This river supplies water to the Klaipedskiy Canal which serves as the main source of artificial replenishment for the underground water supplying the Klaipedskiy reservoir. In the interests of protecting the reservoir from the danger of pollution, we feel it is necessary to avert this new "ecological storm-cloud."

Decisive reorganization of our entire ecological strategy is necessary. The time has come to consider anew the most important issues concerning the ecological and sanitary problem. It is time to make decisions which will enable the ecological mistakes of the past to be overcome and eliminate them from the present and the future.

12793

Azerbaijani Academician Warns of Possible Caspian Ecological Crisis

18300336b *Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian*
5 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by Z. Bunyatov, director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, academician, Hero of the Soviet Union, member of the All-Union Committee for Saving the Aral: "After the Aral—the Caspian?"]

[Text] In recent years, Soviet public opinion has spoken out unanimously concerning the necessity for bringing ecological order to the country and has revealed terrible

and devastating forms of economic activity in the Baikal, Azov, Caspian, Balkhash and Aral. We are faced with the preposterous fact: the Aral Sea is dying! If urgent measures are not taken, a third desert, the Aralkum, created by half-baked "subjugators" of nature, will appear between the Kyzylkum and Karakum deserts by the end of the 20th century.

The result of many years of predatory relocation of water resources is pitiful. The raising of the Kakhovskoe Sea has resulted in the disappearance of the famous flooded banks and estuaries of the Dnieper and in irretrievable ecological losses. The Kakhovskoe "Sea" is "becoming overgrown" in the same way as the Tsimlyanskoe "Sea" is becoming overgrown. The construction of a new Volgo-Don Canal with its intake of water from the Volgograd reservoir is aggravating, as if it were not bad enough, the lamentable state of this region. The construction of the Karakymskiy Canal directly on shifting sands without a concrete revetment is causing half of the water collected from the Amudari to escape into the ground. Filtration and over-wetting constantly raise the level of the subsoil waters, and in so doing, mineral salts, which are fatal to man and the plant and animal kingdoms, are brought to the surface . . .

However, let us return to the Aral. Why are we concerned about the fate of this unique but distant sea? Because we are now very well aware of the integrity and interdependence of the natural complex. Because we know that the consequences of extensive management can have an effect on the life and health of people living thousands of kilometers from the place where land is being put out of operation, the air is polluted and the drainage of rivers is coming to a halt. Kara-Kalpak, which has been deprived of the Aral, is currently in trouble. And the situation in Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan is also cause for concern. The total area of the Aral territory is approximately 475 thousand square kilometers, 172 thousand square kilometers of which is in Uzbekistan (Kara-Kalpak ASSR and Khorezm Oblast), 73.6 in Turkmenia (Tashauz Oblast) and 228 in Kazakhstan (Kzyl-Orda Oblast). On January 1, 1986 three million people lived in the region, almost half of them in 20 towns and 34 urban settlements.

Prior to the beginning of the 1960's, the Aral Sea played a leading role in the transportation of cargo of the national economy and passengers between the ports of Kazakhstan and Kara-Kalpak. Up to half a million metric centners of valuable fresh water fish (sturgeon, bream, pike perch, sazan, etc.) was caught every year in the Aral, including more than 20 thousand metric centners of famous Aral barbel. The Muynakskiy Fish Combine produced more than 20 million cans of fish and other fish products annually. In the Amudari Delta, more than a million muskrats were caught every year, whose fur was in high demand at international fur auctions. In Kara-Kalpak alone, it was possible to produce no less than five million tons of high-quality hay per year which served as a solid feed base for collective live-stock farming.

However, since the 1960's, a catastrophic shallowing of the Aral Sea has begun in connection with the intensive assimilation of new land and, primarily, in connection with the putting into operation of the Karakymnskiy Canal. While in 1951-1960, the Amudariya and Syrdarya brought an average of 58.4 cubic km of water to the Aral, from 1961-1970, the average supply of water was 43.3 cubic km, from 1971-1980, 16.7 cubic km and from 1985-1986, the Aral received not a single cubic meter of water from its main supply arteries. As a direct consequence of this, the surface area of the sea has already decreased by one third, and the water volume more than twofold, the shoreline has receded by 70-100 kilometers and the salinity of the water has increased 2.5-3 times. Shipping on the Aral has practically ceased entirely. The maritime ports in Aralsk, Muynak, Uch-saya, Ugra, Kazakhdar and other towns and villages no longer exist. Hundreds of ships, barges, motor boats and launches cover the former bottom of the sea.

The local natural conditions (sea water, climate, abundance of sunny days, etc.) had attracted hotels, resorts and Young Pioneer camps to the shores of the Aral Sea. By as early as 1980, they were no longer in operation due to the drying up of the sea. Liquidation of the shipping industry and fishing and hunting trades has significantly reduced the number of jobs in the region. For example, even with imported Atlantic fish, the Muynakskiy Fish Combine is only operating at 30 percent of its capacity. All of this has caused the people to abandon the Aral region and the shoreline settlements to become immobilized. In Muynak alone, the center of the former shoreline region, the population has decreased fivefold in recent years.

Man alone with his senseless "management," with his hasty and criminal invasion of nature, is to blame for the fact that the Aral Sea is dying, that the Aral is on the brink of an ecological disaster! The water removed from the Aral has essentially been of no use to man: at present almost half of the regions in the Golodnaya, Karshinskaya and Shepabadskaya steppes of Uzbekistan are in need of decisive land-improvement. A "productivity" of 5-7 metric centners of raw cotton per hectare, and even 1.5 centners (!)—is this really possible for an area of irrigated farming? In Turkmenia, this situation occurred when the amount of land falling out of agricultural circulation began to exceed the amount of new fields introduced annually. In other republics of Central Asia, the over-expenditure of irrigation water, which amounts

to as much as 15 thousand cubic meters per hectare annually, is extremely high. A huge amount of water is used to carry out irrigation in order to rid the soil of excess mineral salts.

The fate of the Aral is also a menacing lesson for the Caspian region. Articles have already appeared in the press concerning the threat to the fauna of the Caspian Sea and the economic situation on its banks. Hundreds of cubic meters of petroleum, petroleum products, pesticides, herbicides, alkali, acid and other garbage is dumped in the Caspian every year. The colossal dumping in the Caspian of toxic substances from the Sumgait chemical plants, industrial plants on the banks of the sea and maritime petroleum industries deserves particular mention. Every year the Caspian is deprived of more than 480 million rubles from the loss of fish products.

It is not known what effect the construction of a reservoir on the Karabugazskiy Bay will have; however, sandy salt-marsh storms have already completely destroyed the ecological balance of the eastern Caspian. In our opinion, the decision to relocate the Soviet Problem-Solving Committee for the Caspian to Tbilisi is absurd. The digging of a second Volga-Don canal, which would remove an enormous amount of water from the Volga, and which, of course, would entail the drying up of the Volga-Akhtubinskiy Basin and the entire northern Caspian, is causing alarm. The planning of several new reservoirs in the Lenkorano-Astarinskiy rayon can hardly be considered justified. The drying up in this region of famous tropical marshes would completely change the ecological balance of the kray. Eliminating the fish plantations and nesting of birds and creating kitchen-gardens in their place for growing cucumbers and cabbage was an irresponsible act.

The death of the Caspian must not be allowed! A committee for saving the Caspian should be formed immediately and a fund to aid the dying sea be created. The loading of Sumgait and Baku with chemical factories and enterprises which poison everything living in the Caspian and on its banks should be reconsidered.

The Caspian Sea is crying for mercy. Before it is too late, the public should become involved in a decisive struggle with bureaucratic plans which will bring only death to the Caspian.

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