

Soviet Life

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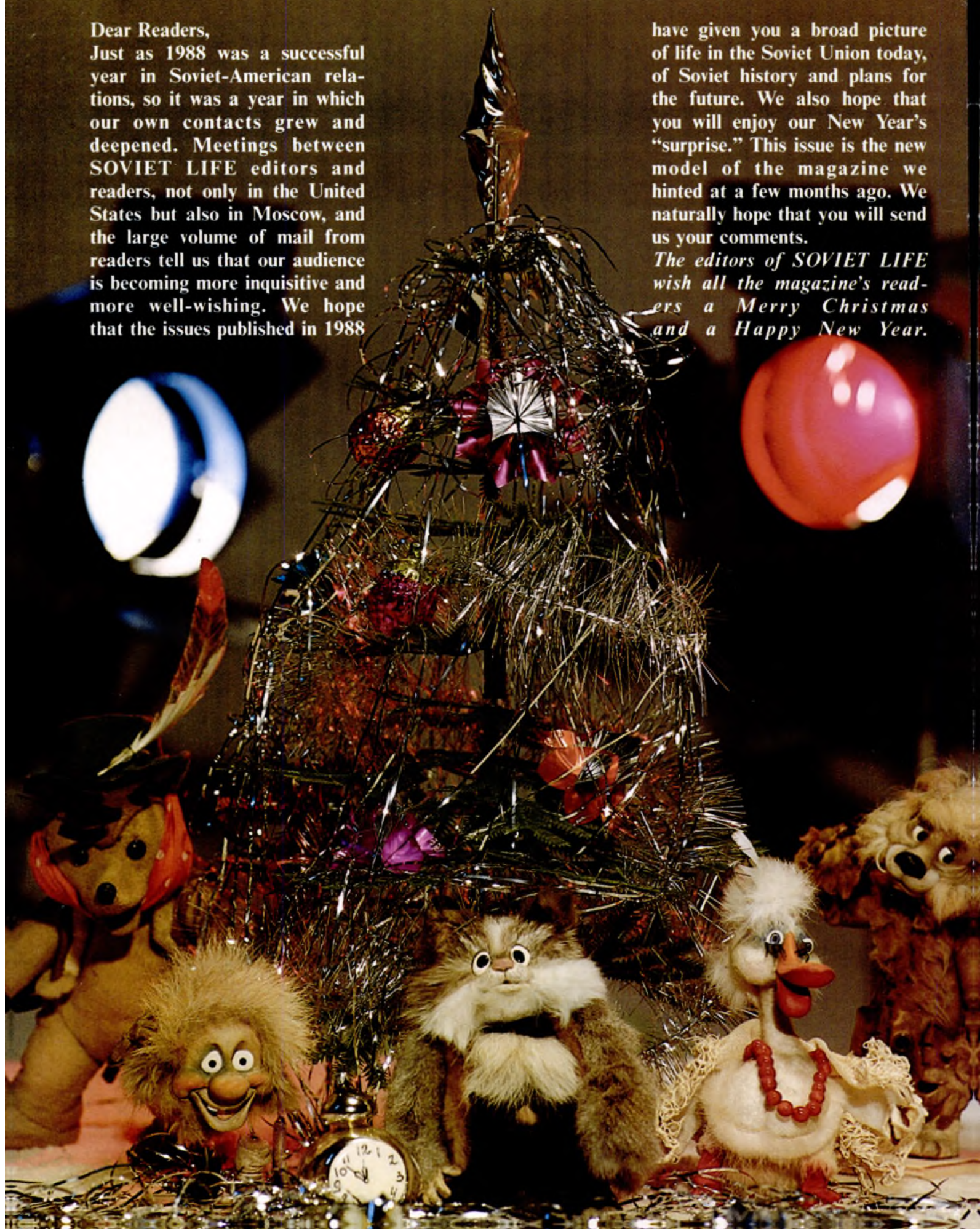
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Dear Readers,
Just as 1988 was a successful year in Soviet-American relations, so it was a year in which our own contacts grew and deepened. Meetings between SOVIET LIFE editors and readers, not only in the United States but also in Moscow, and the large volume of mail from readers tell us that our audience is becoming more inquisitive and more well-wishing. We hope that the issues published in 1988

have given you a broad picture of life in the Soviet Union today, of Soviet history and plans for the future. We also hope that you will enjoy our New Year's "surprise." This issue is the new model of the magazine we hinted at a few months ago. We naturally hope that you will send us your comments.

The editors of SOVIET LIFE wish all the magazine's readers a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.





LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

I would like to thank the Russian people for the two ice-breakers that were sent over to save the whales. I was very pleased about it.

I would like the Russian people to know that they are thanked by a lot of animal lovers here in America.

Marguerite Guy
Miami Springs, Florida

I really have enjoyed reading about Soviet life. Your bureaucracy, just like our bureaucracy, causes problems for each of our countries. It was nice to read that Gorbachev wants to do something about it in your article "The Four Days of the Nineteenth Party Conference." Your "happy human face" is a face I would like to see our government try to do more of in our country. I do not believe "happy human faces" is a goal we try hard enough for in America. It's more of a "Me" first happy face country, and that causes many unhappy faces. Keep perestroika as your focus, and maybe we can go from "me" to "us" as a country.

Steve Leach
Hampton, New Hampshire



Front Cover: A group of Soviet and American people walked across the United States this summer to further the cause of mutual understanding. More pictures of this event appear on pp. 2-3. Photo by Lev Sherstennikov.



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Location featured in this issue: the Khatyn-Mansi Autonomous Area. Story on page 30.

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Vehicle designed to orbit Mars. Story on page 26.



An example of avant-garde art. Story on page 36.



Alloplant is a new method of creating transplants for ophthalmic surgery. Story on page 16.



Photographs by
Lev Sherstennikov



ACROSS AMERICA





Drawings by
Alexander Tropkin



Participants in a Soviet-American peace walk traversed the United States this summer, making friends and gaining a better understanding of one another. Below: A gala concert in Philadelphia drew enthusiastic crowds. Insets, clockwise from bottom left: Alexander Tropkin's drawing attracts an audience; his sketches of Philadelphia, a young woman in Des Moines and walk participant Nellie White. Facing page: Tent encampments for the walkers. Insets, clockwise from top: Iowa's heat wilted the hikers. Journalists were omnipresent. Medical care was always available. Hollywood scene.



USSR

USA

THE DIALOGUE CONTINUES

By Ariadna Nikolenko
Photographs by Vsevolod Tarasevich



Greetings at the airport (right and below right). A Georgian children's dance company (facing page, top) welcomed American guests at Tbilisi airport. The State Philharmonic in Tbilisi (below and facing page, bottom) was the scene of the opening meeting of the fourth Soviet-American public dialogue.



Crowds of people gathered at the Tbilisi airport, which had been decorated with flags and banners. As soon as the huge airliner landed, young boys and girls with flowers rushed to welcome the guests. Six- and seven-year-old dancers in national costumes invited the guests to join them.

This was the unofficial opening ceremony for the fourth convention of representatives of the Soviet and American citizenry in Tbilisi. (The official opening took place the next day at the Grand Hall of Tbilisi's Philharmonic Society.) As Marvin Stone, the head of the U.S. delegation and deputy director of the United States Information Agency, was to say at the closing ceremony a week later, "The

Americans came, saw and were conquered." The seven days that the Americans spent in Tbilisi were filled with joy and hospitality.

In 1985 a group of enthusiasts from the Chautauqua Institute in New York State organized the first meeting of Soviet and American public figures. The sponsors hardly thought that the Chautauqua meeting would become a tradition. The Soviet public sent only five representatives to Chautauqua for that first meeting. The next convention, held in Jurmala, on the Baltic coast of the USSR, attracted several hundred Soviets and Americans. The third meeting again took place in Chautauqua. And now it was Tbilisi's turn.

Sponsored as before by the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies and the Chautauqua Institute, the fourth convention of Soviet and American

citizens was aimed at furthering and strengthening the dialogue.

"What has been achieved by the four recent Soviet-American summit meetings strengthens our confidence that Soviet-American relations can be healthy, productive and predictable," Mikhail Gorbachev wrote in his message of greeting to the participants in the Tbilisi meeting. "We strongly support the active continuation of the Soviet-American dialogue, without pauses or interruptions. Your meetings are a beautiful example of this and a manifestation of citizen diplomacy working for peace today, tomorrow and for all time."

About 300 Americans and 200 Soviets, the members of the official delegations, and nearly 20,000 residents of Tbilisi participated in the convention. The level of representation was high on both sides. Soviet ►

A youth festival was held in Old Town Tbilisi.



and American views on the state of Soviet-American relations and the positions on both sides on the limitation of nuclear and conventional arms were expressed by representatives from the government and the military on both sides.

Passions ran high at the 12 round-table discussions that took place at the conference. The participants in the discussions—natural and political scientists and representatives of the arts and of the clergy—focused on such important issues as arms control, trade and economic ties, the new political thinking and patterns of international relations, environmental protection and human rights.

Heated debates on issues such as these are only natural. As Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoli Adamishin stressed in his remarks, "We have yet to get over the very dangerous misconception that any interaction between our countries is an almost

automatic source of confrontation. The fact is that cooperation can benefit from our very differences."

With the exception of the first day of the conference and the workshops in which human rights were discussed, there were no attempts to highlight differences in any sphere. On the whole, both sides were rather self-critical.

In our dealings with the Americans, it's hard not to notice a supersuperiority complex on their part: America is the strongest, the richest, the greatest country in the world," said Alexander Bovin, an *Izvestia* analyst. "But then, we, too, for many years regarded ourselves as the bearers of absolute truth. We would do better to begin learning from each other, instead of insisting on teaching each other."

Alevtina Fedulova, first vice president of the Soviet Women's Committee, participated in the round-table discussion on women's problems. She said: "We have realized what will happen if we divert the natural flow of rivers and if we do not put a stop to acid rain. But have we realized what will happen if the abuse of women is not stopped?"

"Space technology can work miracles, but it is not 100 per cent fool-proof either," said Valeri Kubasov, a Soviet cosmonaut. "Both we and the Americans have learned this from experience—they in January 1986, with the *Challenger* tragedy, and we quite recently, when an international Soviet-Afghan space flight crew managed to land only after a third try. We can imagine the price of a technical failure if weapons are based in space."

Arthur Hartman, a career diplomat and recently the U.S. Ambassador to ▶



People meeting people (clockwise from top left): Patricia Piper and Lamara Margvelashvili. The family of Tenghiz Gviniashvili and Blossom and James McBrier. Saying good-by. Street scene. A picnic with the traditional shashlik.





ed of
ian
g room.



Answer: Anatoli Adamishin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, responds to questions.



Question: Shirley Shteinder asks a question from the floor during the meeting.



Debate: Members of the audience listen attentively as the dialogue continues.



Delegate: Professor James Forbes teaches at a theological seminary.



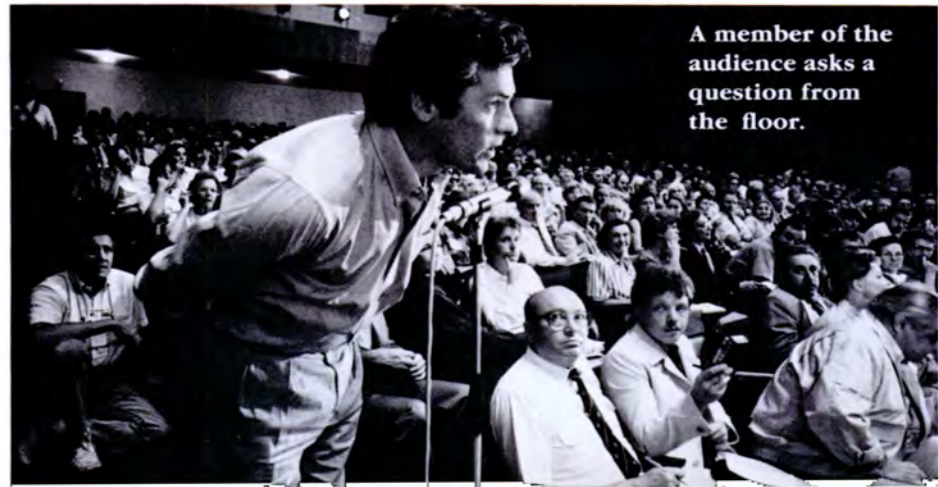
Media: American TV crews and cameras covered the events.



Audience: Twenty thousand Tbilisi residents attended the round-table discussions.



Participant: People of all ages attended the sessions.



A member of the audience asks a question from the floor.



Notables: Pilot-Cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova and ballerina Olga Lepeshinskaya.



Church: Filaret, Metropolitan of Minsk and Byelorussia.



Press: David Ottaway, *Washington Post* correspondent.



Esther Coopersmith, a Democratic Party activist, thanked the Georgians for their hospitality.



Listener: Members of the audience remained engrossed during the discussions.



Music: Georgian conductor Dzhansug Kakhidze dances with an American delegate. Left: Georgi Gurov talks with American delegates.



the Soviet Union, spoke at the closing ceremony. "These are my personal views. I am happily retired, and that's why I can present them without thinking about whether I want to retire or not," Mr. Hartman began his speech. He concluded by quoting Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who called for honest and businesslike partnership.

Alexander Palladin, a Soviet journalist, asked Hedrick Smith, a panel moderator, whether the American press could learn anything from the Soviet mass media. "We take our hats off nowadays to the Soviet press," said Smith, the author of *The Russians*, a book which until recently was prohibited in the Soviet Union.

"How would you describe staying with a Georgian family?" journalists asked the McBriers, two of the 120 Americans who were lucky enough to spend some time in Georgian homes.

"Happiness," answered Blossom McBrier. "My husband and I stayed

In a Tbilisi Church. Mtskheta, the ancient capital of Georgia (top).

with a very nice and talented family, who made our stay just beautiful."

The arrival of the American guests brought together all four generations of the Gviniashvili family. The family includes Tenghiz Gviniashvili, a famous Georgian sculptor; Babo, his 85-year-old mother-in-law; Tamara, his wife, who works at the Institute of Literature; and four-year-old Salhome, the youngest member of the household.

"They were just wonderful," continued McBrier. "So easygoing and so proud of being Georgians. We'll never forget our dinners at the huge family table, our conversations about literature, art and life. Those were unforgettable days."

"I was exhausted, but I loved every minute of it," said Steve Piper, an American teacher. Steve and his wife, Pat, were the guests of Lamara Margvelashvili, a school principal,

and her son Murat. Being in the same profession, Steve and Lamara had a lot to talk about. Pat had a cold and had to stay in the house most of the time. But she had no regrets. "Staying with Lamara and her son was the best part of our trip," she says. The concerned hostess treated Pat with folk medicines, like Borzhomi (a brand of mineral water) mixed with warm milk, which turned out to be very helpful.

Oh, no. I can't accept such a precious gift. I saw a sheath and dagger like this in a shop. I know how much they cost. Just look at that sheath. It's a masterpiece," Tom Shagla told his host, Otari Modzmanashvili. Shagla, a restaurant owner, and John Rogers, a bank clerk, were Modzmanashvili's house guests.

But there's no way a guest can turn down a gift from a Georgian family, especially one as large as Modzmanashvili's. The entire family did their best to make sure that their American guests had a wonderful time.

Taking the dagger, the symbol of man's ability to protect the motherland, in one hand, and a goblet of sparkling wine, the symbol of hospitality, in the other, Rogers posed as the famous sculpture *Georgia*, which stands high on a mountaintop and can be seen from any part of Tbilisi. Everyone laughed.

"How can I ever thank you for everything? Could I invite you to be my guests in the United States?" Rogers asked. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

The seven days in Tbilisi were a holiday of personal contact. The Americans proved to be good guests, having "survived the test of eating three meals in two hours," as Arthur Hartman joked. The Georgians proved to be very good hosts. "If there were awards for hospitality at the Olympics, the Georgians would receive the gold medal," said Michael Collins, an American astronaut.

He was joking, of course. Speaking seriously . . . But more than enough has already been said seriously. ■

A PERSONAL VIEW OF WORLD EVENTS

By Oleg Shibko

Last summer a popular Soviet magazine, *Ogonyok* (Lantern), interviewed Major General Kim Tsagolov, who served as a military adviser in Afghanistan for some years. Immediately, the interview attracted the attention of Western journalists in Moscow. Their reports from the Soviet capital went along this line: Moscow is taking a more pessimistic view of the situation in Afghanistan and of the possible outcome of the Afghan conflict as a whole.

After a Soviet foreign ministry spokesman refuted those reports, some Western journalists made another interpretation of the interview: The Soviet Government, through Major General Tsagolov, was beginning a psychological conditioning of the population to prepare it for the fall of the Afghan Government following the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from the country.

In actual fact, the explanation was simple. The Soviet Union has begun to practice pluralism of opinion, not only in domestic affairs but on major international issues as well. The interview with Major General Tsagolov, who was expressing his personal views, was the first evidence of the new approach.

The philosophy of *perestroika* gives Soviet citizens the right to say openly what they think of the world around them. So it is wrong to regard just any item in the press as a reflection of official opinion.

In July the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs hosted a conference of Soviet diplomats, attended by party officials, political and military figures, scientists, cultural figures and leading writers on international affairs. The aim was to bring the country's diplomatic activities into harmony with the tasks established by

the Nineteenth Party Conference.

In his keynote speech at the diplomatic conference, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said that the innovative concept of socialism proposed at the party conference ended the monopoly of several government departments on foreign policy. Those departments, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had been immune to criticism.

The Nineteenth Party Conference, he said, called for a plenipotentiary constitutional mechanism to be set up for discussion of and decision making on foreign policy matters. Shevardnadze said that military departments and defense industries would be under the control of elective bodies, particularly in matters concerning military programs and the use of armed forces abroad. There are plans to make defense budgets public.

General repairs on the old mansion in Gorokhovskiy Street, downtown Moscow, continued throughout the summer. As the place was being refurbished, its owner, the political monthly *Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn* (International Affairs), a Soviet counterpart of *Foreign Affairs*, was likewise undergoing change.

Founded in 1954, the journal was perhaps the most dogmatic of all Soviet publications. For years the same galaxy of stately contributors "commented" on world issues without adding a single thought of their own.

A year ago, diplomat Boris Pyadyshchik quit his job as first deputy head of the Foreign Ministry Information Department to become the editor of *Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn*. The journal changed beyond recognition as Pyadyshchik brought new blood into it, signing up young people with

good contacts in the diplomatic and scientific community. The new contributors were able to take a fresh and unconventional look at world issues of vital concern.

"We have a single standard of reference today; this is mature thinking, not the chronological age of the writer," the staff members say.

Yet another innovation is that foreign, chiefly Western, viewpoints feature prominently in the spectrum of opinion. The August issue, for example, carried an article by Secretary of State George Shultz, who wrote about the prospects for Soviet-American relations. And in September President Ronald Reagan made an exclusive contribution.

The basic principle of the editorial staff is that the Soviet reader must know exactly where the other side stands on any particular issue. *Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn* staff members take the view that today concerted action is essential in world politics.

A special section of the journal deals with what is called the blank pages in the history of Russian and Soviet diplomacy. Documents that are newly available from the archives are published here. The autumn issues, for instance, offered the previously unpublished diaries of Alexandra Kollontai, who worked with Lenin and spent much time as Soviet Ambassador to Sweden.

Circulation of *Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn*—now about 70,000—is growing rapidly. In fact, the magazine is so popular that you can hardly get a copy at newsstands. It comes out in Russian, English and French.

"Looks like you're going to compete with *Foreign Affairs*, aren't you?" I said to Alexei Pankin, deputy editor of *Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn*.

"We won't agree to anything less," came the reply. ■

WHAT SOCIETY ARE WE REBUILDING?

By Roy Medvedev
Historian

Why did we build a system that we have to rebuild now? We were experimenting because we were embarking toward altogether unknown territory—the construction of the first socialist state.

Why are we talking about the revolutionary character of the reforms of *perestroika*? Because we understand revolution as radical transformation of any structure—political, social, economic, scientific and technological. We want to stress that *perestroika* is the sum total of radical political, ideological and cultural reforms coupled with expansion of the existing democratic principles of society and creation of new ones.

When we talk about a revolution, we also mean that the change should be very fast in coming. We want to enter the next millennium with the renewed political, economic and social system of a genuinely democratic and developed socialist society. To accomplish this, the reforms of *perestroika* should be carried out in the most resolute manner, at both the top and the bottom.

As we begin our reforms, we probably do not see absolutely all the details of what we want to achieve, nor do we have a clear-cut idea of all the ways and means of achieving the goal. But one thing is perfectly clear to us: We want to create a socially fair, economically rich and culturally advanced country.

Why did we build a system that we have to rebuild now? Heated debates about ways to create a new society began in the very first days of the Revolution. What are the limits to nationalization of industry? How should we carry out the land reform? As Lenin told H. G. Wells in 1919, it was a "continuing experiment." We were experimenting because we were embarking toward altogether unknown territory—the construction of the first socialist state.

Unlike architects, we had no design

for our future home. What is more, along with people who sincerely wished to build a better society, there were some, like Stalin, who strove for personal power. And such people were developing an authoritarian, totalitarian system in socialist disguise. Leaders like Khrushchev were devoted to socialism and to the people. But because they had no idea about the methods of socialist construction, their good intentions resulted only in distorted political, economic and ideological forms.

It is not out of the question that what we are building today will have to be rebuilt too. Such is the lot of any trail-blazing country. We are creating a new political system, a new Supreme Soviet and a new electoral system. Fair criticisms are being expressed about these changes. It is quite probable that we will later discard many of the elements of the system now in the making be-

*It is not out of the question that what we are
building today will have to be rebuilt too.
Such is the lot of any trailblazing country.*

cause in practice they may prove very different from what they seem.

We should remember that *perestroika* is a social battle. And as such, it is a confrontation of opposing forces. One may have the best scenario for a battle, but the adversary will have a scenario of his own. And when your plan of action comes up against that of your adversary, you have to make adjustments right on the spot.

When and under what circumstances did we deviate from the path charted by the October 1917 Revolution? That path should have led us to the ultimate goal—building a just socialist society. In 1917 not a soul in the world could predict the specific way of reaching this goal. No one, even in the most difficult time for the October 1917 Revolution, could imagine that the path we did choose would lead to the establishment of Stalin's repressive totalitarian regime, which suppressed every human right.

All that was alien to the goals set by Lenin and his party. Lenin believed that when we had overcome the grim stage of the civil war, we would start building a just socialist society. He thought we could accomplish this within 30 to 40 years. But in 30 or 40 years we had a different kind of society. This happened because the guarantees of our development had not been elaborated to a sufficient degree. The forces capable of leading our country along Lenin's road turned out to be weaker than the forces opposing it.

And still, the ideals of the October 1917 Revolution have not been lost. The wholesome ideological imperative, the fundamental socialist goals, lived on in people's minds and were inculcated in the country's young people. Even Stalin had at least to talk

about allegiance to some of the goals and tasks of the October 1917 Revolution. It would be wrong to say that we turned back and built something that was the opposite of Lenin's idea of a socialist state.

Was there an alternative to the command-style system of administration, or was that system predetermined by a combination of objective and subjective factors?

There is always an alternative at any point in history, including the present stage. The command-style system of administration was created during the civil war. At that time, both society and the party were structured according to the rigid principle of management by injunction. This was necessary to protect the gains of the Revolution. In the subsequent period our country began developing toward greater economic and political democracy. But it failed to go all the way.

In the late 1920s there were alternative forces to the command-style system of administration that Stalin had created. Nikolai Bukharin, for one, represented such alternative forces. He supported Lenin's New Economic Policy, broader development of various forms of cooperation and democratic principles. But Stalin managed to gain the upper hand.

What did we build after all? We began socialist construction in 1917. But its development proceeded in a very complicated way after Lenin's death in 1924. We continued developing, but at the same time we were losing certain socialist gains and allowing elements of pseudosocialism to enter our life. The relations that existed in the agrarian sector could be characterized as virtually feudal relations with manifestations of slave labor—the people who

were imprisoned under Stalin were slaves by all social standards.

Nevertheless, elements of socialism remained even under Stalin. They manifested themselves in education and in the economy and became the basis for Khrushchev's reforms. Under Khrushchev, certain positive changes took place in agriculture and in the life of the urban population (workers, for instance, were allowed to change jobs if they wished). The elements of pseudosocialism began to disappear, but they did not disappear altogether. Many of them were again restored under Brezhnev.

We have not yet completed the building of socialism and have not reached the socialist ideal. We have laid the groundwork—the important elements of socialist society that allow us to call the Soviet Union a socialist country. When Gorbachev calls for more democracy and more socialism, he thereby makes it clear that we have socialism but we should have more of it. We can achieve this by developing democracy and the economy, improving the quality of life and carrying out a true cultural revolution. In other words, we want the ideals and tasks of the October 1917 Revolution implemented in full measure. And not only this. We should proceed from the current state of our society. The October 1917 Revolution had to deal with the regime that existed under czarism. Our present social structure has nothing in common with the system that existed in 1917. We must shape a new ideal of a fair society, proceeding from the current social and economic realities. We must determine new tasks that will enrich and focus the tasks that were advanced in the most general form by the October 1917 Revolution. ■

GLASNOST

Nuclear Testing

"We didn't have to read a newspaper to find out that nuclear tests began. A sudden movement of the chandelier or the clinking of glass utensils in a kitchen cabinet is the telltale sign. But how well are we protected against the effects of the tests? Hundreds of thousands of people live near the testing ground. The tests have been going on for many years. We do not know anything about the local radiation background and how it changes. People are unable to take measures to protect their health, and the government does not think it necessary to give us any information. It seems to me that the number of oncological diseases has sharply increased, especially among young people. We wonder what an expert who knows the statistics would say. Where are the Geiger counters people could have at hand? Is this another of the state's secrets? But a secret from whom? From its own population?"

The above is an excerpt from a letter written by Valeri Senko to the newspaper *Izvestia*. Senko lives not far from Semipalatinsk, Kazakhstan, the site of Soviet underground nuclear testing. To get competent opinions on these questions, *Izvestia* interviewed representatives of three departments.

Lieutenant General Zelentsov, a spokesman for the testing ground authorities: "To evaluate the radiation background in a certain area, we compare it to the natural radiation situation. In the territory of the USSR it is measured at 4 to 25 milliroentgens per hour. At the Semipalatinsk testing ground the level is even lower, and it does not change during the tests. The devices are exploded deep under the ground.

"The people who conduct the tests live near the testing ground with their families. Many have been there for 20 to 25 years, and they have not contracted any sicknesses connected with exposure to enhanced radiation.

"We do receive complaints from people who live in the vicinity of the testing ground, and we look into each one with all seriousness. We regularly take samples of soil in suspect areas. We take two samples at a time. One is analyzed locally, and the other is sent to the State Committee for Hydrometeorology. We also check water, milk and meat for radiation. No disturbing changes have shown up so far. I think the main cause for complaints is lack of information."

Leonid Buldakov, corresponding member of the Academy of Medical Sciences and deputy director of the Institute of Biophysics: "I understand the concern of the author of the letter. A testing ground is hardly a welcome neighbor. But in this case, the main problem is lack of information, which naturally spawns fears, rumors and guesses. Keeping the public informed is a duty of the local health authorities. There is no ban on such information, and, judging from everything, the health officials simply ignore their duty.

Yuri Israel, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the State Committee for Hydrometeorology: "Our committee has been monitoring the radiation situation in the region of Semipalatinsk and throughout Kazakhstan since underground nuclear tests began there. Gamma radiation levels read from 10 to 25 milliroentgens per hour—within the admissible level—in the area near the testing ground. The amount of cesium-137 and strontium-90 in the air is many times lower than the safe level established in this country."

After talking to the experts, *Izvestia* concluded: Only sufficient information can prevent disturbing rumors, which frighten people. We need *glasnost* in the same way as we need the air we breathe. ■

On the Nineteenth Party Conference

Academician
Leonid
Abalkin



Leonid Abalkin, a leading Soviet economist (head of the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR) and one of the 5,000 delegates to the Nineteenth Party Conference held in June 1988, became one of the event's most talked-about participants. Taking the floor soon after Gorbachev finished reading his report, Abalkin drew a different economic picture of the Soviet Union from that described by the General Secretary. Although we have witnessed some positive changes, he said, "it is important to stress most emphatically that no radical turn has been made thus far, and the economy has not broken through the stage of stagnation."

Abalkin then questioned the expediency of combining the highest party and government posts. His conclusions again disagreed with the view of Gorbachev, who had proposed discussing the possibility of combining positions. Abalkin suggested that the conference should not pass final judgment on this issue. Many of the delegates who spoke after Abalkin strongly disagreed with the views he

ON THE CUTTING EDGE OF PERESTROIKA

Only a few years ago the venomous tongues said, and unfortunately with ample grounds, that the USSR had largely succeeded in implementing a project whose objective was to establish conformity of opinion. The project was proposed in the middle of the nineteenth century by three Russian satirists who worked under the common pseudonym Kozma Prutkov. *Perestroika* and *glasnost* have radically changed the situation, and socialist pluralism of opinion is noticeably gaining ground in this country. The excerpts from the Soviet press that follow give a spectrum of opinion on various aspects of life.



Estonia: Popular Front in Support of Perestroika

The idea of a popular front in support of perestroika was first voiced on Estonian television last April. In June a meeting of front supporters attracted 150,000 people or every tenth citizen of Estonia.

On the eve of the first congress of the Estonian Popular Front (held on October 1 and 2, 1988) the Soviet daily newspaper Pravda published a round-table discussion on the tasks and objectives of a new movement on the Soviet scene. The following are excerpts from the remarks by participants in the discussion.

Marju Lauristin, the ideologist and one of the seven leaders of the Estonian Popular Front: "Mass support for the Popular Front can be explained, I believe, by the fact that the public sees it as a real opportunity to influence the process of renewal. Perestroika has stirred up people in all walks of life. Executing the will of the people through elected Soviet organs and exercising public control over the activities of the state apparatus are the aims of the Popular Front. Public control is necessary to repel the attempts of the bureaucrats to protect the command methods of administration and to combat corruption and the abuse of power."

Indrek Toome, secretary of the Communist Party of Estonia: "It should be noted first of all that the Popular Front came into being at a time when the leadership of the Estonian Communist Party was passive and did not show any initiative.

"The Popular Front is not an alternative to the Communist Party. It is common knowledge that the powers of deputies and other elected rep-

resentatives of the people were curtailed. Therefore, the principle of rule by the people was curtailed too. The Popular Front emerged in the wake of the public's demand, supported by the Nineteenth CPSU Conference, that the rights of the Soviets and the working people's participation in administration should be expanded."

Yevgeni Sidorenko, a Ukrainian in background, secretary of the party committee of the Dvigatel Plant in Tallinn: "We recognize the Popular Front as a new form of people's self-government and share its concern in connection with the unwise policy of migration to Estonia [one in three people living in the republic is not Estonian—Ed.] and the aggravated ecological situation. We also support the idea of introducing self-financing on a republic-wide scale.

"However, in the period when the Popular Front was being formalized, the coverage of interethnic relations in the local mass media was rather biased, offending the national sentiments of non-Estonian ethnics. But is it necessary to make Estonian the official language in the republic without providing, at the same time, firm constitutional guarantees that Russian will also be used on its territory? Non-Estonians did not pay much attention to the need to study the local language. As I see this, such an administrative measure can only split the Estonian and the non-Estonian communities instead of uniting them for the solution of the urgent tasks of perestroika. We are in favor of harmonious and natural Estonian-Russian bilinguality."

had expressed. The conference subsequently endorsed Gorbachev's idea in one of its resolutions.

Abalkin's statement triggered heated debates on the state of Soviet economics. The most hard-hitting criticisms came from Gorbachev, who said that Abalkin's remarks "smack of economic determinism, revealing over-all underestimation of the superstructure, which we have decided to rebuild."

Later, during an open party meeting at the Institute of Economics, Abalkin firmly repeated that he had said what he thought at the conference. People may like or dislike harsh judgments, but today no one needs a science that offers only "convenient" conclusions.

"Disturbing ideological bliss is one of the things the social sciences are supposed to do. All negative developments and stagnation begin with just a little lie, with attempts to paper over the real situation," he said.

WHEN THE DEAD SERVE THE LIVING

Text and Photographs by Lev Sherstennikov

Alloplant—the Latin for “alien graft”—is the name of a revolutionary technique in which tissue is manufactured for surgical grafting. The process covers 27 types of transplants used in more than 60 operations.



The creator of Alloplant is eye surgeon Dr. Ernst Muldashhev, who heads a special laboratory in Ufa, the capital of Bashkiria. Custom-made grafts for use in treating eye diseases are produced there.

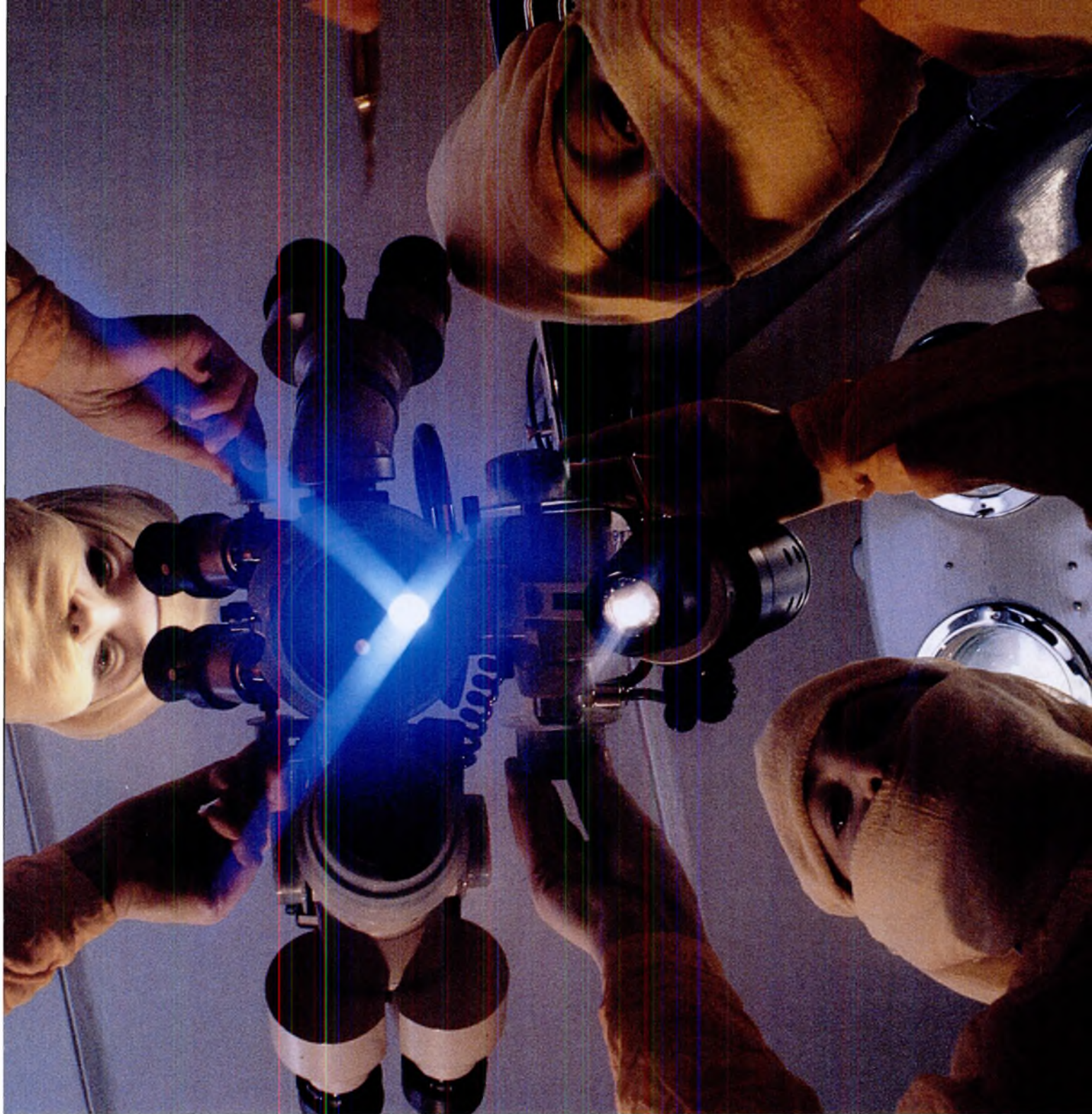
Huge golden letters greeted me as I entered the building where Dr.

An ophthalmologist at the clinic examines a prospective transplant recipient.

If surgeons are now capable of replacing the eyelid, conjunctiva, cornea and cartilage, why shouldn't they be able to use the same principles in other branches of surgery?



The artificial eye may someday be obsolete, and real eyeballs will be grown using the Alloplant method.



Muldashev works: THE DEAD SERVE THE LIVING. A smaller sign on the same door reads: Cadaver Storage. I could hear the murmur of students—all future doctors—in an adjoining room.

It was there in the dissection room that Dr. Muldashev and his friend and colleague Dr. Rafik Nigmatullin

began their careers—began them in a daring and interesting way, forgetting all about time and their unusual surroundings. Their student dissertations were welcomed at scientific conferences and published in research publications. Then, the outlines of a theme emerged.

It all started with a careful study of

the foot. Tissue in the foot works at constant and high pressure and has a characteristic structure: It is almost entirely devoid of blood vessels, and its viability is ensured by some agents as yet undiscovered. What was the secret? Uncovering the mechanism meant solving many of the body's riddles, such as tissue regeneration. ►

Doctors previously thought that transplantation required the exchange of like tissues, that is, skin for skin, cartilage for cartilage and cornea for cornea. The young specialists from Ufa refused to accept this principle and opted for an alternative approach.

Any surgeon involved in tissue or organ transplantation comes across the problem of rejection. The body does not welcome aliens, so to speak, and it mobilizes the immune system to reject them. Patients who undergo even minor grafts do not feel well for quite some time.

Muldashev and Nigmatullin approached the problem this way: When the macrophages—scavenger cells protecting the body—attack the foreign substance, let them do their job. Let them eat the patch or framework. Other cells—fibroblasts—will create their own tissue from the food that the macrophages convert into amino acids. Eventually, nothing is left of the alien framework, only regenerated healthy flesh and tissue. Now the real miracle begins. Instead of a transplanted sclera, for example, the eye grows its own. And following the same principle, it's possible to restore part of a removed lung, tendon or intestine. The possibilities are truly limitless, and everything boils down to choosing and preparing the appropriate graft.

The most striking, if not the most widespread, results are being obtained in operations to eliminate a leukoma in the eye. If the leukoma isn't too deep, a normal transparent cornea can be grown in place of the leukoma by replacing it layer by layer with a transplant prepared from a foot tendon. And over time, the cornea becomes more transparent.

Of course, operations to remove a leukoma are not rare in eye surgery, but conventional medicine calls for using cornea transplants from donor cadavers, and that poses its own set of problems.

But how many corneas are actually needed? How many eyes of the dead have to be disturbed? In a number of countries where religion does not permit organ donations, corneas are imported from other countries.

And what about the large number of people around the world who

could benefit from cornea transplants but are destined not to receive them? For lack of suitable donors, it's possible to use plastic substitutes, but even that is a highly complex matter. The eye rejects the prosthesis. So what is the essence of a graft taken from another person?

When Dr. Muldashev grafts his transplant, the body begins the slow but highly meticulous process of healing. As a result, in place of the grafted tendon, one's own cornea, sclera or cartilage tissue grows. The body accepts the alien graft only for a time before regenerating its own permanent part.

One such donation can help create several hundred transplants. It means hundreds of cured people. "The dead serve the living," as the ancients said.

On my first visit to the laboratory, Dr. Muldashev was in Moscow, so one of his associates showed me around. I saw untreated preparations in jars and also ready-made transplants in ampoules.

Each transplant is processed and balanced in the particular way necessary for a future operation. On the one hand, if the tissue is not brought to the desired condition, the rejection reaction will be strong and may involve complications. On the other hand, if the tissue is overprocessed, the weakened graft will have little new tissue added. Maintaining the delicate balance between the two is an exacting art in transplant preparation. So far production is on a small scale, with everything done by hand. In the future, however, computers will ensure the stability of the results.

On a return visit to the clinic I met the doctor himself, and together we toured the patients wards. One young boy was listening to a man who had already undergone his operation. Noticing Dr. Muldashev and me, the young boy turned and asked excitedly, "You will be operating on me tomorrow, won't you?" "Yes," the doctor nodded and broke into a warm, satisfied grin. ■



Left: A technician prepares tissue for grafting. It's a painstaking and exacting job.
Below left: Ampoules of prepared tissue.
Facing page: Eye surgeon Dr. Ernst Muldashev (center) and his team at the Allo-Transplant for Eye and Plastic Surgery Laboratory in Ufa, Bashkiria.



On February 2, 1987, disaster struck the Central Asian republic of Tajikistan. Heavy rains pouring through the night caused mountain streams to surge over their banks, flooding hectares and hectares of plowland and destroying many homes. By the time the river receded, 220 kilometers of highway had been washed away and 22 major bridges had been left in ruins.

The republic's Minister of Road Building and Land Management, an armchair strategist of advanced age, simply could not cope with the task of managing the massive repair work that was urgently needed. The officials in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, decided to fill the post with someone new who could. Buri Karimov, the head of a mobile road-building firm, was considered the perfect man for the job.

The second eldest of 11 children, Karimov grew up in Uchkul, a small village about 12 kilometers from the capital. A beautiful orchard surrounded the Karimov home. Bochabek Karimov, Buri's father, was a builder on a local collective farm. He was also an avid gardener and a self-taught plant breeder who had a dozen persimmon varieties to his name.

Buri Karimov was a precocious child and learned the three R's at an early age. Even as a small boy, Karimov developed a love for poetry. When he graduated from high school, however, he wasn't sure what field he should go into. His interests lay in Oriental and Russian literature, and he thought about becoming a philologist, teacher or journalist. He asked his father for advice and heard, "Build roads, my Son. We need them."

Almost 93 per cent of Tajikistan is mountains. In summer many villages and towns are isolated by floods and mudslides. In winter two outlying regions are completely cut off from Dushanbe, and they must rely on the neighboring republic of Kirghizia for supplies. Sometimes there are food shortages and medical aid comes too late to be of help. All this because of a lack of roads!

Following his father's advice, Karimov enrolled in the road-building

department at Tajik Polytechnic. A student of rare talent and diligence, he started doing scientific research in his second year. Today Karimov is the author of many scholarly works and the creator of a number of patented inventions. All of his inventions are widely employed throughout the country.

At age 26 Karimov was put in charge of a mobile road-building firm, a large enterprise with a staff of 400, which worked on multimillion-ruble projects. It was a dubious honor. Before Karimov took over, the firm had fallen into total disarray, and it was up to this young engineer to turn the situation around.

Karimov spent the first several months analyzing what needed to be done. He began by trimming personnel by about 150 workers and switching over to a full profit-and-loss system of accounting. Before making his moves, he spent a long time discussing them with the staff. Many workers received promotions, while others were let go.

Karimov faced another managerial problem. The workers had been used to receiving directives and instructions from above. But the team-contract system, which Karimov supported, required the workers having an active role in how everything was run. Under the new system, the lion's share of power went to the workers councils, which were elected. Production-unit councils and the economic council were to determine work assignments, hiring and firing.

The very first year of working by the new system brought amazing results—not that Karimov hadn't expected them—a profit of more than 700,000 rubles. Labor efficiency rose by 18 per cent and the average wage by 15 per cent. Things were even better for the most productive workers, who realized a 30 per cent increase. The firm soon moved into the forefront of the Soviet building industry.

You can find Karimov in his office at the Road-Building Ministry in Dushanbe only two days a week—on Mondays and Saturdays. Tuesdays through Thursdays are spent traveling around the republic, visiting one construction site after another.

Improving the living conditions of the builders is one of Karimov's prime concerns. The housing construction program envisages a separate house or apartment for every family by 1995. Also, on his initiative, the Ministry of Road Building is constructing a sanatorium to accommodate 100 workers and a vacation resort, which is nestled in a lovely chestnut grove.

Another major task is to switch the entire road-building industry over to methods of economic management. Karimov saw how well the full profit-and-loss accounting system worked at the building firm. Since assuming his ministerial post, Karimov has cut costs and streamlined the ministerial staff.

Karimov is someone who knows what he wants and how to go about getting it. He can easily be called a self-made man who is etching out a rising scientific and ministerial career.

A hands-on manager, Buri Karimov spends most of the workweek out of the office. To keep abreast of progress, he travels the serpentine mountain roads from building site to building site, talking with workers.



FIRST RESULTS OF Joint Ventures

By Genrikh Bazhenov

Consultant to Gosplan (USSR State Planning Committee)

More than 18 months ago the USSR announced an official resolution permitting Soviet firms to engage in joint ventures with foreign companies on Soviet territory. The question now is whether the drive for cooperation and joint entrepreneurship has been completely and successfully launched or whether unforeseen circumstances are causing it to flounder.

Here are some figures to begin with. By early July 1988 more than 50 joint ventures had been registered in the Soviet Union, including seven involving American companies. In the near

future several dozen more are likely to develop as a result of negotiations being held with some Western European, Japanese and Canadian firms.

So far the chemical industry has found itself more open to joint ventures than other industries. Indeed, vast deposits of natural gas in the USSR are a good reason for any company to want to transform gas into chemicals and to earn foreign exchange by exporting its products. Another reason is that for a long time we have been doing business with Occidental Petroleum Corporation, an American company that is collaborating at Tengiz on the Cas-



Western experts acknowledge Soviet scientific achievements. This coupled with tough rivalry in the business world and the search for new markets can lead to a broader exchange of technologies.

pian Sea with the Italian firms Montedison S.P.A. and Enichem and the Japanese firm Marubeni to produce sulfur, polypropylene and polyethylene. The total estimated cost of the project is more than six billion dollars.

But even that dramatic project may seem trivial compared to the Western Siberian Soviet-American

consortium involving Combustion Engineering and McDermott International of the United States and Mitsubishi and Mitsui of Japan. The ultimate goal is to set up more than 20 petrochemical plants in the towns of Surgut and Tobolsk by 1995. Soviet officials pre-

dict that the super consortium is likely to become the biggest U.S.-USSR joint venture. (See page 24.)

At some earlier stage, the engineering industry, not unexpectedly, did not appeal to Western companies, partly as a result of trade restrictions designed to limit the export of Western technology to the USSR. In early May 1988, however, the U.S. Secretary of Commerce announced that the United States was easing export restrictions on energy-generating, medical and construction equipment and on some technologies used in the services sector and management. As a result, Rank Xerox, a

company that has been exporting its photocopying machines to the Soviet Union for years, is negotiating a proposal to start joint production in the Soviet Union of photocopying and facsimile machines and laser printers.

To all indications, the U.S. business community has embarked on a *perestroika* of its own in its attitude toward the Soviet Union. Only several months ago one American corporation made an unprecedented offer to join forces with the USSR in introducing a new engineering technology developed in the United States. According to the company's spokesperson, as part of its long-term plan, the company is prepared to install its new systems at some Soviet enterprises immediately, then proceed with joint scientific and technological research, sell jointly produced goods to other countries and finally launch a joint venture.

How can one explain this unheard-of offer, which no expert in Soviet-American business contacts would have believed only a short while ago? Tough rivalry in the business world and the striving to find new markets are obviously among the reasons. But there must be other, more fundamental motives too. One of these is the growing awareness of the fact that the new phase of East-West economic contacts may result not only in more profound cooperation in traditional fields but also in a broader exchange of technologies.

According to many Western experts, such contacts are no longer a one-way street. Soviet scientific achievements are well known and are generally associated with space technology. Not surprisingly, an offer to launch Western satellites by Glavkosmos, the central Soviet

agency supervising commercial space ventures, is seen today as part of the Soviet effort to sell know-how and technology.

It seems that the Soviet offer will not go unanswered. According to the chairperson of the board of Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm, a West German aircraft and missile production concern, the Germans are looking forward to closer cooperation with the Soviets in future space ventures.

It's no use trying to figure out if 50 joint ventures are too many or too few. The number is not what really matters. Here is one sobering indicator: Only a few of the registered joint ventures, small and insignificant as they are, are beginning to put their products on the market. Are our Western partners too slow? No, we must admit frankly that the joint venture drive is not floundering because of the Western companies involved. Other things are to blame, such as our imperfect and contradictory legislation on joint ventures, red tape and conditions that discourage investors. To say that joint ventures in this country have won a place in the sun would be an exaggeration.

According to current Soviet legislation, the share of foreign partners in the statutory capital of joint ventures must not exceed 49 per cent. This restriction is not justified. We should watch more closely the experience of other socialist countries that have established a more flexible arrangement, creating no difficulties about the transfer of profits and imposing lower taxes on partners.

It is hardly worth trying to draw parallels between domestic economic and foreign trade policies. And yet, speaking about the negative reaction of Western business operators to the rigidly fixed limitation on the foreign share of statutory capital, I cannot help recalling the recent uproar among the deputies to the Supreme Soviet who vetoed an attempt by the Ministry of Finance to impose a murderous tax on members of our newly emerging cooperatives.

Without trying to anticipate future decisions on foreign trade, I can only hope that the joint venture drive will stop teetering and start moving ahead at a faster pace.

Western business representatives unanimously agree that the chief disadvantage of the Soviet joint venture legislation is a clause that allows Western entrepreneurs to transfer their profit abroad in dollars only under the condition that their factories turn out exportable goods and that these goods are actually exported. Because the Soviet ruble remains as inconvertible as ever, this provision effectively bars Western firms from participating in joint ventures with access to the hungry Soviet market, the consumer goods market above all. Don't we need consumer goods on our market? We do, badly.

According to some Western business people, "though the legal inconsistencies have not paralyzed the joint venture drive, they have slowed it down considerably." Moreover, fears that joint ventures will find themselves totally dependent on their suppliers, or on ordinary Soviet factories, have resulted in endless negotiations, as the firms try to compensate for the lack of commercial rights to buy capital goods. Frankly, such complaints are well justified and reflect the real situation. As the newspaper *Izvestia* aptly noted recently, joint venture managers often find it easier to negotiate for hardware supplies worth millions of rubles from a Western company than to have Gosnab (the Soviet agency in charge of state supplies) provide two machine tools.

Other hurdles include ridiculous trifles. It took a whole year for the bureaucrats at one newly created joint venture to have a rubber stamp made. In pursuit of hard currency, authorities charge foreigners rent in dollars, not in rubles. As a result, it costs more to rent an ordinary apartment than to live in a luxury hotel.

Addressing the Nineteenth Party Conference, a delegate complained that fighting the bureaucrats was hard work indeed. He said there was no point in trying to prevent an avalanche of official papers and instructions; it's easier "simply to kill their authors." Judging by everything, our potential partners in joint ventures are going to act firmly. Several American corporations have recently set up a trade consortium in an at-

tempt to evade the bureaucratic obstacles preventing Western companies from doing business in the USSR. The *New York Times* said Soviet membership in the consortium indicated Mikhail Gorbachev's firm intention to ensure a better climate for Western investors in his country.

Similar steps have been taken by the general managers of joint ventures. Trying to facilitate decision making and management, they have set up a Soviet Joint Venture Association under the aegis of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Soviet business contacts with the West have improved dramatically over the past 18 months. The drive for joint ventures is still on, though it's not as dynamic as we would like it to be. A recent poll among more than a hundred American multinational corporations doing business with the USSR indicated that our country ranked high as a trade partner. Over half of those polled said the Soviet Union was at the top of their list of foreign customers, and 87 per cent indicated their preparedness to continue to trade with the Soviet Union. This is the position of the U.S. business community.

But we, for our part, should overcome the stereotypes of economic thinking. Experience proves that some economic officials and managers are still trying to use old methods to deal with the new issues facing the Soviet economy. And some have failed to use their vast new rights to advantage because of a lack of economic knowledge and competence. We must, therefore, improve our plans for training personnel for the joint ventures. Our primary goal is to prevent this new progressive form of foreign trade from being discredited by shoddy work and incompetence.

We are fully aware that training is not only our affair. We will, therefore, have to use Western managerial experience. It is gratifying in this connection that the Harvard School of Business Administration has offered to collaborate with the USSR Research Institute under the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers to work out the basics of management technique for joint ventures. ■

GOING FOR SAKHALIN'S OIL

By Vladislav Nemirovski



As of October 1, 1988, a total of 105 joint ventures with the participation of Soviet and foreign organizations and firms were registered in the USSR. Their number, however, keeps growing, and that increasingly calls for the settlement of many problems by joint efforts.

In April 1988 the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, the American firm Occidental Petroleum, the Italian firms Montedison S.P.A. and Enichem, and the Japanese company Marubeni signed a protocol of intent to set up a joint venture, Tengizpolimer.

So in August Soviet oil representatives once again received a delegation of their American colleagues from McDermott Company, who were interested in the development of oil and gas fields in the Far East. The meetings of representatives of the Sakhalinmorneftegaz Association and of McDermott took place on Sakhalin Island.

Business circles in the United States, Japan, Great Britain and other countries have shown great interest in



*Today drilling rigs
have reached out far
into the sea to pump
oil from the
continental shelf of
the Sea of Okhotsk.*

*Representatives of an
association,
SAKMAC, that will
drill for oil on
Sakhalin Island work
out the details for
their arrangement.*

Sakhalin's natural resources and mineral wealth for more than a century. When the St. Petersburg newspapers reported the discovery of oil in that region in the 1890s, applications from foreign business people for the rights to develop those oil deposits began pouring in. Meanwhile, a retired Russian Navy lieutenant, Grigori Zotov, organized a Russian industrial society and started working the oil fields. The first drilling rig built there in 1889 was the first landmark in the century-old history of Sakhalin oil.

American oilworkers visited promising deposits and drilling installations at sea.



Today drilling rigs have reached out far into the sea to pump oil from the continental shelf of the Sea of Okhotsk. The Sakhalinmorneftegaz Association has ambitious goals in this five-year development period too. In 1990 the association plans to produce 3 billion cubic meters of gas and 2.7 million tons of oil.

The first meeting of Soviet and American oil men in that region has resulted in a decision to set up an international consortium, SAKMAC, to work together the offshore deposits of the Sea of Okhotsk.

The head of the American delegation, Robert Douglas Miller, noted that primary attention will be given to the human and natural factors, to safety engineering and environmental protection. When these problems are resolved, they will attend to ensuring rational development of the island's natural resources and to preventing nonproductive losses.

The association is confident that the joint work of Soviet and American oil men will profit both sides not only from the economic point of view but by promoting stronger friendship and cooperation between our countries. ■



Robert Miller (left) and other Soviet and American experts "on location" on Sakhalin.



Until the end of this century, the planets will move into the ideal configuration for a Mars launch once every two years. The orbital vehicle (top inset) lowers probes, meteorological beacons and other instruments onto Mars's surface.



After Phobos— on to Mars

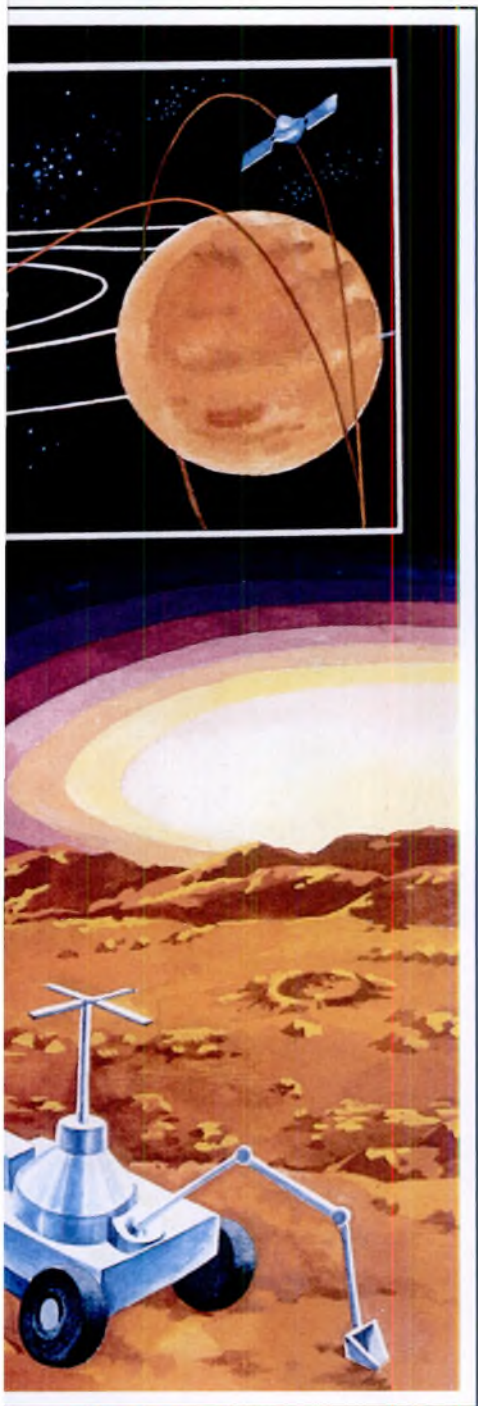
By Yuri Zaitsev

Several years' experience in planetary investigations has shown that the best results can be achieved from a program consisting of a series of flights with intervals of several years between them. Each mission lays the foundation for new, more complex experiments. This was how the Soviet programs for studying the Moon and Venus were carried

out. Recently, this kind of program has been in the making for the study of minor bodies of the solar system. The first stages of this program were the flights of the automatic interplanetary space probes *Vega 1* and *Vega 2* to meet Halley's Comet.

The next step is the Phobos Project. Its main purpose is the study of the satellites of Mars.

Planetary studies will be continued



as well. In the USSR, the scientific community's attention has in recent years been focused on Mars. Why?

Mars is the main link in the evolution of the planetary bodies from the primitive geology of the Moon to the extremely complicated one of the Earth. The formation of Mars's surface and climate is unique. Specialists are still hopeful that they may discover open water reservoirs and a

denser atmosphere on the planet. Besides, Mars continues to be one of the few nooks in the solar system where we might still find some forms of life or traces of its existence in the past. Finally, at our present level of scientific know-how, Mars is the planet where the possibility of landing cosmonauts is most realistic.

Many prominent Soviet and American scientists have proposed a manned mission to Mars. They generally agree, however, that automatic probes must precede any manned mission to the planet. This would allow scientists to work out, stage by stage, the flight and investigation procedures, to select the best areas for subsequent landings and to conduct preliminary explorations there.

Soviet scientists have proposed to their foreign counterparts a stage-by-stage program of Martian research. The Phobos mission can be looked upon as the very important first step in the implementation of this program. The next stage, planned for the mid-1990s, will investigate the surface and atmosphere of Mars.

The Institute of Space Research of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR has proposed that two space vehicles be launched, each comprising an orbital station, a return rocket to bring photographic materials from Mars's orbit to Earth, a descent module carrying a weather balloon and a Martian vehicle (*marsokhod*), 10 minor meteorological beacons and their landing gear, probes for studying the physical and chemical properties of Martian soil and a subsatellite of the main orbital spacecraft.

The flight from Earth to Mars will take about 300 days. Once the spacecraft is in the planet's orbit, preliminary studies will be made of the planet's surface and atmosphere, to specify the landing areas and landing times for the descent module and special probes.

After separating from the main vehicle, the descent module will move out of orbit and toward the planet. The weather balloon will be released into the atmosphere, and the *marsokhod* will be lowered onto the planet.

The *marsokhod* will travel hundreds of kilometers. It may use either solar batteries or isotopic thermoelectrogen-

erators as sources of energy. The program of scientific investigations to be performed by the *marsokhod* is quite comprehensive. One of its most important functions will be to obtain a large number of panoramic photos along its route.

The module could also be useful in collecting rock specimens from a large surface area and from a depth of several meters. Thereafter, the *marsokhod*, with its collected specimens, could serve as a radio beacon.

A meteorological station will also be set up on the *marsokhod*. The study of the atmosphere, of the direction and force of winds and storms on Mars, and of the planet's long-term seismic activity is an important part of the first stage of planned investigations of the planet.

Gathering soil specimens from the planet's deeper layers is especially important. Scientists hope that analysis of the samples will reveal the existence of some forms of life.

Scientific organizations and specialists from many countries are expected to take part in this research program. The experience of the Vega Project has demonstrated how effective such cooperation can be.

Roald Sagdeyev, director of the Institute of Space Research, says, "Today we have a good basis for conducting joint space investigations with the United States. In April 1987 the USSR and the United States signed an agreement opening the way for cooperation in 16 areas of space research. Mars is a lofty aim in humankind's expansion into space, and we must meet the challenge together."

"The cost of a flight to Mars would not be prohibitive; at any rate, it would be much less than the annual expenditure by the USSR and the United States on nuclear armaments."

"A manned mission to Mars seems quite realistic today. We've had a lot of experience in long-term space flights, assembled intricate large-scale complexes in outer space and developed large-capacity carrier rockets. The scientific and technical potential of the USSR, the United States and the European countries is such that we can speak of a manned space mission to Mars as a realistic possibility in the years 2010-2015." ■

GLASNOST

The Stalin Phenomenon

Passions are still running high during discussions of the Soviet remote yet recent past. "My wife jokes cheerlessly that Stalin has become a member of our family," said Colonel General Dmitri Volkogonov, Doctor of Philosophy. Some even call it "necrophilia." The reason behind the phenomenon is obvious, however: Without bringing to light

all the details—many of them hitherto concealed—of the Soviet state's 70-year history, we have no guarantee against making the same errors in the future.

Nonetheless, opinions differ conspicuously on this very subject. Here are just a few examples taken from the latest issues of Soviet newspapers.



On Mirabeau and Marat, Stalin and Brezhnev

"On April 4, 1791, the entire population of Paris attended the funeral of Honoré Riqueti, Comte de Mirabeau, who was regarded as one of the principal heroes of the great French Revolution," reads a letter from Professor Leonid Frisman of Kharkov, the Ukraine, recently published in the young people's monthly *Sobesednik (Colloquy)*. "A mere two years elapsed, and Mirabeau's remains were thrown out of the Panthéon. I can well understand the feelings of his contemporaries: The man they had reverently called the 'father of the people' was found to have maintained clandestine ties with the royal court. But how do we assess our leaders' actions? We can remove the remnants of the politician from the Pantheon, but can we erase his contribution to history? What was wrathfully called Mirabeau's treason did not prevent Marx from calling him the 'lion of the revolution.' Marat took Mirabeau's place in the Panthéon, but the same fate awaited

his remains after the Ninth of Thermidor.

"One cannot but draw such analogies now that people, led by noble wrath, demand that the burials be brought in line with the current assessments of the leaders of the Stalin and post-Stalin periods: to remove the graves of Stalin and Brezhnev from Red Square, to transfer Khrushchev's remains to the graveyard behind the Lenin Mausoleum, and the like.

"If we act like this, we'll have our hands full. We might take away the title of Lenin Prize winner in literature from Brezhnev, admit Boris Pasternak to the USSR Writers' Union, nullify the warrants for the arrests of Nikolai Vavilov, Osip Mandelstam and Vsevolod Meyerhold. But should we?

"The awarding of the highest prize for literature to Brezhnev is a shameful, yet typical fact of our recent past. But what would we change today by canceling this decision? What's done is done, as one poet said.

"The fact that a certain person was buried in a certain place reflects the attitude of his contemporaries toward this person. This is a fait accompli.

"The ancients used to say that the very deities themselves cannot reverse the course of history and turn things accomplished into things that never existed. This saying was probably not devoid of bitterness: Not all generations received the legacy they would have liked. And we are no exception." ■

"Stalin Is My Idol!"

"Stalin is my idol!" says World War II veteran A. Guzov in *Sotsialisticheskaya industriya* (*Socialist Industry*). "I keep his portrait, along with Lenin's, on the wall of my room."

It is common knowledge that the price of victory is the sole yardstick for assessing the art of a military leader. But as early as 1941-1945, Stalin was laboriously camouflaging the real losses sustained by Russia and overstating German losses.

"Historians grudge human losses," writes pensioner K. Albegov, a "party, Komsomol and war veteran" from the town of Terek in the Northern Caucasus. "But are there wars without victims? Are there norms and limits for losses at all? What are they? True, plenty of people perished in this war, but they believed in Stalin."

But is worshipping an idol worth millions of human lives? Many letters treat the lost lives with contempt. A person with an illegible signature says that "losses were inevitable." Another reader, A. Ivanov, maintains that Russia had a choice: either to win by any means or to be defeated.

However, beginning with the battles on the borders and concluding with the capture of Berlin, the Red Army had another option—the easy victory that Stalin and his associates promised prior to the war. Regrettably, the Red Army sustained greater losses than the Wehrmacht on the Eastern Front. Speaking in terms of "mistakes and miscalculations" is in fact an attempt to justify Stalin.

"In real fact, it was the interference—criminal in its nature and in the results it yielded, of a dilettante, vested with unlimited and extremely cruel power—in the affairs of the General Headquarters," comments Doctor of History A. Mertsalov in *Sotsialisticheskaya*

industria. "It is a well-known fact that back in 1918-1922 Lenin was far from taking military command, whereas Stalin, who occupied an enormous number of positions, intruded into virtually every sphere."

A recurrent feature in veterans' letters is that they recall flattering assessments of Stalin by British and American leaders during the war that applied instead to the army and the people. But Churchill is known to have made another statement that he addressed to his allies when he was not bound by diplomatic considerations. On October 9, 1954, he told a Blackpool conference of the Conservative Party that the more he delved into the career of Stalin, who for many years had been a Russian dictator, the more he was astonished at his horrible mistakes and his ruthless disregard of associates.

Summing up the review of letters from Stalin's advocates, Dr. Mertsalov concludes that a dangerous idea has taken root in people's minds—notably, that all the drawbacks of our modern life came from nowhere. Stalinists are particularly indignant with Brezhnev and Khrushchev for these drawbacks.

Yet any historical event is preceded by other developments. The vast majority of deviations from socialism, many of which have not yet been overcome, emerged in Stalin's time. Khrushchev's and Brezhnev's flaws and errors were also recurrences of Stalinism.

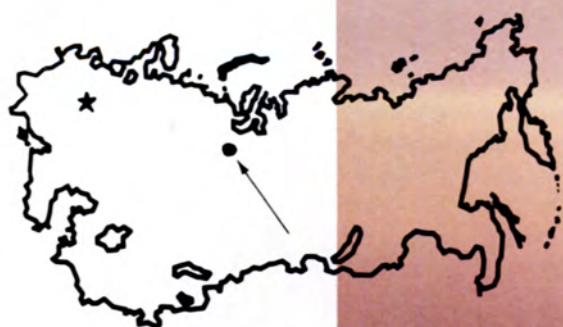
Stalinism means not just the personality cult, an innocent belief in god-man. It means usurpation of power over the party and the people, disguised by the distortion of Lenin's ideas, of revolution and socialism. It means deformation of the party. Stalinism implies mass terror, contempt for human life, the massacre of mil-

lions of innocent people on political grounds. It is the system of administration by decree embracing all spheres of social life, formed by the ruler and subject to him only; enormous powers wielded by bureaucrats; corruption in management, trade, science, and so forth. Stalinism is a blatant violation of the simplest democratic norms, artfully muted by rhetoric about human rights; absence of a law-based state; unchecked intolerance of heterodoxy; distortions of Lenin's nationalities policy; and arbitrary treatment of religion.

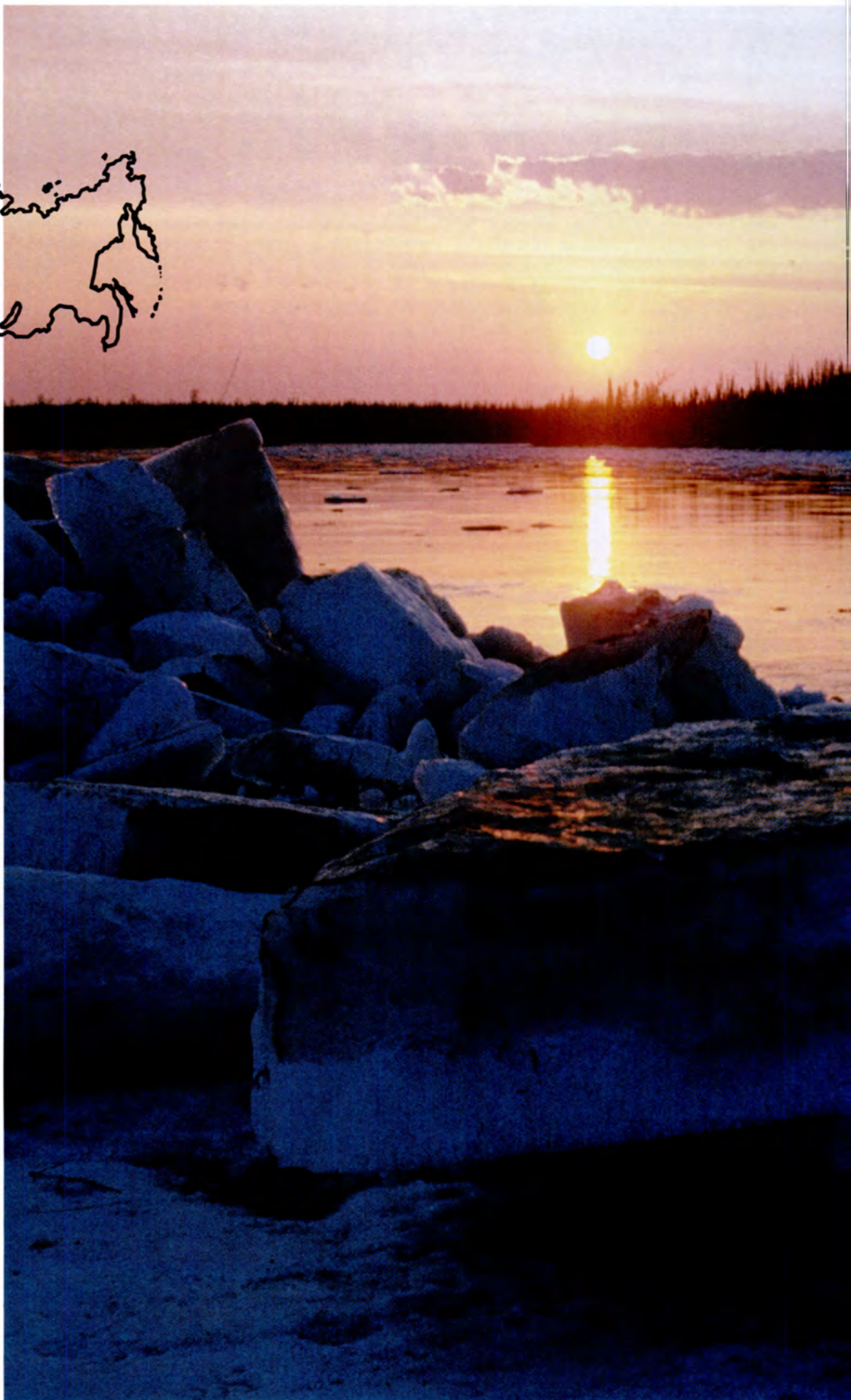
Stalinism means forced labor of millions of people, primitive technology, plundering of human and natural resources. It is sponging and social inequality generated by leveling on the one hand, and privileges to certain strata of the population on the other. Stalinism implies mistrust, suspicion, denunciation, obsequiousness, hypocrisy, erosion of human dignity. Stalinism means fraud on the state level, fabrication of "traitors against the homeland," misrepresented results of collectivization, falsified history of the party, the state and the world.

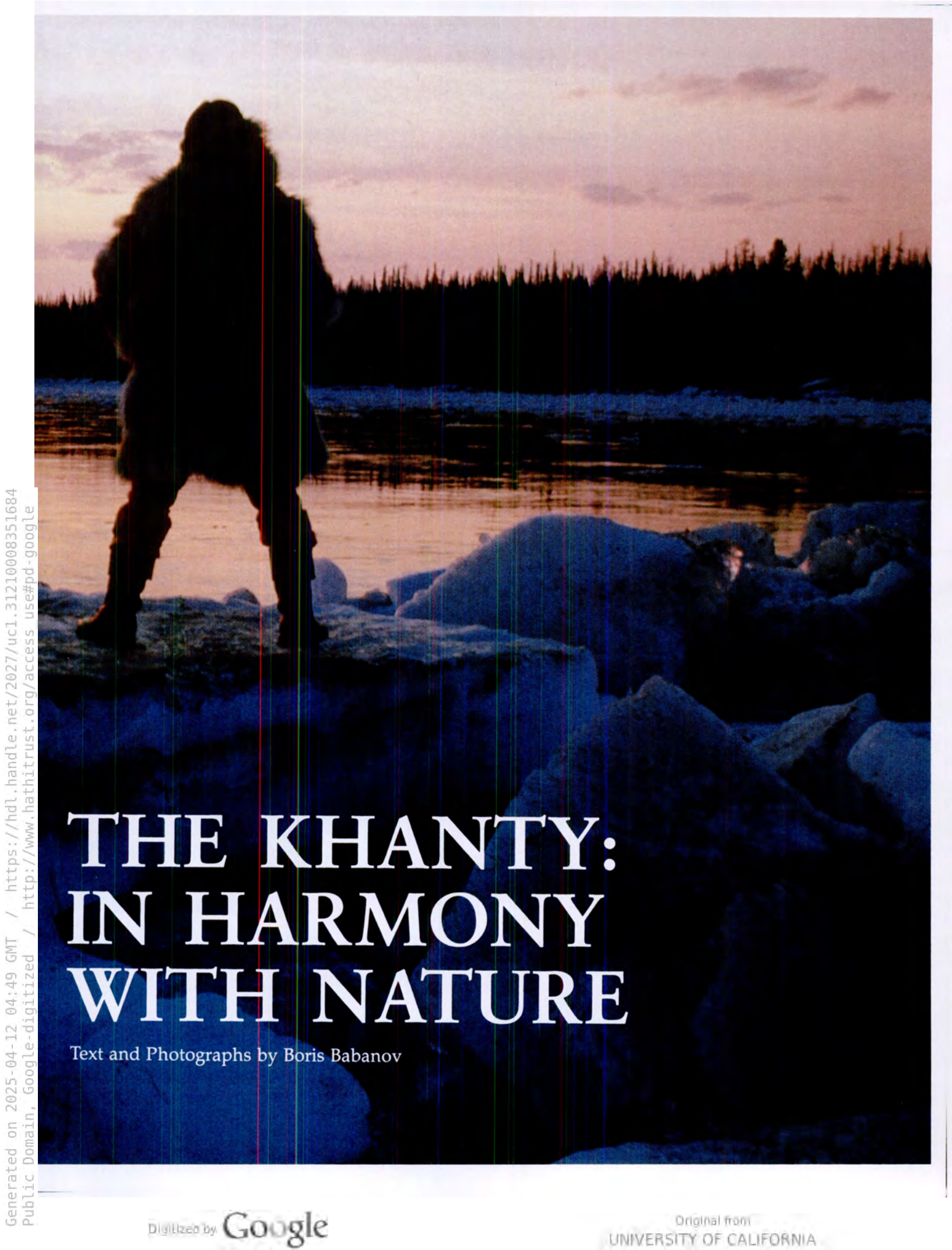
Stalinism is militant obscurantism, persecution of intellectuals; it is the "great luminary of science" interfering in many fields, after which they ceased to exist for many years. To the honor of the party and the people, not everyone was submissive to the spiritual and other pressures of Stalinism and its varieties. Stalinism failed to erase people's intelligence, integrity and honesty. Revolutionary *perestroika*, the decisions of the Twenty-seventh Congress of the CPSU and the Nineteenth Party Conference, revive Leninism.

Weeds should be removed roots and all. That is why the press focuses today on the deep roots of our troubles.



The Khanty compose a small ethnic group living along the lower reaches of the mighty Siberian river Ob. From time immemorial, the Khanty have shared their land with another indigenous people, the Mansi. The boons of twentieth century civilization have been adopted by both these peoples, but only by those who live in the major settlements of the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area.



A full-page photograph of a person wearing a dark fur parka and boots, standing on a large, flat piece of ice or snow. The person is facing away from the camera, looking out over a body of water. In the background, there is a dense line of dark evergreen trees under a pale, hazy sky. The foreground is filled with more ice and snow, creating a textured, blue-toned landscape.

THE KHANTY: IN HARMONY WITH NATURE

Text and Photographs by Boris Babanov

When we climbed out of our helicopter after landing in the small Khanty village of Til-Tim, the first thing that caught our eye was the bright colors of the local women's clothes. We thought that a folk festival must be going on, with everybody wearing their ceremonial garb. But the wonderful costumes turned out to be everyday wear.

Everyone was busy carrying pails back and forth: The spring sun had recently thawed the ice on the river. Water is considered to have special medicinal properties and to taste especially good in this season.

The Til-Tim women treated us to elk and deer meat—every family stores an elk and several deer to last through the winter. The fish soup and dried bread they served us was no less delicious.

Til-Tim is like no village I'd ever seen. It doesn't have a single shop. There is no school and no post office here. All 10 villagers have the same last name: Taligin. The reason for this is that all of them belong to one clan. Historically, the Khanty and the Mansi were divided into local tribes and two phratries, which in turn comprised a number of clans, each named after one or more ancestor hero. Whatever tribe a person belonged to, he or she was obliged to marry a member of the opposite phratry.

I spent most of my time in the village with four of the Taligins—Ivan, Iosif and two Vladimirs. The men are hunters and fishers. They spend almost the whole year in Til-Tim, and go for only a short time to the larger village of Muzhi, the center of their collective farm, to do some fishing in mid-May, when the river is completely free of ice.

Ivan Taligin is the clan elder. He has been honored with the title for his experience, intelligence and deftness at handiwork. I personally found him to be endowed with enviable common sense. Taligin's brothers are all good craftsmen. They excel at making ritual masks, wooden crane amulets and children's toys. ■





Rural Khanty and Mansi have retained an exotic way of life that differs greatly from that of the urban population. The Khanty of the countryside are expert hunters and fishers. They have remained faithful to their age-old customs and have not abandoned their colorful, beaded folk costumes made of reindeer skins. During the winter the dog sled is the preferred means of transportation.



A panoramic view
of the tundra in the
Khanty-Mansi
Autonomous Area.

GLASNOST

International Mail

Soviet citizens who correspond with people abroad have asked for many years why international mail takes so long to reach Soviet addresses. *Literaturnaya gazeta* and other popular papers have tried several times to find the answer at the USSR Ministry of Communications. No appreciable changes followed. At last *Izvestia* decided to interfere.

"True, we are often reproached for delays in processing letters. But most of the complaints are unfair," said the deputy head of Moscow's International Post Office at 37A Varshavskoye Avenue. He suggested that he and the *Izvestia* correspondent together open a couple of the mailbags that had just arrived. The first bag, from New York, contained letters stamped in New York three weeks to four months earlier. The bags from Spain and Austria had many letters stamped five to seven days earlier and also letters sent 30 to 45 days ago. By the way, in each of the three mailbags there were unglued or hardly glued envelopes and envelopes glued with Scotch tape.

How are the long delays explained at the International Post Office? One of the problems is the different rule of address writing in the Soviet postal practice. The rule is that the sender should first write the address and put the name of the addressee underneath it. The sender's address should be written in the lower right-hand corner of the envelope [see photograph].

It also happens that in some countries post office workers wait to send off a mailbag to the Soviet Union until it is full, not taking advantage of other transit opportunities.

It goes without saying that the International Post Office is also responsible for delays. Sorting the letters, for instance, takes from two to three weeks.

"Still, I was not convinced that our postal services are near perfect," the *Izvestia* correspondent wrote in conclusion. "Sometimes it takes letters sent from Moscow to Moscow Region weeks to reach the addressee. Maybe such letters are forwarded via New York City?"



Rock Music—A Disease?

"I am glad you have published competent opinions of your readers about rock music. They helped me a lot to understand why my son and his friends like it. You have chosen the right, balanced tone in writing about it," Yelena Plotnikova, a Leningrad reader, writes in the magazine *Nedelya* (*The Week*).

"Unfortunately, our local [Leningrad] newspapers have taken a different tone. The youth newspaper *Smena* [*New Wave*] published an article by two doctors who claim that rock music is a 'grave disease.' It 'disturbs the balance of sex and adrenal gland hormones, which changes the insulin level in blood, causes spinal endocranial gland and nervous traumas and serious vision ailments, and affects memory, brain functions and neuromuscular coordination.'

"The esteemed doctors have made other stunning discoveries too. 'The hard rhythm excites sex instincts, and it usually appeals to persons with sexual pathologies. . . . I think,' Plotnikova concludes, "such publications only mislead people, preventing them from understanding a phenomenon millions of Soviet young people are crazy about."

ART

AVANT-GARDE

By Eleonora Yakovleva



Innovative Russian and Soviet art from 1905 to 1930—once criticized by cultural authorities as “formalist rubbish” and “charlatanry”—has emerged from its underground existence. And it is impressing the public with its pioneering spirit.

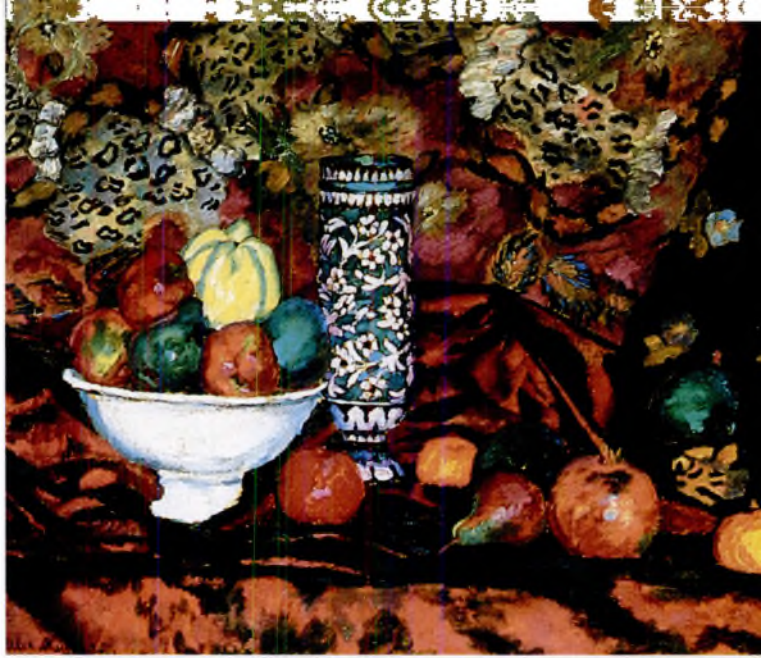
Art collecting is an old Russian tradition, going back hundreds of years. The collections of paintings and sculptures belonging to the Tretyakov brothers, the Morozov brothers and Savva Mamontov are the basis of the world-famous Tretyakov Gallery, while the masterpieces of Western European art gathered by Sergei Shchukin form the core of the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts.

For many years Georgi Kostaki, a leading Moscow collector, tried in vain to interest some museum in his vast collection. Eventually he man-

Time of Change, a recent exhibit of Russian and Soviet avant-garde paintings from private collections, was a smashing success.

aged to donate part of it to the Tretyakov Gallery. Now, thanks to this enthusiastic collector, the viewing public has the opportunity to become acquainted with many avant-garde artists who might very well have gone unnoticed. Interestingly, Kostaki discovered a very absorbing painting by Lyubov Popova in the kitchen of a communal apartment in Leningrad.

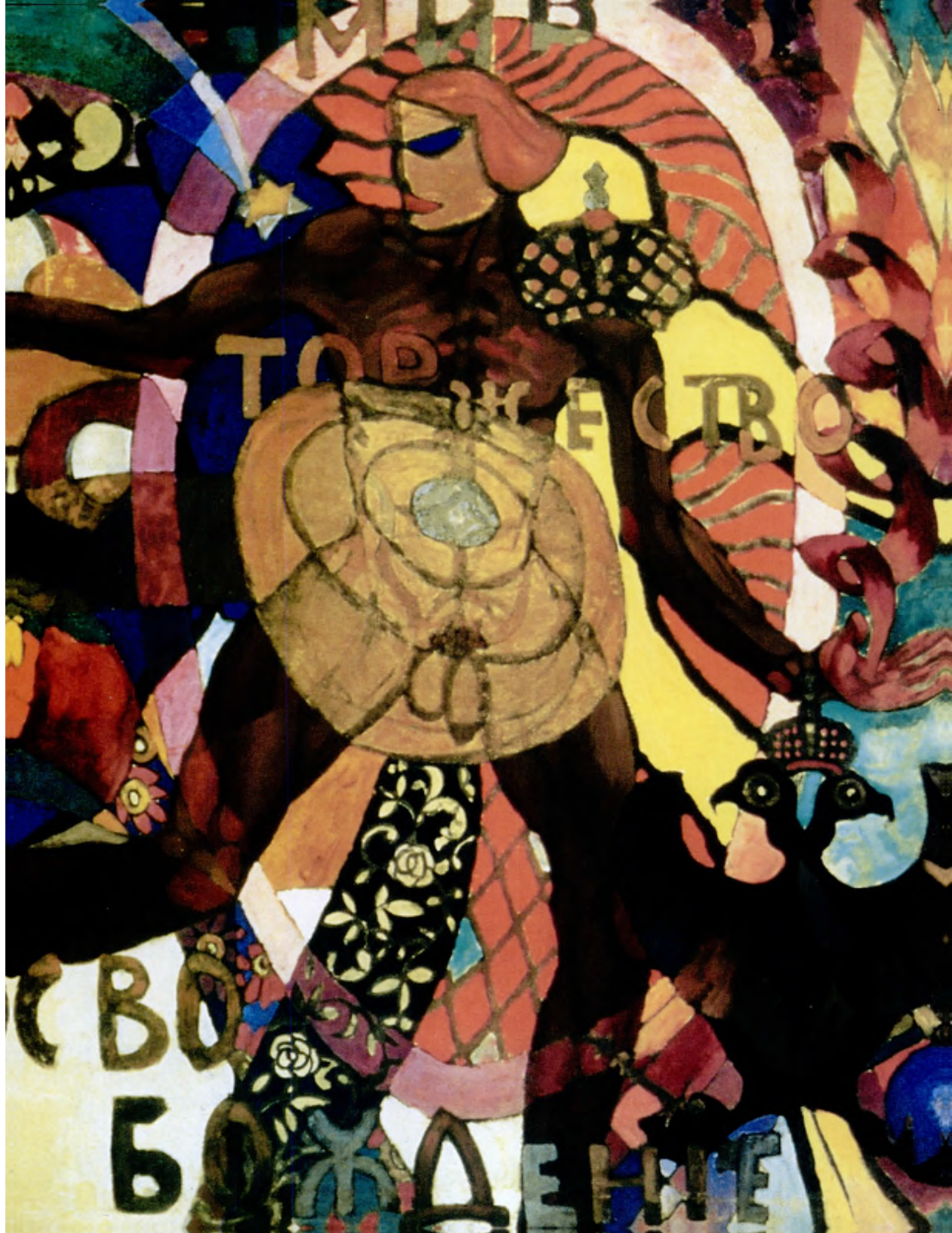
“Russian avant-garde art is a unique phenomenon,” says Academician Dmitri Likhachev, a leading Soviet expert on Russian culture. “From the outset our artists were different from their Western counterparts. We overcame cubism in our own way and took our own path back from nonrepresentational art to objective art. That path is illuminated by original philosophical and artistic concepts that ▶

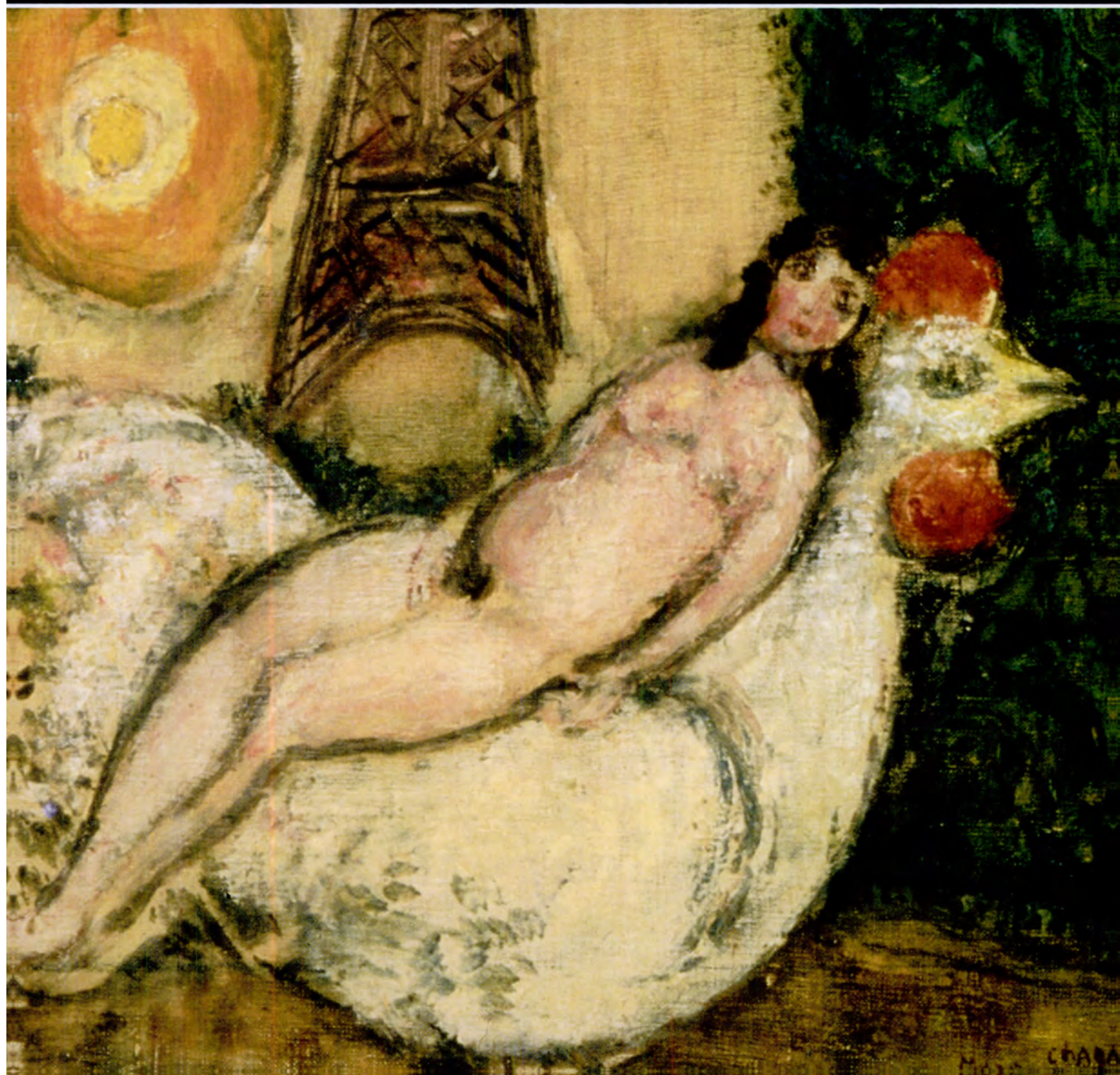


Top: Ilya Mashkov. *Still Life with Fruit on a Cloth* (S. Shuster collection).
Above: Natalya Goncharova. *Town in Spring* (Chudnovsky collection).

Below: Alexander Drevin. *Bulls at the Watering Hole* (Semyonov collection).









Top: Niko Pirozmanishvili. *Fallow Deer* (S. Shuster collection).
Above: Ivan Puni. *Still Life with a Bottle and Pears* (V. Dudakov collection).

Below: Alexander Yakovlev. *Dummy* (N. Efron-Blokh collection).



The exhibit with the telltale name, Time of Change, which was arranged by the newly established Soviet Cultural Foundation, provided an insight into one of the most intriguing periods of Russian and Soviet art. Some of the 150 pictures on display are real gems.

were influenced by the philosophy of Nikolai Fyodorov."

The world's first Museum of Avant-Garde Art was founded in Petrograd in 1918, in Mytlev House, the house in which French encyclopedist Denis Diderot stayed during the reign of Catherine the Great. In 1919 the museum became an institute of artistic culture.

Though Russian avant-garde art did not fully run its course—in the thirties it abruptly died out—the achievements of many of its schools, such as abstract expressionism, suprematism, primitivism and futurism, were no less important than the accomplishments of impressionism.

When avant-garde paintings first appeared in Russia, the public was outraged. And as a result of many years of official disapproval, many people still do not accept nonobjective art as art. For too long realism was considered the only correct art form. The cultural authorities failed to realize that avant-garde art reflected the changes brought about by the Socialist Revolution.

However, the situation is beginning to change. The exhibit with the telltale name, Time of Change, which was arranged by the newly established Soviet Cultural Foundation, provided an insight into one of the most intriguing periods of Russian and Soviet art. Some of the 150 pictures on display are real gems, con-

sidered prized possessions by any museum. Among these works are *Peace, Triumph, Liberation* by Aristarkh Lentulov, *Nude on a Cock-erel* by Marc Chagall and *Shearing Sheep* by Pavel Kuznetsov.

Two paintings deserve special mention—*Town in Spring* by Natalya Goncharova and *Portrait of Natalya Goncharova* by Mikhail Larionov. Goncharova and Larionov—incidentally, they were husband and wife—were leading members of the Jack of Diamonds avant-garde group. Many outstanding masters emerged from this group.

Other notable artists represented in the Time of Change exhibit were Kirill Zdanevich, a tireless experimenter; Niko Pirozmanishvili, a primitive painter from Soviet Georgia; Pyotr Konchalovsky, an artist often compared to Cézanne; and Ilya Mashkov, a painter famous for his wild-colored still lifes.

Unfortunately, the life and careers of many of these artists took a tragic turn. Some had to emigrate from Russia; others fell victim to Stalinist terror. Among the latter was Alexander Drevin, who created highly emotional "metaphysical" works.

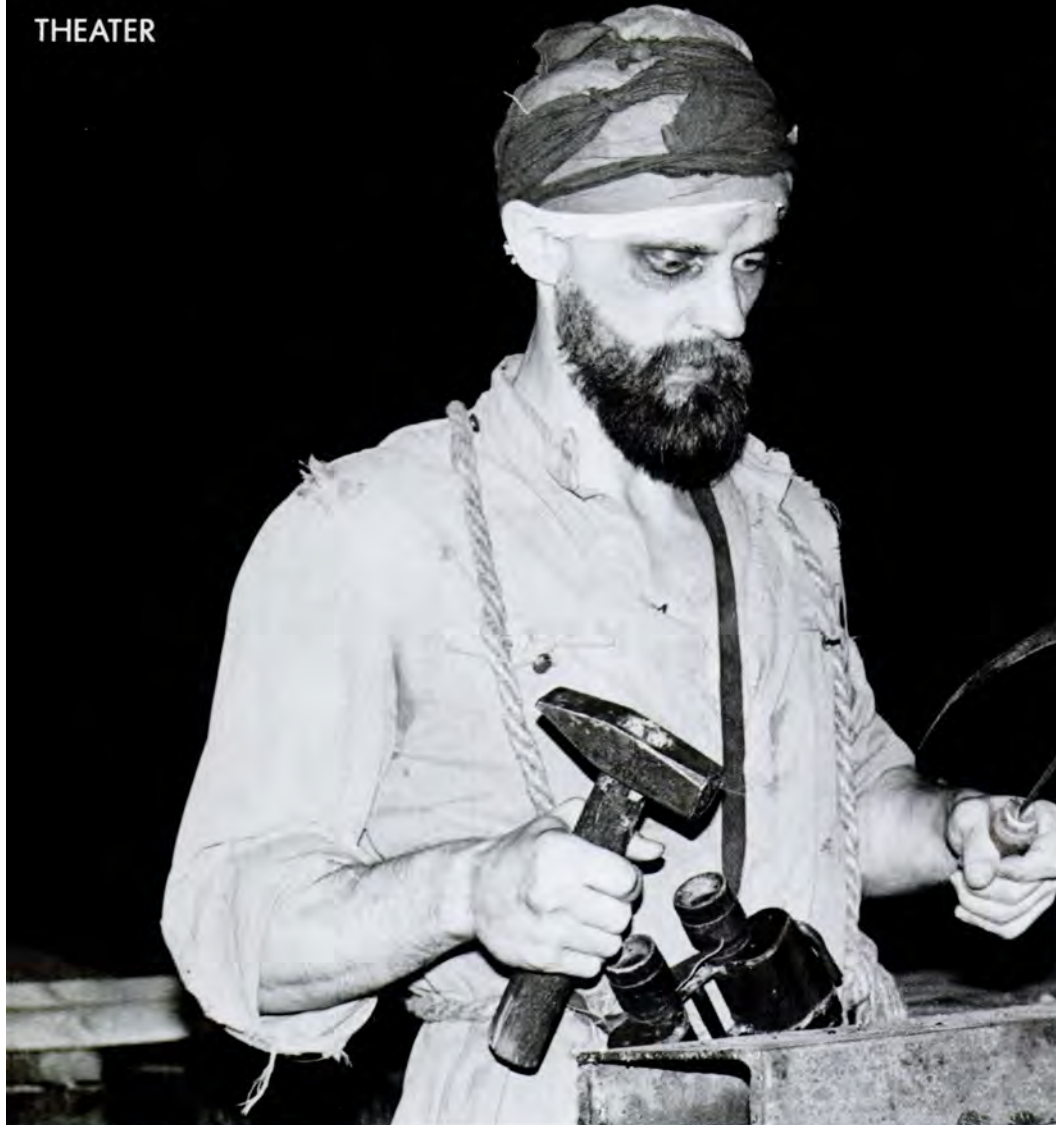
The huge success of the recent exhibit shows that, little by little, one view is gaining greater acceptance: Knowledge of our past is necessary for understanding our present and our future.



Top: Alexander Volkov. *Musicians*
(V. Dudakov collection).
Above: Natalya Goncharova. *Apple Trees
in Bloom* (S. Shuster collection).

Right: Pavel Kuznetsov. *Shearing*





FOURTEEN RED HUTS

Desperate to do something, retired soldier Antoshka uses a hammer to mend a sickle so as to "measure the sea and check the wind." Inset: Suenita, the "madonna" of a poverty-stricken collective farm, holds up an icon of Lenin.

RIGHT ON CUE

By Marina Litavrina

For two weeks throngs of theater lovers hunting for tickets besieged the entrance of Moscow's Taganka Theater. Crowds of theatergoers are not unusual for the Taganka Theater, which is well known for its daring and unorthodox productions. This time, however, a theater from Saratov, an old Russian city on the Volga River, was appearing on stage.

Established at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Saratov Academic Drama Theater is one of the oldest theaters in the country. Some of the greatest names in Russian

drama have played on its stage. In the past the provincial theaters produced a wealth of acting talent. Today they are better known for their directors. The latest to be "discovered" by Moscow audiences is Alexander Dzekun.

Dzekun has been with the Saratov theater for the past 15 years, but his starring hour has just begun, and his philosophy of the theater is right on cue. He has staged straightforward narrative works by writers like Mikhail Bulgakov and Andrei Platonov. Although they were written more than 50 years ago, these works are



entirely consonant with the times.

The first stage production of *Fourteen Red Huts* by Platonov, a revival of *The Scarlet Island* and a stage version of *The Master and Margarita*, both by Bulgakov, form a sort of triptych about man, his relationship with the complicated, contradictory and often absurd world around him, and the freedom of creative activity.

Fourteen Red Huts is a blend of fic-

THE SCARLET ISLAND

The sinister high-ranking bureaucrat on the repertory committee, the main symbol of the epoch, gives his verdict—"Banned." Inset: Likki-Tikki, the leader of the White Blackamoor's Army.



tion and reality; it's a social tragedy and a farce at the same time. Edward Johann Luis Jose, a 100-year-old quasi-mythical sage who is determined to solve "the world's economic riddle," arrives in a socialist country to "measure the force of the dawn it allegedly lit." Jose meets Suenita, "the madonna of the local collective farm," and he stays at a desert collective farm named Fourteen Red Huts. Jose becomes fascinated by the villagers' fervent belief in a bright future.

This is where the tragedy begins. Dreamers ready to sacrifice all for the sake of that bright future, the villagers are determined to eliminate their "class enemies," who, they believe, are the cause of their deprivation. They accuse one another and bring on each other's ruin.

Dzekun's production pinpoints the true cause of the tragedy. An "iron curtain" with a smiling Stalin greeting crowds of holiday makers appears in

the foreground. Behind this ostentatiously bright façade is the agony of the village. These are the two sides of the times, two different morals.

I talked to Dzekun about his work and his ideas. "Why did you choose Platonov's play in the first place?"

"I come from a peasant family, and the play moved me very deeply when I read it. Everything in it seemed so true. But the play is more than an account of the collective farm movement, the drawbacks and distortion of the ideals of socialist construction. It's an exposé of the violence committed by man against man. It vividly shows what happens when people are forced to live contrary to the laws of history and when its course is accelerated.

"'Cheating history,' as Platonov repeatedly calls this in his play?"

"Precisely. Personally, I believe that Stalin deliberately slowed down our growth, the quality of life and intellectual progress. It's far easier to gov-

ern when the realization of a dream is a thing of the distant future. People will make all sorts of sacrifices for the promise of 'a bright future.' "

"Your productions employ a wide variety of scenic devices—from traditional to very sophisticated ones. Don't the elaborate symbolism, metaphors and scripts, say, of Platonov or Bulgakov, require a certain level of perception, even a special prepara-

THE MASTER AND MARGARITA

The Gala Ball at Satan's place is about to begin. Inset: Through black storm clouds covering the sky and the flash of lightning and the clap of thunder, the image of Joshua hanging on a cross is seen.



tion? How have audiences reacted to your productions?"

"Those who are familiar with Platonov's works receive *Fourteen Red Huts* very well. True, these people are a minority. Others think that the play depicts things that are not typical of our society."

"Do they want to believe the play is not about them?"

"They want to believe that nothing of the kind has ever happened to us. These people live in a world of social illusion, and they are unwilling to give that up. It takes someone like Platonov, who sincerely believed in socialism, to have the courage to face

the truth and to show life as it was."

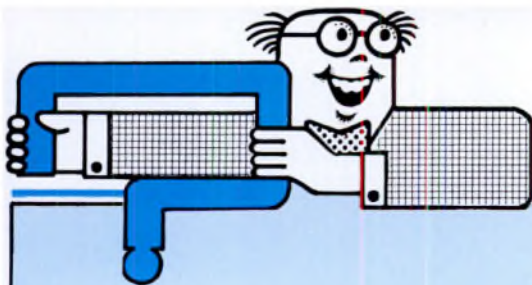
Dzekun stages one play after another. He is featured in the press, and his theater group is enthusiastically welcomed in Moscow. But things were not always that way. The director was out of a job for a whole year, and that was a difficult time.

The play *The Scarlet Island* was first staged in 1928 at the famous Chamber Theater, but it was later banned. The Saratov Academic Drama Theater is the first to return this satirical comedy to the stage. The play ridicules what Stanislavsky called "revolutionary hackwork"—the time-serving tendencies in dramaturgy.

The symbol of that epoch is the bureaucrat, who is on the repertory committee. He is the one who decides whether tickets to the production are sold and the poor author has dinner at all. The bureaucrat is both sinister and pitiful at the same time. A former soldier, whom fate takes out of the

saddle and places in a bureaucratic chair, he appears from under the stage like a fiend with a resolution "to ban the production." Although the characters of Bulgakov's play find a way out by finishing their performance on a "revolutionary note," the finale of *The Scarlet Island* is a far cry from the happy ending scenario: Its sarcasm has a painful sting.

I would rate the best productions of the Saratov Academic Drama Theater among the most interesting—albeit, very few—achievements of the past few theater seasons in Moscow. As for *Fourteen Red Huts*, it is not only theater at its best, but also a tangible contribution to the de-Stalinization of Soviet society and another step toward Soviet intellectual emancipation. "Reason will prevail, and it will become the center of the individual and humankind," Platonov wrote. Dzekun agrees, and his theater on the Volga is ready and willing. ■



READERS WANT TO KNOW

We thank all the readers who have written us. We want you to know that we are always happy to receive your comments on our magazine—both the compliments and the criticism. And now the answers to some of your questions.

Nate McDonald, 13, of Los Angeles wants to know how he should go about contacting pen pals his age in the Soviet Union.

The first way to do this is to write to a youth newspaper or magazine that has a pen pal club. Most of them do. Here are some addresses.

Komsomolskaya pravda, the newspaper of the Central Committee of the YCL (Young Communist League, or Komsomol):

Komsomolskaya pravda
24 Pravda Street
Moscow A-137, Gsp
USSR 125866

Rovesnik, a magazine published by the Central Committee of the YCL and the USSR Youth Organizations Committee:

Rovesnik
5A Novodmitrovsky Street
Moscow, Gsp
USSR 125015

Studenchesky meridian, a publication of the Central Committee of the YCL and the USSR State Committee for Education:

Studenchesky meridian
5A Novodmitrovsky Street
Moscow, Gsp
USSR 125015

The other way of finding pen pals is through Soviet schools, many of which have international friendship clubs whose members correspond with teenagers abroad. Here are a few addresses of Moscow schools where they put special emphasis on teaching English. There are more than 50 schools of this type in Moscow:

School No. 5
6 Kutuzovsky Prospekt
Moscow, USSR

School No. 62
10 Yablochkov Street
Moscow, USSR

School No. 80
43A Leninsky Prospekt
Moscow, USSR

Sam Levy of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has several questions:

"Do Soviet young people dream of starting their own business?"

"What about rock music in the Soviet Union?"

"Are conscientious objectors exempt from military service in the Soviet Union?"

"What do Soviet young people like best about America? What do they like least?"

Today there are many young people in the Soviet Union who want to start their own business. And they have more opportunities than ever before to do so. The USSR has recently passed legislation on cooperative and individual enterprise that is

an incentive for all energetic, capable and ambitious young people to start a business in practically any area: commerce, public catering, advertising, construction.

Rock music is heard over radio and television, and Soviet rock is gaining popularity in the West. One of the most recent proofs of the fact was the *glasnost* album issued by Intrepid Records of Canada. The album, which contains 12 recordings of nine Soviet rock groups and singers, immediately sold out in Canada and the United States. Intrepid is getting ready to issue *glasnost-2*.

All Soviet youths have to serve in the army for two to three years, beginning at age 18. Evasion of military service is considered a criminal offense subject to a prison term of up to three years. Army service is strictly voluntary for girls.

The Novosti Press Agency circulated a questionnaire drawn up by the *New York Times* among Moscow students and young workers whose average age was 20. The questions referred to the social, economic, scientific and other aspects of life in the United States.

The majority of young Muscovites named the availability of services, goods and entertainment among the best aspects of life in America. Among the worst aspects were unemployment, crime and insecurity.

GUS KHRUSTALNY

Small town or megalopolis—both have advantages, but the link between man and nature is more evident in small towns. The pace of life is slower and human contact greater. The Russian town of Gus Khrustalny is just such a place.

By Boris Yumatov All Photographs for Pages 46-53 by Victor Chernov



Boris Yumatov is chairman of the Executive Committee of the Gus Khrustalny Town Soviet.

It's no mystery how Gus Khrustalny (Crystal Goose) got its name. Gus is the name of the river on whose banks our town sprang up 225 years ago. The purity of the sand and the abundance of pine forests appealed to the man who founded the town, Moscow merchant Akim Maltsov. With its ample supply of raw materials and wood for fuel, Maltsov believed the spot would be ideal for a glass factory.

The workers settlement came to be known as Khrustalny (Crystal) on the Gus

River. It was a beautiful name, true, but not exactly accurate since real crystal was not made here until half a century later. Maltsov started his business with the manufacture of bottle glass and lamp crystal for carriages and buggies.

Gus crystal won international renown in 1893 at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, where it took the bronze medal. Three years later it was awarded a grand prize in Paris. Since then it has won a multitude of honors and medals at foreign exhibitions.

Though Gus Khrustalny contributes 300 million rubles to the State Budget every year, only part of that amount comes from the sale of its crystal. Over 20 industrial enterprises are located in town. Besides crystal, we produce fabrics, automobile frames and glass, window panes, quartz glass,

brick, mirrors, glass fiber, medicinal preparations used in animal husbandry, foodstuffs and other items. However, with all its industrial diversity, Gus Khrustalny did not avoid the typical blunder of the years of stagnation—forgetting the human factor, the needs of our inhabitants—while building up industrial muscle. Our townspeople are still paying for this forgetfulness. And even the efforts of the last three years have not alleviated our acute problems with housing, day-care and services. Overcrowding has meant that some of our schools have to hold two and even three sessions a day. We need twice as many hotels as we have.

Let's look at what has been done over the past few years. Many of the local plants and factories have switched to a self-financing system and have increased allocations for housing construction, so we believe we'll be able to comply with the state program for providing every family with a separate apartment by 1995.

In the past two years the town has acquired a service center, a grocery store, two schools and three day-care centers. The new telephone exchange has doubled the number of subscribers. New shops and cafés are appearing all the time.

Unfortunately, even with this growth, problems still remain. The pine woods surrounding Gus Khrustalny have always been our pride. Some 25 to 30 years ago they began to thin out, and felling was stopped. Now we have another problem. The tops of the luxuriant pines are showing signs of drying out. Experts say this is caused by the sulfuric acid and ammonia emitted by the Steklovokno Glass Fiber Plant. Air samples taken in town, however, are within acceptable levels, which allows the plant's management to avoid responsibility and get off with fines and promises. So we've had little success with our drive to have the plant relocated outside city limits. But our Town Soviet, local newspaper and community have made ecology a top priority. Common sense should finally prevail. ■

The Town's Face

By Alexander Tropkin



This crystal bird is the symbol of Gus Khrustalny. Below: Single-family cottages on tree-lined streets are typical of the older districts of the town. Below left: A painting by Victor Vasnetsov in St. George's Cathedral.



As we know, the vital decision to begin *perestroika* was made in Moscow. But the invigorating change depends just as much, or even more, on tiny places in the hinterland. So we made a tour of the Russian provinces to observe reforms in action.

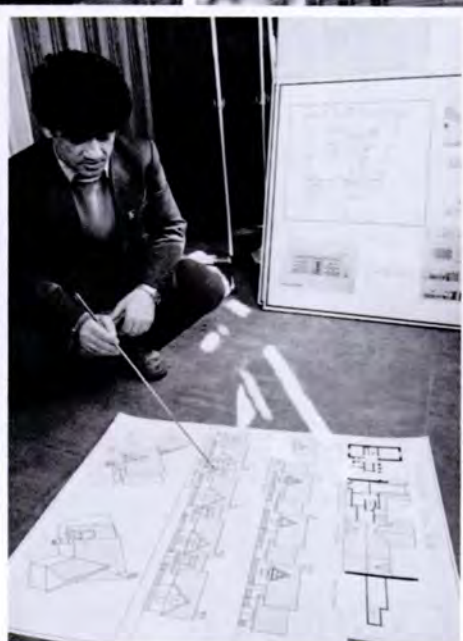
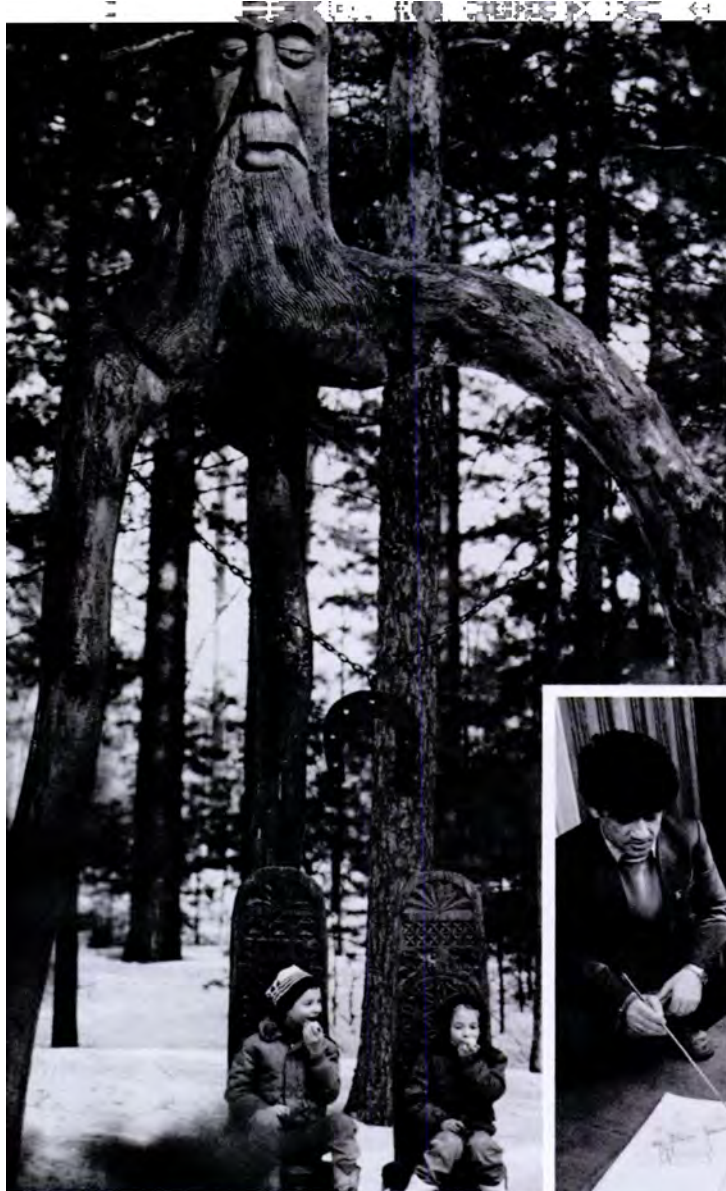
In the mid-nineteenth century planned streets appeared in Gus Khrustalny, a small town 300 kilometers from Moscow. The streets were lined with small and tidy one-story, red-and-white houses, each with a garden, cellar and cowshed. Built for glass blowers at the local cut-glass factory, the dwellings were well suited to the dual, urban and rural, patterns of life in small towns. The architects displayed outstanding inventiveness here.

During this time bureaucrats flourished all over Russia. They did a great



deal of harm in towns both large and small. Even the October 1917 Revolution couldn't overpower them. A new, exceptionally tenacious breed appeared. Shielded by revolutionary slogans, the bureaucrats promptly cleared the Russian provinces of thousands upon thousands of precious old buildings.

Smaller towns had to rely on the central ministries for funds. Furthermore, the central authorities tended to ►



standardize the layout and development of the small towns. It wasn't long before hundreds of Russian towns looked as alike as peas in a pod, all drab.

"But housing construction on such a large scale allowed millions of people to move into decent apartments," I reasoned with the town's chief architect, Valeri Dzhygkayev.

"Sure. The housing situation was catastrophic," said Dzhygkayev. "But no one gave a thought to our town's appearance. The results are evident."

"Architecture has nothing to do with these drab houses. There's nothing to please the eye about the new districts. Besides, there are no sports facilities, no cafés, shops, parks—only rows of identical houses."

But I saw some signs of change in the appearance of the streets and houses, and in the faces of the people.

Valeri Dzhygkayev (above), chief town architect, has to solve serious construction problems. Top left: The entrance to the local park, which has the look of an enchanted pine forest. Top right: To solve the local housing shortage, which is still acute, new multistory dwellings are being built to replace the old, small houses.

The chief architect showed me a high-rise under construction at the intersection of the two main streets. Several other high-rises will be started soon in the center of town. But Dzhygkayev stressed that the town's historic quaintness will be left intact.

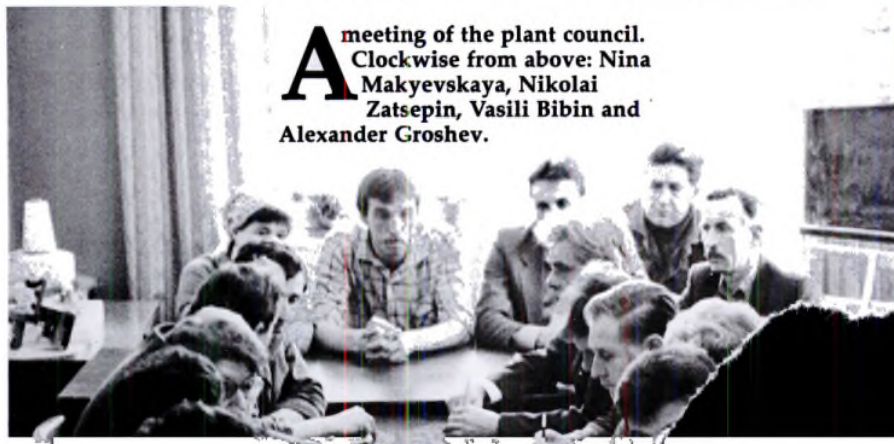
The five cupolas will be restored on St. George's Cathedral, which now houses the local cut-glass museum. Another cathedral will soon become a concert hall, and still another will become an art gallery. The restoration of all three structures is in full swing. The good old red-brick neighborhood now enjoys state protection, and Dzhygkayev is planning to use the same design for other housing projects.

"We studied the layout to figure out why the townspeople like it and are reluctant to move. It turned out that the main attraction lay in the household plots and outbuildings."

"Our way of life defies modern urban patterns. So we worked out several dozen projects consisting of one-story cottages that will resemble the old red-brick ones but will contain all the modern conveniences." ■



A meeting of the plant council.
Clockwise from above: Nina
Makyskaya, Nikolai
Zatspin, Vasili Bibin and
Alexander Groshev.



A CHILD OF PERESTROIKA

Ask Soviet workers if they are owners of the factory or plant where they work, and they'll most likely shrug their shoulders and say, "Beats me!" The sovereign right of ownership that is proclaimed by the Constitution of the USSR has remained a loud but empty phrase for many of them. What can be done to change old habits and to make millions of workers active participants in the affairs of plants, farms and mines?

Today, as *perestroika* is gathering momentum, many proposals have been offered in response to this question. One such response has resulted in the formation of work collective councils at plants and factories. Such councils may be compared to a parliament restricting the autocracy of the "ruler"—the director and the plant management—who must take the council's opinions into consideration.

In Gus Khrustalny work collective councils have been formed at all enterprises operating under the new principles of economic management. The council at the local textile mill comprises 28 workers, 16 management representatives and 3 local trade union delegates.

The council's bylaws state that it is a "plenipotentiary elective organ of democratic management." The council has already made people at the mill feel that this is really so.

Although the mill's director, Alexander Groshev, is a council member, he now has to prove the wisdom of many of his orders. This is of course a change for Groshev, who was a director for 15 years but the art



Renaissance of an Old Craft

By Alexander Tropkin
Photographs by Victor Chernov

Just three years ago the cut-glass industry was on the brink of economic disaster in Gus Khrustalny and in several other towns. The factories continued working, and the workers got their wages. But their produce was not in demand. Graceful wineglasses and exquisite vases and bowls, which until recently had sold like hot cakes, stood gathering dust on store shelves.

Several factors explain the crisis in the glass industry. Overproduction was one reason for the crisis. The government's centralized plan-

this aspect of progress was something of a Trojan horse. Industrial standards elbowed out high artistry. The sparkling facets and lacy patterns were gone. The local glass blowers began to refer to mass-produced crystal as "soap" in their slang.

Exorbitant prices were another reason for the crisis in the cut-glass industry that started three years ago. The nationwide cut-glass boom prompted the USSR State Committee for Prices to order the USSR Ministry of Light Industry to cut retail prices by 150 per cent. On some items, prices even trebled—a rash step that put

The glass museum in Gus Khrustalny.



already done a lot for the factory. The precious craft was preserved, and we had a body of first-rate artisans. When things became really difficult, none of the workers gave up their jobs for better wages elsewhere. They are our hope in this time of sweeping change, which *perestroika* brought. A critical time for the enterprise, you know."

"Why critical?"

"Everyone finds *perestroika* difficult, and we, the Gus glassworkers, bear a double burden. The situation's only slightly improving. The latest wholesale fair, which distributed yearly orders in light industry, was hopeful. We expect decent profits, but with difficult conditions. We have to introduce new production items to account for 40 per cent of our gross output—instead of 10 to 15 per cent as was recently routine—and to use new chemical compositions, colors and processing techniques. And of course the new items won't reach top quality right away. So profits will fall at first, but the items will pay off later.

"Next, the firm has had to pay its own way since last year. Now we have to be thrifty. From whatever profits we have, we'll build houses for our personnel, day-care centers and other facilities. We also have to make allocations for town improvement and filtering stations to stop environmental pollution," Fedariv said.

By encouraging thrift and enterprise, *perestroika* is a boon to the renowned craft. Ancestral trade secrets are being revived, among them hand engraving, in which young women fresh from the factory's vocational school are training.

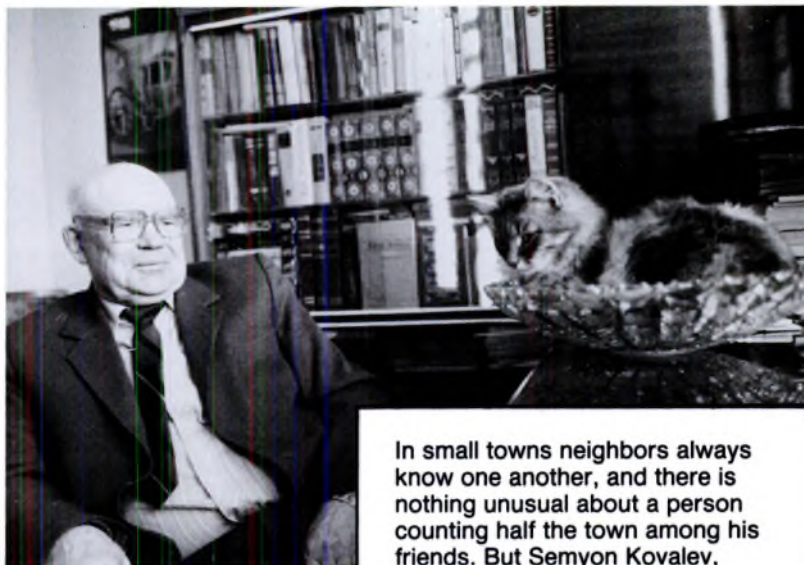
Elaborate candelabra are in great demand. Several American wholesalers bought a large batch, and Italian and West German trading firms followed suit.

Perestroika granted Gus the independence it had long dreamed of. No self-important official will ever again impose his tastes on designers and artisans. The firm intends to set up a network of shops in Moscow and other major Russian cities and along the Golden Ring tourist route.

The firm will dispose of all currency revenues as it sees fit. There are no obstacles now to buying equipment abroad. ■



Blowing glass in the famous glassworks in Gus Khrustalny.



The Man Everyone Knows

In small towns neighbors always know one another, and there is nothing unusual about a person counting half the town among his friends. But Semyon Kovalev, from Gus Khrustalny, has a different kind of fame.

Many years ago, when he was the director of the largest textile mill in the region, he won the local people's respect as a resourceful manager. The townspeople elected Kovalev mayor. He devoted 10 full years to the town and could probably have devoted another 10, but he resigned.

He had decided it was high time to start the main thing he wanted to do in his life: work at a plant selection farm. At age 68 he took charge of a small experimental station. But instead of the traditional apples and strawberries, he started breeding plants that are rare and even exotic for a place like Gus Khrustalny—sea buckthorn, Schisandra, barberry, high-bush cranberry and hawthorn. He believes that the juice and oil of these plants have exceptional medical properties. The picturesque plantings occupy more than 100 hectares. It is the biggest nursery of its kind in the Non-Black Soil Zone. Kovalev has set up there a powerful breeding laboratory and has built large processing shops that produce juices, soft drinks, oils and food concentrates. All this is meant for the town and its people and is sold not at market prices but at low state prices. Kovalev has really earned the respect of his fellow citizens.

YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE PROVINCES

Perestroika needs leaders who are concerned not only with good words but with real deeds.



Top: Yevgeni Bobrov is the principal of School No. 1 in Gus Khrustalny.

By Alexander Tropkin
Photographs by Victor Chernov

Until recently street fighting was a real problem in Gus Khrustalny. In the dark backyards and dusty vacant lots groups of angry teenagers challenged one another. By the end of a fight the "warring sides" often forgot what all the fuss was about. The clashes had become just a pastime.

Adults were at a loss to understand the problem. The town had several clubs, palaces of culture, movie theaters and other facilities with modern entertainment. What else could the young people want? But teenagers were irresistibly drawn to the basements of apartment buildings.

When I visited Gus Khrustalny, some of the town fathers tried to persuade me that there was no reason for alarm and certainly no threat to the town or its citizens. Official crime statistics seemed to support the theory that there was no problem. The authorities suggested that I meet with young factory workers and stu-

dents of the local technical schools. Here, they said, I would find the town's pacesetters.

But as I listened to this advice, I remembered different faces that I had seen in the streets—some apathetic and unconcerned, others angry and wild.

"I think the school is to blame," says Yevgeni Bobrov, an educator who is very well known in Gus Khrustalny. He is the principal of School No. 1. "Our school curriculum is designed to give a radiant picture of life, which allegedly has no problems. But teenagers know that's not true. That's why they don't believe what their books, teachers and parents say. Teenagers don't tolerate untruths, and they never forgive lies."

Bobrov is rather sharp in his judgment, and not all in Gus Khrustalny like it. He is convinced, for instance, that *perestroika* hasn't even begun in his home town, at least not in educa-

tion, even though Bobrov, for his part, has done a lot to bring about changes.

Let's get back to the basements, however. Over the past two years the local officials have radically changed their attitude toward this situation. Now they readily give keys to basements to groups of teenagers. What caused such a sudden reversal?

It turns out that even long-haired guys with metal chains on their leather jackets can be trusted. Some turned dirty basements into gyms complete with showers; others set up radio repair shops; and still others opened rock clubs there. Why did 16-year-olds do all these things?

Empty premises that teenagers can use as they wish, especially gyms, are almost unavailable in Gus Khrustalny. The few clubs and palaces of culture usually belong to big factories or plants, which are very unwilling to let "wild" youngsters use them. Basements are quite a dif-



**Teenagers
don't tolerate
untruths, and
they never
forgive lies.**



Leisure time pursuits can be a constructive and educational outlet. Young people learn about racing cars (top and left) and work in factory shops learning trades (far left).

ferent story; young people can use them as they wish. Whatever they do there, they do for themselves. For these teenagers it's their first experience of real work and true self-government. There is hardly a better pastime for them.

Four years ago Gus Khrustalny was the location for an auto race in which all the Soviet "stars" participated. The local stadium was filled to capacity. Vladimir Rameikov, an enthusiastic racing fan, saw the event and decided to start a local club for drivers. In a year the club had five karts at its disposal. Rameikov's club was mostly open to problem youngsters: Forty of its members are either teenagers with a militia record or former juvenile delinquents who have spent time in state reform facilities.

Three years later the "problem teenagers" amazed everyone with their high-level driving skills. Gus Khrustalny went crazy about karting,

a hobby that has changed the lives of many former delinquents. The club now has more than 150 members. They have won prizes, certificates and trophies at the country's most prestigious competitions.

Perestroika needs leaders who are concerned not only with good words but with real deeds.

Bobrov, for instance, organized the town's first school cooperative, Yunost (Youth). At one of its sessions the school council decided it had had enough of borrowing from the state. The school itself can buy some of the things it needs, such as new books for the library and sports equipment.

The cooperative started making and selling shopping bags. From the profits Yunost deposits 5,000 rubles into the school's bank account every month.

Says Bobrov, "All students have an obligation to do something for their school and their home. Believe

me, this only helps with their studies. The experience of our school cooperative is proof of that."

What about young people who have finished their education and now have families of their own? Their problems are different from those of youngsters still in school. Their greatest need is housing. In the past local officials would not even think of putting young couples at the top of the list of those most in need of housing. Today the idea of building the town's first housing complex for young people has gripped even the most conservative of town leaders. A recent session of the local Town Soviet unanimously decided in favor of such a project—and the sooner, the better. An original design has been worked out, the site has been chosen for the construction, and teams of construction workers in various trades are being formed from among young volunteers. ■

A NEWSPAPER BRIDGE

By Vladimir Shchukin



The student newspapers of several Soviet and North American schools are exchanging articles about student life in their respective countries.

What will the world be like in the twenty-first century? What will characterize Soviet-American relations 15 to 20 years from now—cooperation or confrontation? Will the two great nations have found a common language and destroyed the wall of misunderstanding and hostility that stands between us now?

These are difficult questions, questions of special concern to people between the ages of 20 and 30. These are the people who will make the history of their countries in the next century. Apparently, Soviet and American young people realize this. They are prepared to meet halfway.

A group of recent graduates of Moscow State University's journalism school proposed information exchanges between Soviet and American student newspapers. The young journalists, who work with the Novosti Press Agency, contacted several Soviet universities and asked their newspaper editors if they wanted to exchange material with the newspapers of American universities. "Of course we'd like to do it, but we don't know how," said Algis Lipstas, 24, editor of *Tarybinis Studentas* (Soviet Student), the newspaper of the University of Vilnius, Lithuania. He sounded a little nervous. Almost everyone the journalism students talked to gave the same answer as Lipstas.

Just a few years ago a chance to establish direct information exchange with Western partners would have seemed incredible. But over the past three and a half years many things have changed, thanks to *perestroika* and *glasnost*. The most fantastic dreams are coming true.

Early in 1988 the Novosti Press Agency approached several American university newspapers on behalf of Soviet student newspapers, trying to find partners to exchange information about student life in the two coun-

tries. About a month later the first articles were sent from the University of Vilnius to Memphis State University, Tennessee; from Moscow State University to Oklahoma State University; and from the Bauman Higher Technical School in Moscow to the University of Cincinnati, Ohio. Soon the Soviet newspapers got materials from their American counterparts.

Students write about their life. Of course not everything was clear from the first publications. It is not so easy to explain the realities of your society to an outsider—but that's exactly why we began this exchange in the first place.

"We're glad that we and our colleagues from Oklahoma were among the first to build a 'newspaper bridge,'" said Alexander Yegorov, editor of the Moscow State University newspaper *Zhurnalist* (Journalist). "I hope this bridge will cross the abyss of prejudice and misunderstanding. The more firsthand information we get about each other, the better we will be able to understand each other and communicate like friends instead of potential enemies."

"Even though the logistics of an exchange like this are sometimes tricky, we think that our growing understanding of our Soviet counterparts is well worth the effort," wrote John Ralls, editor in chief of the *Daily O'Collegian* (Oklahoma State University), to his counterparts in Moscow. "We sincerely and earnestly hope that activities like our newspaper exchange will promote peace and friendship between our two peoples."

That was just the beginning. In the first six months, 16 North American universities—six in the United States and 10 in Canada—and 16 Soviet universities started information exchanges that became regular bilateral contacts.

"At first it wasn't easy to write for an American audience," recalled Vladimir Tyurenkov, 25, editor in chief

of *Baumanets*, the newspaper of the nationally renowned Bauman Higher Technical School. *Baumanets* exchanges articles with the *News Record* of the University of Cincinnati, Ohio. "Not all of us had gotten used to the total absence of censorship. We wanted to tell the Americans about everything—the history of the institute, our studies, self-government, student budgets and recreation—but at first we didn't know how. Take, for example, student construction teams, on which most Soviet students work during the summer. For us, they are an indispensable part of student life, but there's nothing to compare them with at American universities."

Soviet and American student realities do differ greatly. Peter Schiller of the *News Record* visited Bauman students in September. After his two-week visit, Schiller felt he had come to understand many aspects of Soviet student life. Schiller and the Bauman students concluded that the press in each country doesn't always give a balanced view of life in the other country. It's time we stopped looking in distorting mirrors. In the spring of 1989 Tyurenkov will pay a return visit to the United States.

P.S. The idea of exchange visits has caught on with other student newspapers, and now the USSR-North American Student Exchange Project is well under way. Any Soviet or American university, college or institute newspaper can participate.

As its sponsor, the Novosti Press Agency will help all those wishing to find exchange partners. Novosti will prepare English and Russian translations of the articles and send the information to the addressee.

Please write to:
Student Exchange Project
Novosti Press Agency, GRSA
Zubovskiy Boulevard 4
Moscow 103786
USSR

FIRE AND DUST

I wonder what happened to that crazy Svetlana, nicknamed Pipka, of whom some said with the thoughtlessness of youth that she was a worthless creature, while others cried indignantly: "Why do you let her in the house? Look out for your books if you don't care about anything else. She'll steal anything and everything!"

How wrong they were: The only thing on Pipka's conscience was a book by Simenon with the light-blue cover and a white woolen cardigan with little buttons, and even that was patched at the elbows. Who cared about the old cardigan? More valuable things had disappeared since then—Rimma's exquisite youth; the childhood of her children; the freshness of her hopes that were as bright and blue as the morning sky; and the secret, happy confidence with which Rimma listened to the voice of the future that whispered exclusively for her. There was no end of the wreaths, flowers, islands and rainbows that it promised, but where were they all?

As for the cardigan, it did not matter. Rimma had actually forced it on Svetlana when Rimma as much as pushed her out, raving and badly dressed as usual, out into the cold, windy Moscow night.

Slightly vexed, slightly chuckling, she scampered back to Fedya and slipped into the warm bed beside him.

The children were tossing in their sleep. Tomorrow they all had to get up early. "Had a hard time getting her out," Rimma whispered. "You should have let her stay the night," muttered Fedya sleepily.

Stay the night? Never! And where was she to put her up? In old Ashkenazi's room? The old man turned restlessly on his worn sofa, smoked something stinky, coughed incessantly and got up in the middle of the night to walk to the kitchen for a drink of water. But he was all right; he didn't irritate them. When they had guests, he lent them his chairs and contributed a jar of marinated mushrooms and constantly helped the children get the sticky sugar candy out of their hair. They usually placed him at the end of the table, where he'd sit dangling his legs, which didn't reach the floor, and laugh softly: "Have patience, young people. I'll die soon, and you'll have the run of the whole apartment then."

"Please live to be a hundred, David Danilych," Rimma would soothe.

Still, it was pleasant to dream of the day when she'd become the mistress of the whole apartment, when she'd have the whole place properly repaired. She'd change the gas range in the strange, pentagonal kitchen and cover the walls with fancy tiles from floor to ceiling. By then Fedya would have defended his thesis. The children would have started school. She'd make them study English and music and take up figure skating.

What else could she dream of? Many people envied them beforehand. But, of course, it was not the fancy tiles or the well-educated children that shone like a rainbow out of the vast expanse of the future (Rimma honestly wished old Ashkenazi a long life—there was plenty of time for her dreams to come true). No, it was something bigger, something quite different, something important, alarming and great that shone ahead, as if Rimma's fantasy ship, which was gliding through the rushes, would sail out any minute onto the green and happy ocean.

From the short story "Fire and Dust" by Tatyana Tolstaya



Drawing by Boris Sotin

A NEW NAME IN SOVIET LITERATURE

By Andrei Malgin
Literary Critic

For several centuries the Tolstoy family has been producing outstanding diplomats, scientists, military leaders, artists and writers. Five years ago a new generation of Tolstoys, Tatyana Tolstaya (born 1951), arrived on the Soviet literary scene.

It has been a long time since anyone burst onto the literary scene as tempestuously as Tatyana Tolstaya. She's become the "talk of the town," even with people far removed from literature. Though the critics argue her place in the complex hierarchy of contemporary fiction, no one doubts her talent.

Very few of Tolstaya's works have appeared until recently, just two or three stories in what are called the "thick" Moscow and Leningrad journals. Less than a year ago Molodaya Gvardia Publishers printed the first collection of her stories under the title *The Golden Porch*.

What is the explanation for Tolstaya's sudden success? Perhaps one of the chief reasons is that her characters are so recognizable. They are taken straight from life, not copied from other literary sources. Tolstaya has a bold, masterful brush stroke, employing a few precise phrases to delineate a character or a whole life

story. Her characters pass before us like old friends. Among them we find the absurd and reticent fellow with the strange nickname Peters, which has stuck to him since childhood (in the story "Peters"); the old-fashioned nurse Marivanna, who develops a strong liking for decadent verse (in the story "Do You or Don't You Love Me?"); the mad and extravagant liar Svetlana, nicknamed Pipka, who is an inexplicable combination of impudence and naiveté ("Fire and Dust").

Tolstaya portrays her characters in caustic, candid fashion, concealing nothing and using all the paints on her generous palette, including black. And yet she loves all of them, even the most unattractive, repulsive and hopeless ones. The people surrounding the fragile and thoughtless Pipka are cruel. They narrate the story, and it seems as if the author shares their mocking attitude. Yet the reader's sympathy is drawn to Pipka, though the author makes no attempt to embellish her or arouse pity for her.

Sonya, the heroine of a story of the same title, is also made fun of for her simplicity, and many people take advantage of it, knowing she will not take offence. Somebody decides to play a practical joke on Sonya by inventing a secret admirer, Nikolai, who sends her love letters. Sonya replies, and through the correspondence genuine love develops. The cruel joke is dragged out. The woman who has started the whole thing realizes that if Sonya learns the truth, she'll never survive the shock.

War breaks out and people are dying of starvation in besieged Leningrad. When death is staring Sonya in the face, she decides to go and look for her beloved. She takes "everything she has with her, that is, a can of prewar tomato juice, which she

has saved expressly for such an occasion, and sets out for Nikolai's place." The reader never discovers whether Sonya suspects the deception, nor where, when and under what circumstances Sonya dies. But she does die. And her great, imaginary and yet real love dies with her.

That is the plot of one of Tolstaya's stories. Though the events are given in correct chronological order, the story itself is something altogether different. The secret to the charm of the writer's prose is her exceptionally precise, expressive language. The descriptions are colorful and replete with unexpected comparisons and analogies.

Tolstaya is fond of a chain of associative links, which sometimes strays from the plot and creates its own whimsical subject, but even that is all calculated to produce a definite effect. For example, to quote a little passage from another story,

Having stood in line for four hours in the freezing cold, together with thousands of grim brother addicts, Vasili Mikhailovich finally becomes the possessor of the wonder cube, which he turns and twists for weeks on end until his eyes grow red in the vain hope that finally a ray of light will flash through the window of another universe. But feeling one night that of the two of them, the cube is the master, that it has him completely at its mercy, Vasili Mikhailovich stands up, walks to the kitchen and stabs the viper with a cabbage chopper.

This colorful mixture of humor and romance, grotesque and stark realism, "low" urban slang and high romanticism is the substance of Tatyana Tolstaya's writing. Pleasure is derived from the reading. It is contemporary prose. ▶

Having made the acquaintance of some of Tatyana Tolstaya's characters and plots, I thought it high time to meet the author. I called on the writer at her spacious apartment in the center of Moscow, in the yard of the church on Bolshaya Polyanka Street. I spent an afternoon drinking tea with her, her husband, who is a translator of Greek, and their two sons, aged 11 and 13. I started my interview with the question:

In one interview you said that you started writing the moment you grew tired of reading. Seriously, when and under what circumstances did you write your first story?

I was quite serious. After I underwent an eye operation, I wasn't allowed to read for three months. It was sheer torture! Then I began to think about what I'd start with when I was able to read again. That was in 1982, mind you. I read and reread the classics; the newspapers looked as if they'd been written by one man. Remember, that was when the fight against consumerism was in full swing. There was little to be had in the shops, but the minute you wanted to buy anything worthwhile, you were accused of being a consumer. The logic was haywire. Soviet citizens, naturally, were workers and had to produce as many goods as possible, but when it came to wanting to buy something, they were immediately labeled petty bourgeois.

Well, I thought, there is no one but me to write what I want to read. So I quit my job in publishing and began writing. My first story was written in January 1983. In the beginning my stories were published in Leningrad in the journal *Aurora*. In 1986 two of my stories appeared in the popular journal *Novy mir* in Moscow.

Is that when your writing started to attract attention?

That's right. I got offers from one, then another and then a third magazine. But I write slowly and don't have that many stories. And not all of them are equally good.

Your literary genealogy is amazing. Your grandfather, Alexei Tolstoy, wrote



many novels, including Peter the Great and The Road to Calvary, among others. Don't you think heredity might have had a lot to do with your becoming a writer?

Sure, and not only on my father's side of the family. My maternal grandfather, Mikhail Lozinsky, translated Dante's *Divine Comedy* and also the works of Molière, Lope de Vega, Shakespeare, and many others. My grandfather was a man of exceptional culture. He was friends with Anna Akhmatova and Nikolai Gumilyov, who, incidentally, was my mother's godfather. When my mother was born, he came to see the new baby. My grandparents showed him my mother and said she was wrinkled and not very pretty. Gumilyov replied, "I'll bet a dozen bottles of champagne she'll be a real beauty when she grows up!" He won the bet, but he never lived to collect it.

And where would anyone find champagne by then? My other ancestors are directly connected with literature too. Grandmother Natalya Krandievskaya, Alexei Tolstoy's wife, was a poet; her mother, A. Tarkhova, wrote prose and was the first woman in Russia, and in all probability in Europe, to go down into a mine. She later wrote *Just an Hour*, which was translated into many languages. Her father, V. Krandievsky, was the publisher of the scholarly journal *Literary and Art Bulletin*. Alexei Tolstoy's mother, A. Turgeneva, was also a writer.

My maternal grandmother—Tatyana Lozinskaya, after whom I was named—worked in a museum in the twenties, and many of her friends were museum workers and local-lore researchers. Like librarians, these people are regarded as saints in our society. I think there's a special niche

prepared for them in heaven. Well, the local-lore researchers were all jailed "for espionage." They knew too much, so naturally, they couldn't be anything other than spies.

Vladimir Dal, the great Russian lexicographer, had this saying: "Know-Nothing lies in bed, while Know-It-All is led away on a leash." When all the Know-It-Alls were "led away on a leash," my grandmother devoted her entire life to charity. For decades she sent parcels of food and clothes to the unjustly condemned; she even sent them to people she didn't know personally. No one in the family knew anything about that side of her life. She kept it a secret. Only after her death were postal receipts to the tune of 60,000 rubles found among her personal papers. She had always lived the life of an ascetic. She had one dress to her name and would buy a new one only after the old one wore out.

So I've inherited everything from my family—a dedication to genuine culture and a taste for good literature. My father taught me two foreign languages, while he and my mother knew three.

Where did you study?

In the family and at Leningrad State University, in the Classical Department of the Philological Faculty. That means I studied antiquity. At the beginning of the academic year, one of the students in our class was quite indignant when he discovered he'd have to study Latin. He thought they taught classical literature there! Reading Pushkin, Lermontov, and the others was okay. But Latin—he had no use for it! The university administration was something like that student. We were told at the outset not to bother to cram Ancient Greek because we wouldn't need it when the time came to look for a job. On the other hand, a good knowledge of Russian and German, which were in our program, was thought to open any door.

Our class was lucky. We had a wonderful teacher of Greek, Professor Aristid Ivanovich Dovatur. He had spent 18 years in a labor camp in exile. He had no family and kept to himself a lot. Teaching was his entire life. The texts of the ancient authors

published abroad in the original were expensive. Yet if a book was absolutely necessary for our understanding, he'd buy several copies of it for our use. Or he'd bring his own books from home and give them to us. He never cared much for appearances and lived in a communal apartment. A table and bed were all the furniture he owned. His room was filled with books from the floor to the ceiling—it looked like a warehouse—but he knew exactly where to find any book he was looking for.

"I've inherited everything from my family—a dedication to genuine culture and a taste for good literature."

—Tatyana Tolstaya

Many students volunteered to make bookshelves for him, but he'd have none of it. I think that was characteristic of anyone who had spent years in a labor camp. They seemed afraid of allowing themselves even the slightest comfort out of fear that it'd be gone and they'd find themselves in prison again. People were arrested and imprisoned more than once.

Professor Dovatur told us about people who, having served their time but not having a family to go home to or any prospect of getting a job, preferred to remain where everything was so familiar. The outside world frightened them, so they stayed on, living in some unobtrusive corner.

Professor Dovatur was a fountain of wisdom, learning, kindness and inexhaustible cheerfulness and wit. Even his camp stories were funny. He simply chose not to remember the dark, gloomy and tragic aspects of life. If we tried to ask him anything like that, his expression would

change and his voice would become almost a shout: "Don't even mention that! What for? Quite unnecessary." He would turn silent for a while. Then his face would light up, and he'd say: "Now here's a wonderful story. My friends used to send me books, Ancient Greek texts. Some of the books were passed on to me; others were not. Once someone sent me a copy of Sophocles that was confiscated. Why?! Because the book contained a reference to King Oedipus. Imagine, a King! It just had to be ideological sabotage, no less!"

Eventually there came the day when he was told to retire on pension because of his age. That was clearly just an excuse. He begged the university administration to let him continue teaching gratis. He was tolerated for a while, but then he was dismissed again. Here was a professor of rare qualifications, who was willing to teach free of charge, yet he wasn't wanted.

How do you feel about critics?

Well, many critics give me good reviews. Others have joined forces with writers who constitute the pride of modern Russian literature to abuse me. To them, I am especially grateful. Still others attempt to analyze my work, and that proves disappointing. They say I am in the process of search, which I am not, or they promise readers that I'm going to write simpler, and I'm not planning to do that either. Many critics are trying to squeeze young writers into one mold, as if we're all the same.

That doesn't mean that there aren't writers with features similar to mine; of course there are, but the things that are supposed to unite us seem to me to be too far-fetched.

Up until now you've written only short stories. Will you continue in this genre?

Probably not. My latest stories are much longer than my previous ones, and right now I'm working on a novella. But I'm absolutely no good at writing very short stories. "Brevity is the sister of talent" was only true of Chekhov, the author of the saying. In his case the shorter the story, the better it was. But what about Leo Tolstoy or Dostoyevsky? That simply doesn't apply. ■



JASPER

By Olga Kostyuk
Photographs by Alexei Sverdlov

A sample of unprocessed jasper.

Jasper is an opaque cryptocrystalline quartz, whose surface can be polished to silky smoothness. In everyday usage, agates, porphyry and quartz porphyry are often called jasper.

There is hardly a stone as varied in color as jasper; it can be anything but blue. Sometimes jasper blends the most exquisite shades into fantastic patterns.

The Ural Mountains account for almost half the prospected deposits of jeweler's jasper in the Soviet Union. The 40-kilometer-wide jasper belt stretches from the arctic tundra to the Kazakh steppeland.

Jasper amulets, bracelets, rings and necklaces were highly prized throughout antiquity. Elaborate cameos and intaglios, dishes and statuettes have come down to us. Jasper was often used in mosaics, where other stones and metal set off its beauty.

In the pious Middle Ages, jasper became one of the most popular materials for liturgical vessels, icons and crosses. During the Renaissance, artisans preferred jasper over other minerals, and new methods of processing it were developed. Jasper vessels and ornamentation adorned the most splendid residences.

One of the earliest Russian references to jasper can be found in the description of the stone-inlaid belt that in 1637 was presented to Peter the Great's grandfather, Czar Mikhail, the founder of the Romanov dynasty.

Eighteenth century Russia saw expanded uses for jasper. The stone found its way into cups, vases, mosaics, and column and fireplace facing.

The State Hermitage Museum in Leningrad has a rich collection of jasper artifacts of all colors and styles. Several museum rooms are lavishly decorated in the stone. The most magnificent spectacle is the throne niche, flanked by jasper-faced columns, in the Petrine Hall of the Winter Palace. The centerpiece of the niche is Amiconi's large painting *Minerva and Peter*, which is framed by two multicolored jasper pillars.

Green and wine-red striped jasper decorates the mid-nineteenth century fireplaces in Leonardo Hall. Jasper-faced pillars stand on both sides of the mirrors above each fireplace. The fantastic Kushkulda stone was transported to St. Petersburg in two- to four-inch fragments. Arranging the fragments on metal or sandstone columns in such a way that the facing appears to be one large stone is an exacting technique known as Russian mosaic.

One of the best achievements of the Peterhof Lapidary Works is a jasper bowl, circa 1800, of exquisite shape and ornamentation. Subtle polishing brings out the intricate play of pale yellows and dark tans.

Metal ornamentation became extremely popular on jasper articles made in the early nineteenth century. White-veined red Urazovo agate, which Russian jewelers qualified as jasper, went extremely well with gilt bronze decoration. Many valuable cups and vases, like an early nineteenth century vessel adorned with leopard figurines, were produced.

Another vase, over 2.5 meters high and 5 meters in diameter, weighs 19 metric tons. The floor of the spacious Hermitage room in which the vase stands had to be reinforced to support its weight.

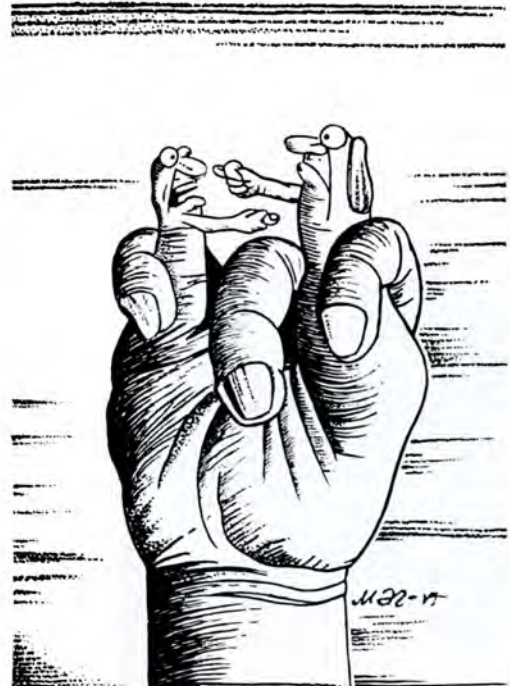
All in all, the Hermitage's jasper collection includes several hundred large stone articles—standard lamps, pedestals, candelabra and vases—and many small items. The small pieces are now part of the Hermitage's jewelry collection, which includes semiprecious stone bowls, cups and boxes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and eighteenth and nineteenth century gold toilet cases and snuffboxes inlaid with precious and semiprecious stones. ■



Clockwise from above: The throne niche in the Petrine Hall. A mid-eighteenth century Russian snuffbox. An early nineteenth century vase. A late-eighteenth century mosaic cabinet. An eighteenth century toilet case. *Little Mary and the Bear*,



HUMOR!



"The Life of Our Hands," by Husein Magomayev.

THOSE UNFORGETTABLE OLYMPICS!

By Alexei Srebnitsky
Photographs by
Dmitri Donskoi and Igor Utkin

International Olympic Committee president Juan-Antonio Samaranch called the Seoul meeting of the world's young athletes the best games in the history of the Olympic movement of our time. This pronouncement might seem too categorical, but people certainly went away with good impressions and memories of the 1988 Olympics. As a Soviet journalist, I am happy that the Soviet athletes put in an excellent performance in Seoul, winning 55 gold medals. According to Marat Gramov, chairman of the USSR National Olympic Committee and of the USSR Sports Committee, this number could have been even greater, though the team exceeded its goal of 45-50 gold medals. But the games also pointed up the weaknesses in Soviet sports, such as in rowing and in swimming. So there is plenty of room for improvement.

The 1988 Olympics will certainly be remembered for the fact that the Olympic family assembled almost in full for the first time since 1976—160 of the 167 member nations of the International Olympic Committee sent delegations to Seoul.



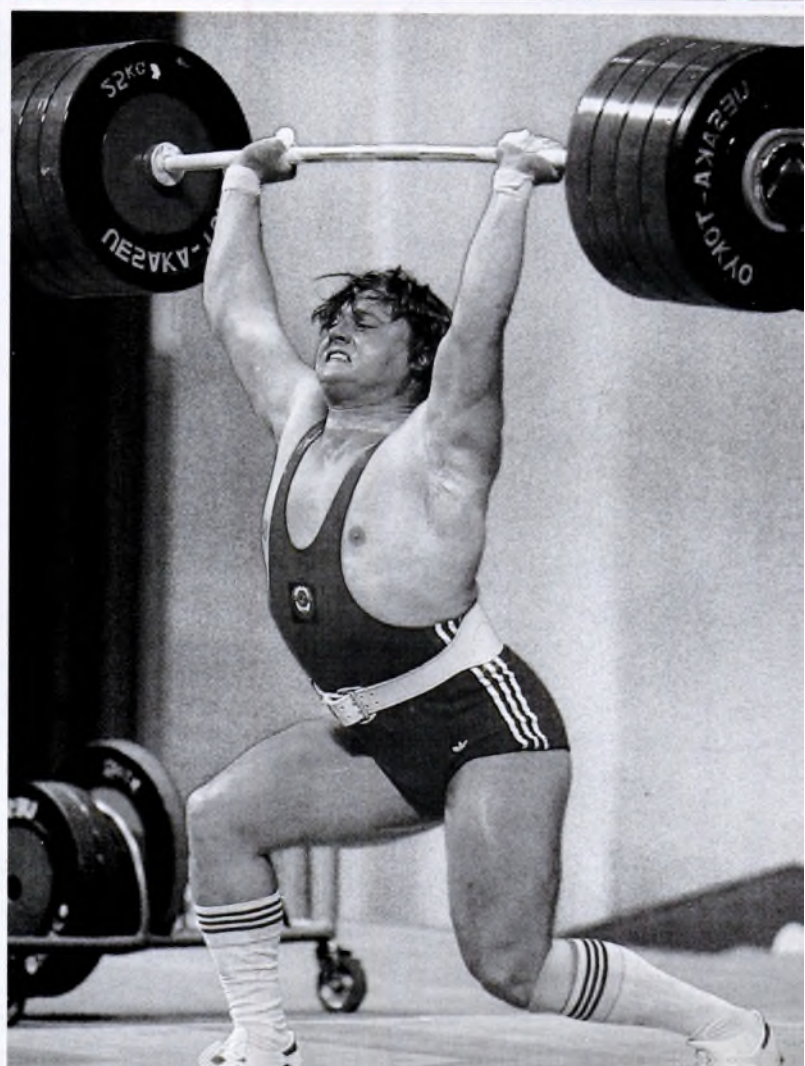
The Soviet national team on parade at the opening ceremonies in Seoul.

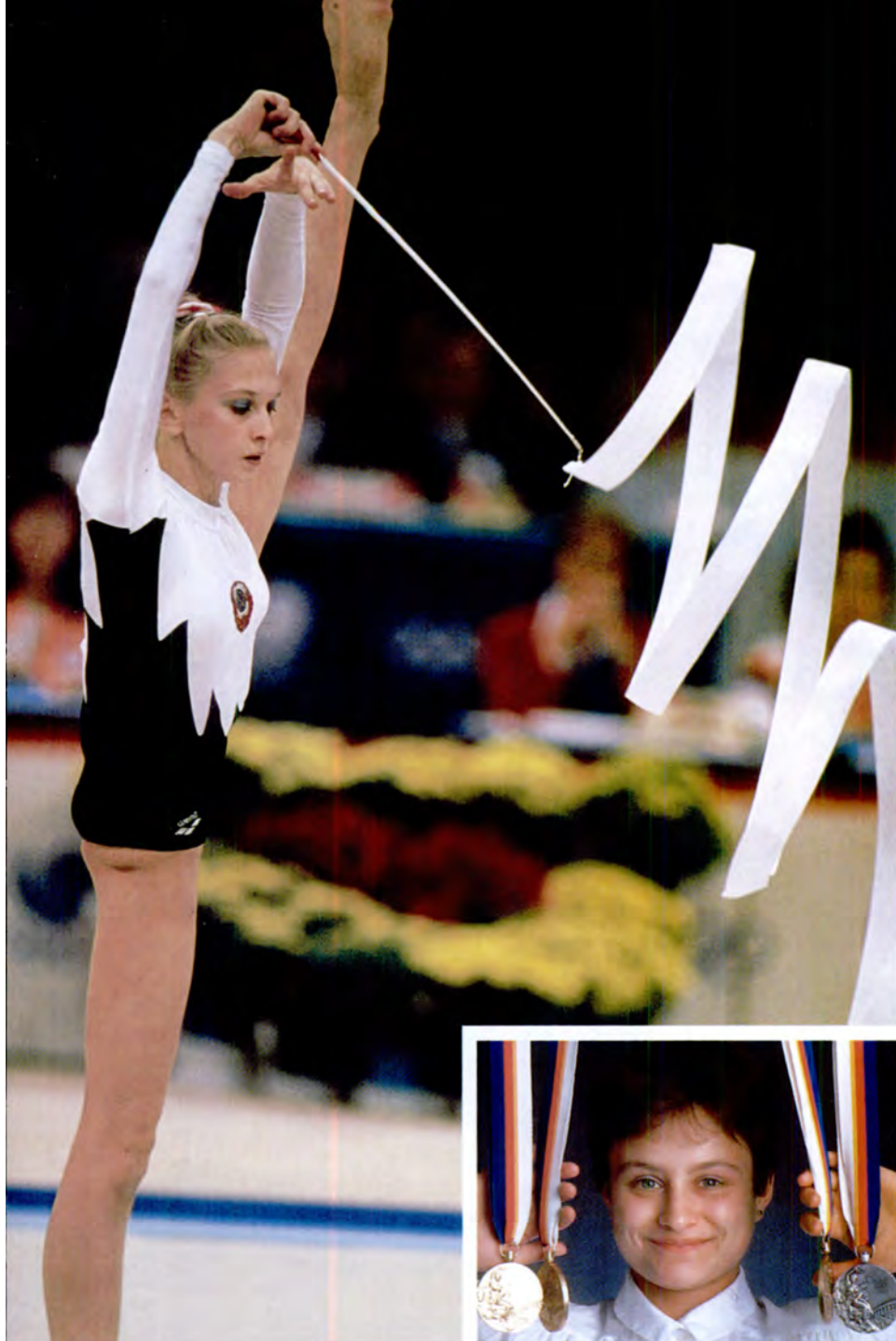
The Soviet squad was one of the most representative, both in the number of entrants and in the level of their performances. Many Soviet athletes are counted among the heroes of the Seoul games—swimmer Vladimir Salnikov; Yelena Shushunova and other Soviet gymnasts; track and field

athletes Sergei Bubka, Olga Bryzgina, Gennadi Avdeyenko and Natalya Lisovskaya; and teams such as the men's basketball and the women's volleyball.

The press also noted the Soviet delegation's contribution to the cultural program of the Olympics. It wrote with admiration about the performances of the Bolshoi Ballet and the Moscow Symphony Orchestra. ►

Soviet soccer fans rejoiced as the national team won the gold for the first time since 1956. Right: The triumphant Soviet basketball team in the final game. Below right: Weightlifter Yuri Zakharevich. Facing page: Gymnasts Marina Lobach, Yelena Shushunova and Vladimir Artyomov.





GRASSROOTS GROUND SWELL

The words "popular front" are becoming almost as familiar as the words "*perestroika*" and "*glasnost*." Popular fronts are movements of active support for *perestroika* and are now an important element of public life in the Soviet Union. Read about the popular front of the old Russian city of Yaroslavl in the next issue.



LEONID BREZHNEV ON TRIAL

The Soviet Union is undergoing the painful but very important process of reevaluating the contributions that individuals have made to the country's development. In the February issue of *SOVIET LIFE*, Fyodor Burlatsky reconsiders Leonid Brezhnev, and the late leader's grandson speaks in defense of his grandfather.

COMING SOON

Is There a Mafia in the Soviet Union?

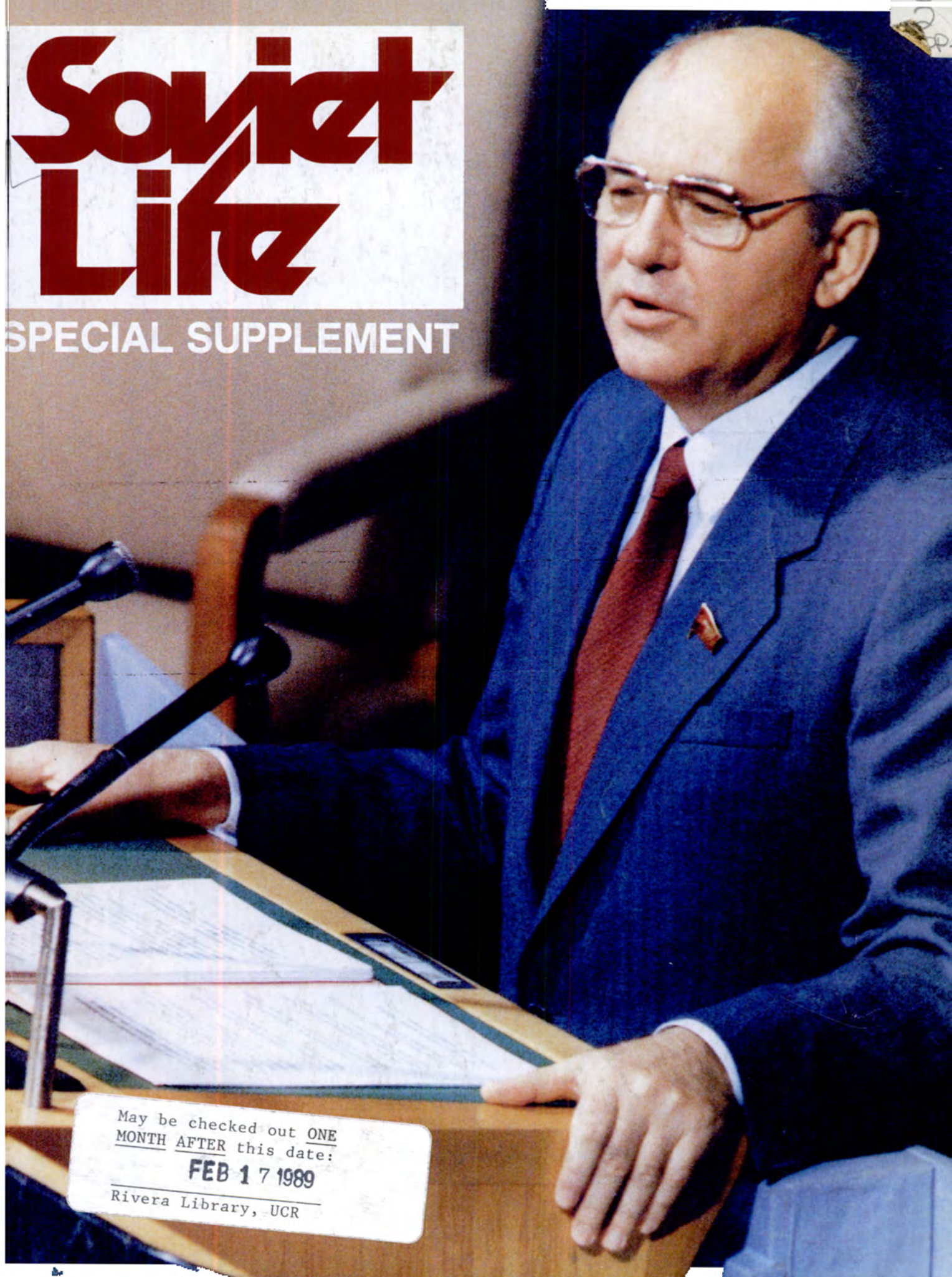


JASPER

Detail of an interior in the State Hermitage Museum. Inset: A cameo portrait of an unknown man from

Soviet Life

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT



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**SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT
FOR SUBSCRIBERS
February 1989 No. 2**

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV ADDRESSES THE UNITED NATIONS

The following is the full text of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly, December 7, 1988.

Esteemed Mr. President,
Esteemed Mr. Secretary-General,
Distinguished delegates,

We have come here to show our respect for the United Nations, which increasingly has manifested its ability to act as a unique international center in the service of peace and security.

We have come here to show our respect for the dignity of this organization, which is capable of accumulating the collective wisdom and will of humankind. Recent events have made it increasingly clear that the world needs such an organization and that the organization itself needs the active involvement of all of its members, their support for its initiatives and actions, and their potential and original contributions, which enrich its activity.

A little more than a year ago, in an article entitled "The Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World," I set out some ideas on problems of concern to the United Nations.

The time since then has given fresh food for thought. World developments have indeed come to a crucial point.

The role played by the Soviet Union in world affairs is well known and, in view of the revolutionary *perestroika* under way in our country, which has a tremendous potential for peace and international cooperation, we are now particularly interested in being properly understood.

That is why we have come here to address this most authoritative world

body and to share our thoughts with its members. We want it to be the first to learn of our important new decisions.

I

What will humankind be like as it enters the twenty-first century? People are already fascinated by this not too distant future. We are looking forward to it with hopes for the best and yet with feelings of concern.

The world in which we live today is radically different from what it was at the beginning or even in the middle of this century. And it continues to change, as do all its components.

The advent of nuclear weapons was a tragic reminder of the fundamental nature of all these changes. A material symbol and expression of absolute military power, nuclear weapons at the same time revealed the absolute limits of that power. The problem of humankind's survival and self-preservation has come to the fore.

Profound social changes are taking place.

Whether in the East or the South, the West or the North, hundreds of millions of people, new nations and states, new public movements and ideologies have moved to the forefront of history.

Broad-based and frequently turbulent popular movements have given expression, in a multidimensional and contradictory way, to a longing for independence, democracy and social justice. The idea of democratizing the entire world order has become a powerful sociopolitical force.

At the same time, the scientific and technological revolution has turned many economic, food, energy, environmental, information and demographic problems, which only recently we

treated as national or regional problems, into global concerns.

Thanks to the advances in mass media and means of transportation, the world seems to have become more visible and tangible. International communication has become easier than ever before. Today it is virtually impossible for any society to remain "closed." We need a radical review of approaches to the totality of the problems of international cooperation, which is a major element of universal security.

The world economy is becoming a single organism, and no state, whatever its social system or economic status, can normally develop outside it.

This places on the agenda the need to devise a fundamentally new machinery for the functioning of the world economy, a new structure of the international division of labor.

At the same time, the growth of the world economy reveals the contradictions and limits inherent in the traditional type of industrialization. Its further extension and intensification spell environmental catastrophe.

But there are still many countries without sufficiently developed industries, and some have not yet industrialized. One of the major problems is whether the process of their economic growth will follow the old technological patterns or whether they can join in the search for environmentally clean production.

Another problem is the widening gap between the developed and most of the developing countries, which is increasingly becoming a serious global threat.

Hence the need to begin a search for a fundamentally new type of industrial progress that would meet the interests of all peoples and states.

In a word, the new realities are changing the entire international situation. The ►

differences and contradictions inherited from the past are diminishing or being displaced. But new ones are emerging.

Some former differences and disputes are losing their importance. But conflicts of a different kind are taking their place.

Life is making us abandon traditional stereotypes and outdated views; it is making us discard illusions.

The very concepts of the nature of and criteria for progress are changing.

It would be naive to think that the problems plaguing humankind today can be solved with the means and methods that were applied or seemed to work in the past.

Indeed, humankind has accumulated a wealth of experience in the process of political, economic and social development under highly diverse conditions. But that experience belongs to the practices and to the world that have become or are becoming part of the past.

This is one of the signs of the crucial nature of the current phase in history.

The greatest philosophers sought to grasp the laws of social development and to find an answer to the main question: how to make human life happier, fairer and more secure. Two great revolutions, the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of 1917, had a powerful impact on the very nature of history and radically changed the course of world developments.

These two revolutions, each in its own way, gave a tremendous impetus to humankind's progress. To a large extent, the two revolutions shaped the way of thinking that is still prevalent in social consciousness. It is a precious intellectual heritage.

But today we face a different world, and we must seek a different road to the future. In seeking it, we must, of course, draw on the accumulated experience and yet be aware of the fundamental differences between the situation yesterday and what we are facing today.

But the novelty of the tasks before us, as well as their difficulty, goes beyond that. Today we have entered an era when progress will be shaped by universal human interests.

The awareness of this dictates that world politics, too, should be guided by the primacy of universal human values.

The history of past centuries and millennia was a history of wars that raged almost everywhere, or of frequent desperate battles to the point of mutual annihilation. They grew out of clashes of social and political interests, national enmity, and ideological or religious incompatibility. All this did happen.

And even today many people would

like these vestiges of the past to be accepted as inexorable law.

But concurrently with wars, animosities and divisions among peoples and countries, another objective trend has been gaining momentum—the emergence of a mutually interdependent and integral world.

Today, further world progress is only possible through a search for universal human consensus as we move forward to a new world order.

We have reached a point at which disorder and spontaneity lead to an impasse. The international community must learn how it can shape and guide developments in such a way as to preserve our civilization, to make the world safe for all and more conducive to normal life.

I am referring to the kind of cooperation that could be more accurately termed cocreation and codevelopment.

The concept of development at the expense of others is on the way out. In the light of existing realities, no genuine progress is possible at the expense of the rights and freedoms of individuals and nations or at the expense of nature. Efforts to solve global problems require a new scope and quality of interaction of states and sociopolitical currents, regardless of ideological or other differences.

Of course, radical changes and revolutionary transformations will continue to occur within individual countries and social structures. This is how it always was and how it always will be.

But here too, our time marks a change. Domestic transformations no longer can achieve their national goals if they develop just along "parallel courses" with others, without making use of the achievements of the outside world and of the potential inherent in equitable cooperation.

In these circumstances, any interference in those domestic developments, designed to redirect them to alien ways, would have destructive consequences for the emergence of a peaceful order.

In the past differences were often obstacles to cooperation. Now they have a chance of becoming a factor for mutual enrichment and mutual attraction.

Specific interests underlie all differences in social systems, in the way of life and in preferences for certain values. There is no escaping that fact.

But equally, there is no escaping the need to find a balance of interests within an international framework. Such a balance is a condition for survival and progress.

Pondering all this, one comes to the

conclusion that if we are to take into account the lessons of the past and the realities of the present, if we are to reckon with the objective logic of world development, we must look for ways to improve the international situation and build a new world—and we must do it together.

And, if so, we ought to agree on the basic, truly universal prerequisites and principles of such policy.

It is obvious, in particular, that force or the threat of force can no longer be an instrument of foreign policy. This applies above all to nuclear arms, but not only to nuclear arms. All of us, and primarily the stronger of us, must exercise self-restraint and totally rule out any use of force in international affairs.

That is the cornerstone of the ideal of a nonviolent world, which we proclaimed together with India in the Delhi Declaration and which we invite you to follow.

After all, it is now quite clear that building up military power makes no country omnipotent. What is more, one-sided reliance on military power ultimately weakens other components of national security.

It is also quite clear to us that the principle of freedom of choice is essential. Refusal to recognize this principle is fraught with extremely grave consequences for world peace.

Denying that right to the peoples under whatever pretext or rhetorical guise means jeopardizing the fragile balance that has been attained. Freedom of choice is a universal principle that should allow for no exceptions.

It was not simply out of good intentions that we came to the conclusion that this principle is absolute. We were driven to it by an unbiased analysis of the objective trends of today.

More and more characteristic is the increasingly multi-optional nature of social development in different countries. This applies to both the capitalist and the socialist systems. The diversity of the sociopolitical structures that have grown over the past decades out of national liberation movements also attests to this.

This objective fact demands respect for the views and positions of others, tolerance, a willingness to perceive something different as not necessarily bad or hostile, and an ability to learn to coexist with others while retaining our differences and the ability to disagree with each other.

As the world asserts its diversity, attempts to look down on others and to teach them one's own brand of democracy become totally improper, to say

nothing of the fact that democratic values intended for export often very quickly lose their worth.

What we are talking about, therefore, is unity in diversity. If we recognize this politically, if we reaffirm our adherence to the principle of freedom of choice, then there is no room for the view that some live on earth by virtue of divine will while others are here quite by chance.

The time has come to discard such thinking and to shape our policies accordingly. That would open up prospects for strengthening the unity of the world.

The new phase also requires freeing international relations from ideology. We are not abandoning our convictions, our philosophy or traditions, nor do we urge anyone to abandon theirs.

But neither do we intend to be hemmed in by our values. That would result in intellectual impoverishment, for it would mean rejecting a powerful source of development—the exchange of everything original that each nation has independently created.

In the course of such exchange, let everyone show the advantages of their social system, way of life or values—and not just by words or propaganda, but by real deeds.

That would be a fair rivalry of ideologies. But it should not be extended to relations among states. Otherwise, we would simply be unable to solve any of the world's problems, such as:

- developing wide-ranging, mutually beneficial and equitable cooperation among nations;
- making efficient use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution;
- restructuring international economic ties and protecting the environment;
- overcoming backwardness and eliminating hunger, disease, illiteracy and other global scourges;
- and last, but not least, eliminating the nuclear threat and militarism.

Those are our reflections on the patterns of world development at the threshold of the twenty-first century.

We are, of course, far from claiming to be in possession of the ultimate truth. But, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the past and newly emerging realities, we have concluded that it is along those lines that we should jointly seek the way to the supremacy of the universal humane idea over the endless multitude of centrifugal forces, the way to preserve the vitality of this civilization, possibly the only one in the entire universe.

Could this view be a little too roman-

tic? Are we not overestimating the potential and the maturity of the world's social consciousness? We have heard such doubts and such questions both in our country and from some of our Western partners.

I am convinced that we are not completely unrealistic.

Forces have already emerged in the world that in one way or another encourage us to enter a period of peace. The peoples and large sectors of the public do, indeed, ardently wish for an improvement in the situation; they want to learn to cooperate. This trend is sometimes amazingly powerful. Even more important, such trends are beginning to shape policies.

Changes in philosophical approaches and in political relations form a solid prerequisite for imparting, in line with worldwide objective processes, a powerful impetus to the efforts to establish new relations among states.

Even those politicians whose activities used to be associated with the cold war, and sometimes even with its most critical phases, are now drawing similar conclusions. They of all people find it particularly hard to abandon the old stereotypes and practices of the past.

And if even they are changing course, it is clear that when new generations take over, such opportunities will increase in number.

In short, the realization that there is a need for peace is gaining ground and beginning to prevail. This has made it possible to take the first real steps toward improving the international situation and toward disarmament.

What are the practical implications? It would be natural and sensible not to abandon everything positive that has already been accomplished and to build on all the gains of the past few years, on all that we have created working together. I am referring to the process of negotiations on nuclear disarmament, conventional weapons and chemical weapons, and to the search for political approaches to the solution of regional conflicts.

Of course, I am referring above all to political dialogue—a more intensive and open dialogue pointed at the very heart of the problems instead of confrontation, at an exchange of constructive ideas instead of recriminations. Without political dialogue the process of negotiations cannot advance.

We regard prospects for the near and more distant future quite optimistically.

Just look at the changes in our relations with the United States. Little by little, mutual understanding has started to

develop and elements of trust, without which it is very hard to make headway in politics, to emerge.

These elements are even more pronounced in Europe. The Helsinki process is a great process. I believe that it remains completely valid. Its philosophical, political, practical and other dimensions must all be preserved and enhanced, while at the same time taking into account new circumstances.

Current realities make it imperative that the dialogue that ensures the normal and constructive evolution of international affairs involves, on a continuous and active basis, all countries and regions of the world, including such major powers as India, China, Japan and Brazil and other countries—large, medium and small.

I am in favor of a more dynamic and substantive political dialogue, of consolidating the political prerequisites for improving the international climate. That would make it easier to find practical solutions to many problems. Tough as it may be, this is the road that we must travel.

Everyone should join in the movement toward greater unity of the world.

Today, this is particularly important, for we are approaching a very important point when we shall have to face the question of how to ensure the world's solidarity and the stability and dynamism of international relations.

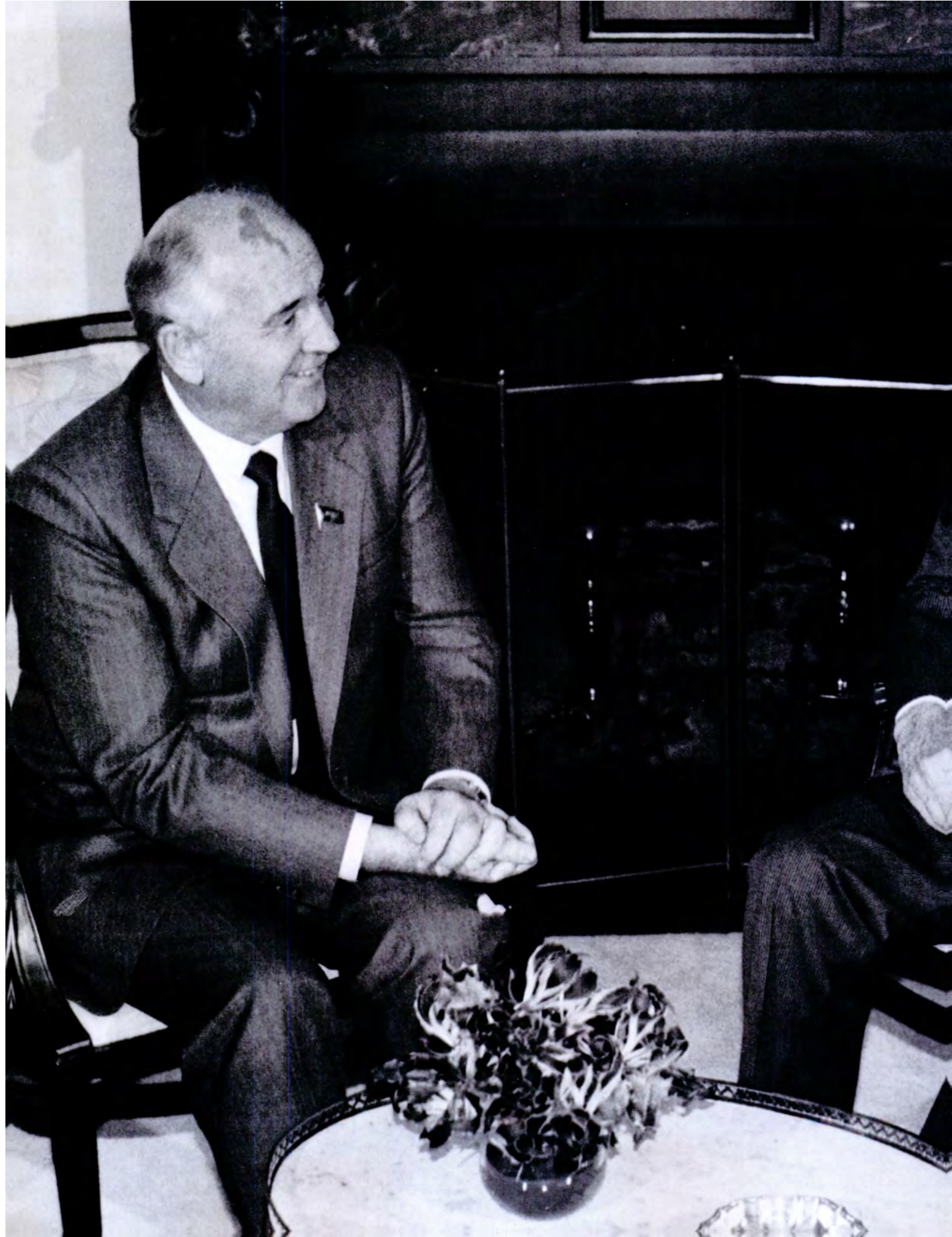
And yet, in my talks with foreign government and political leaders, with whom I have had more than 200 meetings, I could sometimes sense their dissatisfaction over the fact that at this crucial time, for one reason or another, they sometimes find themselves, as it were, on the sidelines of the main issues of world politics.

It is natural and appropriate that no one is willing to resign himself to that.

If, although different, we are indeed part of the same civilization, if we are aware of the interdependence of the contemporary world, then this understanding must be increasingly present in politics and in the practical efforts to harmonize international relations. Perhaps the term *perestroika* is not quite appropriate in this context, but I do call for building new international relations.

I am convinced that our time and the realities of today's world call for internationalizing dialogue and the negotiating process.

This is the main general conclusion that we have come to in studying global trends that have been gaining momentum in recent years, and in participating in world politics. ►









In this specific historical situation, we face the question of a new role for the United Nations.

We feel that states must to some extent review their attitude toward the United Nations, this unique instrument without which world politics would be inconceivable today.

The recent reinvigoration of its peace-making role has again demonstrated the United Nations' ability to assist its members in coping with the daunting challenges of our time and in working to humanize their relations.

Regrettably, shortly after it was established, the organization went through the onslaught of the cold war. For many years, it was the scene of propaganda battles and continuous political confrontation. Let historians argue who is more and who is less to blame for it. What political leaders today need to do is to draw lessons from that chapter in the history of the United Nations, a chapter that turned out to be at odds with the very meaning and objectives of the organization.

One of the most bitter and important lessons lies in the long list of missed opportunities. As a result, at a certain point the authority of the United Nations diminished, and many of its attempts to act failed.

It is highly significant that the reinvigoration of the role of the United Nations is linked to an improvement in the international climate.

In a way the United Nations embodies the interests of different states. It is the only organization capable of channeling their bilateral, regional and global efforts. New prospects are opening up for it in all areas that fall naturally under its responsibility—in the political-military, economic, scientific, technological, environmental and humanitarian areas.

Take, for example, the problem of development, which is a truly universal human problem. Conditions in which tens of millions of people live in a number of Third World regions are becoming a real threat to all humankind.

No closed entities or even regional communities of states, important as they are, are capable of untangling the main knots that tie up the principal avenues of world economic relations—North-South, East-West, South-South, South-East and East-East.

We need to combine these efforts and take into account the interests of all the different groups of countries, something that only this organization, the United

Nations, can accomplish.

Foreign debt is one of the gravest problems.

Let us not forget that in the age of colonialism the developing world, at the cost of countless losses and sacrifices, financed the prosperity of a large portion of the world community. The time has come to compensate the developing countries for the privations that accompanied their historic and tragic contribution to global material progress. We are convinced that here, too, internationalizing our approach is the solution.

Looking at things realistically, one has to admit that the accumulated debt cannot be repaid or recovered on the original terms.

The Soviet Union is prepared to institute a lengthy moratorium—up to 100 years—on debt payments by the least developed countries, and in quite a few cases to write off the debts altogether.

As regards other developing countries, we invite you to consider the following propositions:

- Limiting their official debt payments depending on the economic performance of each of them or granting a long deferral in the repayment of a major portion of their debt;
- Supporting the appeal of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to reduce debts owed to commercial banks;
- Guaranteeing governmental support for market arrangements to assist in Third World debt settlement, including the formation of a specialized international agency that would repurchase loans at a discount.

The Soviet Union favors a substantive discussion of ways to settle the debt crisis at multilateral forums, including consultations under the auspices of the United Nations among heads of government of debtor and creditor countries.

International economic security is inconceivable unless it is related not only to disarmament but also to the elimination of the threat to the world's environment. In a number of regions, the state of the environment is simply appalling.

A conference on the environment under UN auspices is scheduled for 1992. We welcome this decision and are working to have this forum produce results commensurate with the scope of the problem.

But time is running out. Much is being done in various countries. Here again I would just like to underscore most emphatically the prospects opening up in the process of disarmament—for environmental revival.

Let us also think about establishing within the framework of the United Nations a center for emergency environmental assistance. Its function would be to promptly send international groups of experts to areas with a badly deteriorating environment.

The Soviet Union is also prepared to cooperate in establishing an international space laboratory or manned orbital station designed exclusively for monitoring the state of the environment.

In the general area of space exploration, the outlines of a future space industry are becoming increasingly clear.

The position of the Soviet Union is well known: Activities in outer space must exclude the deployment of weapons there. Here again, there must be a legal base. The groundwork for it—the provisions of the 1967 treaty and other agreements—is already in place.

However, there is already a compelling need to develop an all-embracing regime for peaceful activity in outer space. The verification of compliance with that regime would be entrusted to a world space organization.

We have proposed the establishment of such an organization on more than one occasion. We are prepared to incorporate within its system our Krasnoyarsk radar station. A decision has already been made to place that radar under the authority of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Soviet scientists are prepared to receive their foreign colleagues and discuss with them ways of converting the station into an international center for peaceful cooperation by dismantling and refitting certain units and structures, and to provide additional equipment.

The entire system could function under the auspices of the United Nations.

The whole world welcomes the efforts of the United Nations organization and Secretary-General Perez de Cuéllar, and his representatives in untying knots of regional problems.

Allow me to elaborate on this.

Paraphrasing the words of the English poet that Hemingway took as an epigraph to his famous novel, I will say: The bell of every regional conflict tolls for all of us.

This is particularly true since those conflicts are taking place in the Third World, which already faces many ills and problems of such magnitude that it must be a matter of concern to us all.

The year 1988 has brought a glimmer of hope in this area of our common concerns as well. This has been felt in almost all regional conflicts. In some of them, there has been movement. We

welcome it, and we did what we could to contribute to it.

I will single out only Afghanistan.

The Geneva accords, whose fundamental and practical significance has been praised throughout the world, provided a possibility for completing the process of settlement even before the end of this year. That did not happen. This unfortunate fact reminds us again of the political, legal and moral significance of the Roman maxim: *Pacta sunt servanda*. Treaties must be honored.

I don't want to use this rostrum for recriminations against anyone.

But it is our view that, within the competence of the United Nations, the General Assembly resolution adopted last November could be supplemented by some specific measures. In the words of that resolution, "for the earliest comprehensive settlement by the Afghans themselves of the question of a government on a broad basis," the following measures should be undertaken:

- A complete cease-fire should take effect everywhere as of January 1, 1989, and all offensive operations or shelling should cease, with the opposing Afghan groups retaining, for the duration of negotiations, all territories under their control.

- Accordingly, all supplies of arms to all belligerents should be stopped as of the same date.

- While a broad-based government, as provided in the General Assembly resolution, is being established, a contingent of UN peace-keeping forces should be sent to Kabul and to other strategic centers throughout Afghanistan.

- We also request the Secretary-General to facilitate early implementation of the idea of holding an international conference on the neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan.

We shall most actively continue to assist in healing the wounds of the war and are prepared to cooperate in this endeavor with the United Nations and on a bilateral basis. We support the proposal to create under the auspices of the United Nations a voluntary international peace corps to assist in the revitalization of Afghanistan.

In the context of the problem of settling regional conflicts, I have to express my opinion on the serious incident that has recently affected the work of this session. The chairman of an organization that has observer status at the United Nations was not allowed by U.S. authorities to come to New York to address the General Assembly. I am referring to Yasser Arafat.

Moreover, this happened at a time

when the Palestine Liberation Organization has taken a constructive step, which facilitates the search for a solution to the Middle East problem with the involvement of the United Nations Security Council.

This happened at a time when a positive trend has become apparent toward a political settlement of other regional conflicts, in many cases with the assistance of the USSR and the United States. We express our deep regret over the incident and our solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The concept of comprehensive international security is based on the principles of the United Nations Charter and is predicated on the binding nature of international law for all states.

While we champion demilitarizing international relations, we want political and legal methods to prevail in solving whatever problems may arise.

Our ideal is a world community of states that are based on the rule of law and subordinate their foreign policy activities to law.

The achievement of this goal would be facilitated by an agreement within the United Nations on a uniform understanding of the principles and norms of international law, their codification with due regard to new conditions, and the development of legal norms for new areas of cooperation.

In a nuclear age the effectiveness of international law should be based not on enforcing compliance but on norms reflecting a balance of state interests.

As we become ever more aware of our common fate, every state becomes more genuinely interested in exercising self-restraint within the bounds of international law.

Democratizing international relations means not only a maximum degree of internationalization in the efforts of all members of the world community to solve major problems. It also means humanizing those relations.

International ties will fully reflect the genuine interests of the peoples and effectively serve the cause of their common security only when man and his concerns, rights and freedoms become the center of all things.

In this context, let my country join the chorus of voices expressing their great esteem for the significance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted 40 years ago on December 19, 1948. This document retains its significance today. It reflects the universal nature of the goals and objectives of the United Nations.

The most fitting way for a state to observe this anniversary of the declaration is to improve its domestic conditions for respecting and protecting the rights of its own citizens.

Before I inform you about what specifically we have undertaken recently in this respect, I would like to say the following. Our country is experiencing a period of truly revolutionary enthusiasm.

The process of *perestroika* is gaining momentum. We began with the formulation of the philosophy of *perestroika*. We had to evaluate the nature and the magnitude of problems, to understand the lessons of the past and express that in the form of political conclusions and programs. This has been done.

Theoretical work, a reassessment of what is happening, the finalization, enrichment and readjustment of political positions have not been completed. They are continuing.

But it was essential to begin with a general philosophy, which, as now confirmed by the experience of these past years, has generally proved to be correct and which has no alternative.

For our society to participate in efforts to implement the plans of *perestroika*, it had to be democratized in practice. Under the banner of democratization, *perestroika* has now spread to politics, the economy, intellectual life and ideology. We have initiated a radical economic reform. We have gained experience. At the start of next year the entire national economy will be redirected to new forms and methods of operation. This also means profoundly reorganizing relations of production and releasing the great potential inherent in socialist property.

Undertaking such bold revolutionary transformations, we realized that there would be mistakes and also opposition, that new approaches would generate new problems. We also foresaw the possibility of slowdowns in some areas.

But the guarantee that the over-all process of *perestroika* will steadily move forward and gain strength lies in a profound democratic reform of the entire system of power and administration.

With the recent decisions by the USSR Supreme Soviet on amendments to the Constitution and the adoption of a new electoral law, we have completed the first stage of the process of political reform.

Without pausing, we have begun the second stage of this process with the main task of improving the relationship between the center and the republics, harmonizing inter-ethnic relations on the principles of Leninist internationalism ►

that we inherited from the Great Revolution, and at the same time reforming the local Soviets.

A great deal of work lies ahead. Major tasks will have to be dealt with concurrently. We look to the future with confidence. We have a theory and a policy, and also the driving force of *perestroika*—the party—which also is restructuring itself in accordance with new tasks and fundamental changes in society as a whole.

What is most important is that all our peoples and all generations of citizens of our great country support *perestroika*.

We have become deeply involved in building a socialist state based on the rule of law. Work on a whole series of new laws has been completed or is nearing completion.

Many of them will enter into force as early as 1989, and we expect them to meet the highest standards with regard to ensuring the rights of the individual.

Soviet democracy will then be placed on a solid legal base. I am referring, in particular, to laws on the freedom of conscience, on *glasnost*, public associations and organizations, and many others. People are no longer kept in prison for their political or religious beliefs.

Additional guarantees are to be included in the new draft laws that rule out any form of persecution on those grounds.

Naturally, this does not apply to those who committed actual criminal offenses or state crimes such as espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and so forth, whatever their political or ideological beliefs.

Draft amendments to the criminal code have been prepared and are awaiting their turn. Among the articles being revised are those concerning capital punishment.

The problem of emigration from and immigration to our country, including the question of leaving it for family reunification, is being resolved in a humane spirit.

Permission to leave, as you know, is denied to persons with knowledge of state secrets. Strictly warranted time limitations are being introduced in relation to the knowledge of classified information. Every person seeking employment at certain agencies or enterprises will be informed of this rule. In case of disputes the law provides a right of appeal.

This removes from the agenda the problem of the so-called "refuseniks."

We intend to expand the Soviet Union's participation in the human rights monitoring arrangements under the aegis of the United Nations and within the

European process. We believe that the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice at the Hague as regards the interpretation and implementation of agreements on human rights should be binding on all states.

We also see an end to the jamming of all foreign radio broadcasts beamed at the Soviet Union within the context of the Helsinki process.

Overall, this is our credo: Political problems must be solved only by political means; human problems, only in a humane way.

III

Now let me turn to the main issue—disarmament, without which none of the problems of the coming century can be solved.

International development and communication have been distorted by the arms race and militarization of thinking.

As you know, on January 15, 1986, the Soviet Union proposed a program to build a world free from nuclear weapons. Translated into actual negotiating positions, it has already produced material results.

Tomorrow marks the first anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. I am therefore particularly pleased to note that the implementation of the treaty—the destruction of missiles—is proceeding normally, in an atmosphere of trust and constructive work.

A large breach has thus been made in a seemingly impenetrable wall of suspicion and animosity. We are witnessing the emergence of a new historic reality—the principle of excessive arms stockpiling is giving way to the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency.

We are witnessing the first efforts to build a new model of security—not through the buildup of arms, as was almost always the case in the past, but on the contrary, through their reduction on the basis of compromise.

The Soviet leadership has decided to demonstrate once again its readiness to reinforce this healthy process not only by words but also by deeds.

Today, I can report to you that the Soviet Union has decided to reduce its armed forces.

Over the next two years their numerical strength will be reduced by 500,000 men. The numbers of conventional armaments will also be substantially reduced. These cuts will be made unilaterally, without relation to the talks on the mandate of the Vienna meeting.

By agreement with our Warsaw Treaty allies, we have decided to withdraw by 1991 six tank divisions from the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and to disband them.

Assault-landing troops and several other formations and units, including assault-crossing support units with their weapons, and combat equipment, will also be withdrawn from the groups of Soviet forces stationed in those countries.

Soviet forces stationed in those countries will be reduced by 50,000 men and 5,000 tanks.

All Soviet divisions remaining, for the time being, on the territory of our allies are being reorganized. Their structure will be changed. A large number of tanks will be withdrawn, and the divisions will become strictly defensive.

At the same time, we shall reduce the numerical strength of the armed forces and the numbers of armaments stationed in the European part of the USSR.

In total, Soviet armed forces in this part of our country and in the territories of our European allies will be reduced by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems and 800 combat aircraft.

During these two years we intend to reduce significantly our armed forces in the Asian part of our country, too. By agreement with the government of the Mongolian People's Republic a major portion of Soviet troops temporarily stationed there will return home.

In making this fundamental decision, the Soviet leadership expresses the will of the people, who have undertaken a profound reconstruction of their entire socialist society.

We shall maintain our country's defense capability at a level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency so that no one is tempted to encroach on the security of the USSR or its allies.

By this action, and by all our efforts to demilitarize international relations, we wish to draw the attention of the international community to yet another urgent matter—the problem of converting from an economy of armaments to an economy of disarmament.

Is conversion of military production a realistic idea? I have already had occasion to speak about this. We think that, indeed, it is realistic.

The Soviet Union is prepared:

- To formulate and make public its own internal plan of conversion as part of its economic reform efforts;
- To draw up as an experiment, in the course of 1989, conversion plans for two or three defense plants;



- To make public its experience in re-employing military specialists and in using defense equipment and facilities in civilian production.

We consider it desirable for all states, in the first place major military powers, to submit their national conversion plans to the United Nations.

It would also be useful to set up a group of scientists to undertake a thorough analysis of the problem of conversion as a whole and as applied to individual countries and regions and report its findings to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Later this matter should be considered at a session of the General Assembly.

IV

And finally, since I am here on American soil, and for other obvious reasons, I want to turn to the subject of our relations with this great country. I had a chance to appreciate the full measure of American hospitality during my memorable visit to Washington exactly a year ago.

The relations between the Soviet Union and the United States have a history of five and a half decades. As the world has changed, so have the nature, role and place of those relations in world politics.

For too long these relations were characterized by confrontation and sometimes animosity—either overt or covert.

But in the past few years people all over the world have breathed a sigh of relief as the substance and the atmosphere of the relationship between Moscow and Washington took a turn for the better.

I do not intend to underestimate the seriousness of our differences and the complexity of outstanding problems. We have, however, already graduated from the primary school of learning to understand each other, and we seek solutions in both our own and common interests.

The USSR and the United States have built up immense nuclear-missile arsenals. But these very countries have acknowledged their responsibility, becoming the first to conclude a treaty on the reduction and physical elimination of a portion of these armaments, which posed a threat to both of them and to all nations of the world.

Both countries possess the greatest and the most sophisticated military secrets. Those two countries have laid a basis for and are further developing a system of mutual verification of both the

destruction of armaments and the reduction and prohibition of their production.

Those two countries are accumulating the experience for future bilateral and multilateral agreements.

We value this experience. We acknowledge and appreciate the contribution made by President Ronald Reagan and by the members of his administration, particularly Mr. George Shultz.

All this is our capital in a joint venture of historic importance. We must not lose this investment or leave it idle.

The next U.S. Administration, headed by President-elect George Bush, will find in us a partner that is ready—without procrastinating or backtracking—to continue the dialogue in a spirit of realism, openness and good will, and determined to achieve concrete results working on an agenda that covers the main issues of Soviet-American relations and world politics.

I have in mind, above all, consistent movement toward a treaty on 50 per cent reductions in strategic offensive arms while preserving the ABM Treaty; working out a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons—here, as we see it, prerequisites exist to make 1989 a decisive year; and negotiations on the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe.

We also have in mind economic, environmental and humanitarian problems in their broadest sense.

It would be quite wrong to ascribe the positive changes in the international situation exclusively to the USSR and the United States.

The Soviet Union highly values the great and original contribution of the socialist countries toward the creation of a healthier international environment.

During the course of negotiations we are constantly aware of the presence of other great nations, both nuclear and nonnuclear.

Many countries, including medium and small ones, and, of course, the Non-aligned Movement and intercontinental Group of Six play a uniquely important constructive role.

We in Moscow are happy that an ever increasing number of statesmen, political, party and public figures and—I want to emphasize this—scientists, cultural figures, representatives of mass movements and various churches and activists of what is called people's diplomacy are ready to shoulder the burden of universal responsibility.

In this context I believe that the idea of convening an assembly of public organizations on a regular basis under

the auspices of the United Nations deserves consideration.

We have no intention of oversimplifying the situation in the world.

True, the trend toward disarmament has been given powerful impetus, and the process is gaining a momentum of its own. But it is not yet irreversible.

True, there is a strong desire to give up confrontation in favor of dialogue and cooperation. But this trend has not yet become a permanent feature in the practice of international relations.

True, movement toward a nonviolent world free from nuclear weapons can radically transform the political and intellectual identity of our planet. But only the first steps have been made, and even they have been met with mistrust and resistance in certain influential quarters.

The legacy and inertia of the past continue to be felt. Profound contradictions and the roots of many conflicts have not disappeared. And there remains another fundamental fact, which is that a peaceful period will be taking shape in the context of the existence and rivalry of different socioeconomic and political systems.

However, the aim of our international efforts and one of the key elements of the new thinking is that we must transform this rivalry into reasonable competition on the basis of freedom of choice and a balance of interests.

Then it will even become useful and productive from the standpoint of global development.

Otherwise—if the arms race, as before, remains its basic component—this rivalry will be suicidal.

More and more people throughout the world—leaders as well as ordinary people—are beginning to understand this.

Esteemed Mr. President,

Distinguished delegates,

I am concluding my first address to the United Nations with the same feeling I had when I began it—a feeling of responsibility to my own people and to the world community.

We are meeting at the end of a year that has meant so much for the United Nations and on the eve of a year from which we all expect so much.

I would like to believe that our hopes will be matched by our joint effort to put an end to an era of wars, confrontation and regional conflicts, to aggressions against nature, to the terror of hunger and poverty and to political terrorism.

This is our common goal, and we will be able to reach it only by working together.

Thank you.

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Front Cover: Moscow beauty Yekaterina
Chilichkina, Katya for short, won the Miss
Europe title in Helsinki, Finland. See cover
story on page 31. Photograph by Igor Boiko.



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TOWARD A WEAPONS-FREE WORLD

Three years ago Mikhail Gorbachev put forward a program for building a nuclear-weapons-free world and eliminating all weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000. Prospects for this program are explored by USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Victor Karpov in a conversation with Pravda.

Q: What progress has been made since the Soviet Union offered its program for a nuclear-free, nonviolent world?

A: When the program was made public on January 15, 1986, the response it received was mostly positive. While approval came from all political circles and social strata, many people felt that the program was unrealistic. These past three years have proved the skeptics wrong. Now we have the Soviet-American INF Treaty. Talks are under way to cut Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms by half. The disarmament talks have made considerable headway toward a convention to ban and eliminate chemical weapons.

The international conference on chemical arms has recently finished its work in Paris. As many political analysts think, the major forum largely owed its success to the latest Soviet initiative voiced by USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze, who headed the Soviet delegation. Addressing the conference, he stated that the Soviet Union was willing to start the unilateral elimination of its chemical arsenals even before the convention was completed.

Another very important development: The Vienna followup conference to the Helsinki Accords, which was attended by 33 European nations, the United States and Canada, approved the final document to-

gether with a mandate for talks on conventional forces. Significantly, agreement on that document was reached on January 15, 1989—exactly three years to the day of the Gorbachev statement. New approaches and principles are taking root in international relations.

Q: What should be done to guarantee the process of building a secure world? What are the most urgent tasks here?

A: One of the priorities is the Soviet-American negotiations on strategic and space arms and on a nuclear test ban. The negotiations on nuclear weapons have their own history now. We hope that the talks on this subject will resume as soon as the new U.S. Administration formulates its concrete policy on this matter. We are also counting on continuity.

The next priority is the reduction of conventional forces in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. Now, after the completion of the Vienna meeting, the 23 member countries of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO are expected to begin negotiations on conventional forces in Europe.

Lastly, there is a wide range of problems relating to the holding of European conferences on scientific, technological, economic and humanitarian cooperation. These include an international conference on human rights and humanitarian problems, which is to take place in Moscow in 1991. We attach great importance to this conference.

Q: The West often links success at the strategic arms talks with the

achievement of an agreement on conventional forces. Does such a relationship between the two sets of talks exist?

A: I don't think there is a direct relationship. Each group of problems is so important in itself that if we merge them, we will only make things even more difficult. At the same time progress in limiting and reducing nuclear armaments undoubtedly creates new conditions for the discussion of conventional force reductions.

Progress in the sphere of arms control prompts the need for a new approach. That is why when we speak of starting talks on force and arms reductions in Europe, we are thinking, above all, of how to render the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organization incapable of offensive operations and surprise attacks and at the same time how to ensure that they can carry out defensive operations.

Q: Talks on arms reductions are now being conducted along several lines. What are the major obstacles?

A: What really matters is the need to overcome stereotypes of the old way of thinking. The ideas of the cold war period often persist here. Take the question of nuclear arms. The most challenging problem is whether or not one should view nuclear weapons as a means of ensuring peace. We believe that nuclear weapons do not safeguard peace.

Moreover, the quicker humankind rids itself of nuclear weapons—at the same time ensuring a lower level of

armed forces and conventional armaments, eliminating chemical weapons and creating new guarantees of a nuclear-weapons-free world—the more effective will be the resolution to the problem of the survival of humanity. Nevertheless, the concept of reliance on nuclear weapons is still very popular in the West. I would say that the idea is not alien to some of our theorists either. Some believe there is some kind of benefit in having nuclear weapons in the hands of those who do not want to use them.

However, I seriously doubt it. Nuclear weapons are not only dangerous in themselves. They also generate a great number of additional scientific and technological problems associated with upgrading the homing systems and delivery vehicles for the deadly weapons—all at a huge cost to the taxpayer.

Q: Doesn't this concern psychological stereotypes?

A: Sure. The main stereotype is the "enemy image," an irreplaceable element of previous military doctrines. Why does one create the armed forces? Against whom? Against the potential enemy which, some believe, must exist.

But if we came to believe that no one should have an enemy, it would create a new psychological attitude toward the solution of international problems. In this sense, the Soviet-American INF Treaty gave us and the Americans a chance to review that psychological aspect of international relations. Of immense importance in this sense is the December 7, 1988, statement by Mikhail Gorbachev about the unilateral reduction of Soviet armed forces.

Q: Most people enthusiastically welcomed this new peace initiative. But some fear that it could harm our defense potential. Do you agree?

A: We have put forward a defensive policy, and we should not only speak about it but build our armed forces based on its principles. First, we must see what is needed for reliable defense. We looked into the matter and saw that over the next two years, we can reduce our armed forces by 500,000 troops, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems and 800 warplanes. This will not harm our defenses.

Q: It may be that we lack *glasnost* in this sphere. Perhaps it generates too many questions?

A: Yes. As distinct from many other countries, we hardly had *glasnost* in the sphere of building, maintaining and financing our armed forces. The Soviet people still do not know the total number of Soviet troops. This information remains top secret, like everything that concerns armaments and the military budget. We ought to know the true amount of our military spending to see if we are spending too much. Maybe a considerable part of this amount could be channeled to civilian industries. We are now working on this.

Q: Let's examine the issue of trust, which is inseparably linked with verification. How are these issues being tackled at the current talks?

A: It is a double-sided problem. One side concerns overcoming our own complex of oversecracy. We have achieved much in this sphere thanks, above all, to the INF Treaty. We have established a diversified verification system under which we have held about 300 inspections on both sides. We are controlling military spheres which always used to be secret. It was unthinkable before the conclusion of the treaty.

Now that the Americans and we are working at the mechanism to supervise the 50-per-cent cuts on strategic offensive arms, we have enough experience to propose a reliable system of supervision—and we see an "openness" phobia in the Americans. Strange as it may seem, but the other side is vacillating on the issue of supervision. They are afraid the Soviet Union will learn too much.

Q: Is it possible to implement the January 15, 1986, program within the time limits it declared?

A: If this year brings us an understanding on 50-per-cent cuts in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms and a turning point in the preparations for a convention to ban chemical arms, if we start a serious conversation on conventional arms cuts this year, I think we'll have every chance to implement the program before the year 2000.

Abridged.

Courtesy of the newspaper *Pravda*



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

My wife and I wish to express our thanks to your country for helping out in the effort to save the whales in Alaska. I think it is wonderful when two great countries can work together in such a worthy cause. We are hoping you will print an article about this rescue mission in a future issue of SOVIET LIFE magazine.

Mike and Dona Curl
Pflugerville, Texas

As a subscriber, I find SOVIET LIFE interesting. However, there is one field I'd like to see more information on. It would be most informative if you could do an article showing the contrasts between Soviet and American psychologists. For example, how do they differ in theories of child raising? Are the two countries similar, for example, in recommendations given to elementary schoolteachers?

Vaughn M. Greene
San Bruno, California

With respect to the letter of Anita Brown in the August issue, I have to disagree on a number of points. As to "warts," SOVIET LIFE's articles are full of discussions of and references to "warts." Shortcomings in Soviet society are openly discussed. Of course, it is necessary to read through articles in full, not just glance at pictures and peruse headlines. The difference with respect to American publications is that the critical tone is more polite in SOVIET LIFE. In American publications, there is often a witch hunt atmosphere or a cynical, snide, caustic tone. . . . Besides, I think SOVIET LIFE is more on the level of National Geographic than, say, Newsweek, so it is important not to compare apples with oranges.

Paul G. Hershall
Kensington, Maryland

Continued on page 58

“The Muzhik Of Arkhangelsk”

By Alexander Becker
Photographs by Alexander Lyskin



*Nikolai Sivkov in front of
Low Sunday, the heart
of the family farmstead.
Below: Victor Chukhin,
chairman of the District
Executive Committee (left),
and Sivkov discuss the
terms for leasing the
land to his cooperative.*

*"The Muzhik of
Arkhangelsk" is a new
catch phrase heard
throughout the
country. It was coined
by the press as
a nickname for
Nikolai Sivkov, a*



*farmer from
Arkhangelsk Region,
in the northern
part of the
Russian Federation.
The phrase has since
become a generic
term for all
efficient and
enterprising farmers.*

Behind the plow. While other families were moving from the countryside, Sivkov couldn't bear to leave the village where he was born or the work he loved so much.





District officials on a tour of the Low Sunday farmstead. Sivkov, his wife and son, and one other farmer now belong to the new cooperative.



Above: A sweeping panorama of the Severnaya Dvina River, which flows into the White Sea. Left: Irina, the Sivkovs' younger child, is a great help to her dad. Below left: The Low Sunday Cooperative specializes in breeding calves for sale. Sivkov hopes that others might follow his example, return to the rural villages and revive the region.



Nikolai Sivkov lives in a picturesque spot on the bank of the Severnaya Dvina River. Pastures of dense grass abound, dotted by groves here and there. The meadows are excellent grazing land for livestock and dairy cattle, making this area famous for its locally bred milch cows. Butter used to be widely exported from the region.

Over the years dairy farming lost

its appeal, and villages became deserted as families moved away. The shepherd's horn rarely broke the crystal stillness of the Northern dawn. Meadows filled with weeds.

Amid the desolation proudly stands a log house—Low Sunday—the heart of the Sivkov farmstead. At a time when other families were moving to larger and more populated towns and villages, the Sivkovs chose to stay.

To everyone's amazement, the Sivkovs signed a family contract with the nearby Morzhegorsky State Farm to fatten its calves. Hadn't the day of small family farming long since passed and didn't prosperity lie with the state and collective farms? That, however, was true, but only in theory. In practice, the Muzhik of Arkhangelsk fattened calves twice as fast as the state farm and produced meat at lower cost. The 60 calves cared for by the Sivkovs brought close to 40,000 rubles net profit, while another 60 calves fed by the state farm brought only 7,000.

Welcome family contract, you'd think. Hmm, easier said than done. The life of the small family farmer was by no means smooth. Some peo- ▶

ple envied Sivkov; others feared that he was undermining socialist patterns, especially when he spent his huge earnings not on family needs, as was usual with the villagers, but on the farm. He built a large cattle shed and a barn, and dug a well. "Keep working, pal," a locksmith friend once told him. "We'll have something to confiscate."

Regarding Sivkov an enemy of socialism, farm managers and higher officials in the district spared no effort to make his life miserable. Small wonder. Sivkov's success made it all the more clear that only the bosses' incompetence was to blame for the shabby state of the local economy. So they were hell-bent on making sure he'd fail and adopt their ways.

A made-for-television documentary, "The Muzhik of Arkhangelsk," brought attention to the family's plight, making Nikolai Sivkov a household name. Viewers heard the proud farmer speak of the red tape that entangled Soviet agriculture, turning farmers from masters of the soil into sheep that obediently followed every official instruction.

The audience was stirred. It turned out that many people thought like Sivkov—industrious and enterprising people who felt stifled by the arbitrary actions of officials. Mail poured in to the Low Sunday farmstead. Thousands wrote Sivkov supporting his effort to become an independent, self-sufficient farmer.

After the film was aired, the Sivkovs' situation improved. When the family decided to sever all ties with the Morzhegorsky State Farm and to set up an independent farming cooperative, the District Soviet lent its support. The cooperative was given the right to open a bank account, to take out loans, and to buy tractors and other farm machinery. It was also entitled to lease 19 hectares of fallow land around the Low Sunday farmstead and on the big Bogachev Island in the Severnaya Dvina River.

The cooperative's name is symbolic. Low Sunday is the Sunday after Easter, the celebration of the Resurrection. Sivkov hopes that his example will encourage other farmers to return to the soil, making the land flourish once again. ■

SOVIET FARMING—

The leaseholder, a largely controversial figure, is the latest development in the *perestroika* effort to bring innovation and rejuvenation to the grossly neglected and stagnant economy of the Soviet village. In 1988 leaseholders were at the center of a heated debate in which they never took part. They were much too busy working to spend time talking.

Though not all of last year's results have been tallied, we can still evaluate the efforts of leaseholders and compare their achievements with those of the state-controlled farm sector. As part of our economic restructuring policy, many attempts have been made to boost weaker collective and state farms by providing greater investments and all sorts of incentives. And yet 20,000 farms, or 42 per cent of all farms, still operate at a loss or make a negligible profit. In contrast, the small groups of farmers who have been given land, materials and machinery on long-term leases are doing exceptionally well. Their grain yield exceeded the average for the state-owned farm sector by 1 to 1.5 metric tons and their milk production by 0.5 to 0.6 times, or 1 metric ton.

In the vast expanses of the Russian Non-Black Soil Zone, Orlov Region is the area most looked to for dramatic improvements in agriculture. Yegor Stroyev, who heads the Communist Party in the region, says that the transition to leasehold farming is opening the way to farmer autonomy and is the only thing that can explain the recent successes. Stroyev's ob-

servation is based on experience. There are many leaseholding groups in Orlov Region. Some 390 are run by families and another 53 by collectives. Over 500 farmers are officially registered as leaseholders, while thousands more have shown a desire to try their hand at it.

Stroyev says it is the first time since the days of NEP (New Economic Policy) and collectivization that agrarian reform involves not only the superstructure of farm management but also the foundation of the farm system itself, the primary unit of our society.

The party chief seems to know what he's talking about. But the Soviet farmer has heard so many promising words and has lived through so much hardship and misfortune that he's not apt to jump blindly onto a new bandwagon. Many farmers have even given up tilling the soil altogether and turned to other professions. So even with the offer of a new arrangement, the farmers will have to see it with their own eyes, touch it with their own hands, before making up their mind. Still, finding a solution to the food problem urges them to make their choice quickly.

I asked one elderly farmer, who had known some rather lean times why he had chosen to lease a farm for cattle breeding, while the other collective farmers in his district of Ryazan Region had adopted a wait-and-see attitude. The old man responded with a question: "Have you ever heard of a surgeon being pushed around in an operating room by someone telling him to cut?"

WHICH WAY?

By Fyodor Breus

deeper, suture faster? But we farmers are constantly told when to plow, what to sow and when to harvest. Almost anyone who feels like it can tell us what to do. I'm just sick and tired of it. I want to go out on my own, be my own boss, make my own decisions. Outside interference often discourages people from doing their best."

This new leaseholder now earns up to 800 rubles a month, arousing the envy of his neighbors, who call him a private businessman, a kulak and a scrooge—insulting words to the ideology-conscious Russian ear. "Making good money is fine, but it's not everything," he says. "The most important thing is that now I'm my own master, my own man."

But what are we to do with farms that are living from hand to mouth, surviving on government subsidies? Many people say that collective farming and leasehold farming are antipodes and that ultimately one will have to give way to the other.

The immediate response to such opinions is that our reality has taught us to think only in absolute terms, leaving no room for compromise. Everything had to be one way or the other, never both. But real life isn't that simple. It's much more complicated, flexible and multifaceted.

In Pytalov District of Pskov Region, five of its 12 collective and state farms have approved of leasing arrangements as the basis of their farming system. And each of the five farms has its own peculiar production arrangements and structures under which it becomes a cooperative

amalgamation of leaseholding groups. On the Rodina Collective Farm four processing plants for milk and dairy products and one stockbreeding farm have been replaced with 15 leaseholding groups. In plant growing, two field teams and one tractor-driving team have been replaced by four leaseholding groups that rent land and equipment. Some drivers are leasing vehicles, while others are leasing premises for a repair shop.

What's the point in endlessly quoting figures to show the achievements of the Rodina Collective Farm, a co-operative amalgamation of leaseholding groups? Simply, the farm is profitable and self-sufficient, and no longer requires outside help during harvest time.

Land leasing and contract farming offer other advantages too. The arrangement helps streamline bureaucratic waste, first at the farm level and then at the district level. Reducing bloated office staffs at the district level is particularly important today. Vasili Starodubtsev, an eminent pioneer of agrarian reform in this country, heads an agro-industrial complex in Tula Region. Starodubtsev sees the bureaucrats at the district level as fiercely opposed to *perestroika*. They control the funds, materials and plan targets, levers that can easily restrict the farmer's autonomy. And they operate according to a rigid principle: The more profitable the farm, the more money it contributes to the State Budget and superior organizations; the less productive the farm, the lower the taxes it pays and the

greater likelihood that it will qualify for state subsidies.

Only some 110 to 120 officials make up the district bureaucracy, according to Starodubtsev. That's not that many people really, but they represent a monolithic bloc of party, government and economic officials who are skilled at promoting their own vested interests. If you infringe on one, you are immediately attacked by another. For years journalists and writers have sung the praises of district officials. It's now high time we played the funeral march for them.

Among the Soviet republics, Byelorussia is known for having a balanced attitude toward the new production arrangements in the countryside. About half of the agricultural teams and farms in the republic have made the transition to land leasing; the rest are operating according to the principle of collective contract farming. Preliminary estimates show that the profits of the Byelorussian farm sector are soaring and will considerably exceed those of the previous year.

Leasehold farming does not imply going back to the times of yore when farming was simply man against nature; it is rather a way of encouraging farmers to love the land and the work of cultivating it, according to Yefrem Sokolov, head of the Communist Party of Byelorussia. "I don't agree at all with the critics who claim that leasehold farming is undermining the foundations of socialism," says Sokolov. "There's no threat whatsoever to socialist ownership inherent in leasing arrangements."

GLASNOST

REPRINTS FROM THE SOVIET PRESS

PRICES
PRICES
PRICES
PRICES
GOODS
GOODS
GOODS
GOODS



A report on the average retail prices for certain goods has finally been published by the USSR State Committee for Statistics. "It's about time," commented the government newspaper *Izvestia*, admonishing the statisticians for their past attempts at glossing over the consumer market situation in the country. Though every consumer could feel the pinch of the rising cost of living, the statistics committee had insisted that prices had changed only slightly.

The long-awaited figures are not very comforting or encouraging. For example, in 1980 a woman's winter coat cost 180 rubles on the average; in 1988 the same coat cost 285 rubles. A man's winter coat cost 150 and 175 rubles respectively.

What's the impact of the rising costs on the millions of pensioners who are living modestly on fixed incomes? Also, children's clothes are becoming more expensive, which can make a big dent in any large family's budget.

The state is using various means to solve the difficult problem of inflation, writes *Izvestia*. Besides implementing measures to encourage enterprises to produce inexpensive goods, it is also doing its best to promote a drastic increase in the production of a wide variety of consumer goods. In that case, socialist competition between enterprises should lead to flexible and sensible pricing.

Last year's figures show that production of manufactured goods increased over the previous year, but state quotas for fabrics, shoes, cars, bicycles, tape recorders, vacuum cleaners and some other popular items were not fulfilled. ■



A family health association being set up by the Soviet Children's Fund will deal, in part, with family planning. When is the best time for young couples to start a family? What is the optimal childbearing age of the mother from a medical point of view? How many children should a couple have, and how far apart should they be spaced? For too long these questions were ignored, which led to deplorable consequences. For example, in the Soviet Central Asian republics, where large families are traditional, the interval between children is less than a year for one out of every four mothers. The result is weaker than normal babies and an infant mortality rate that is twice as high as the national average.

Another problem is unsafe abortions, which can lead to disease and sterility.

CHARITY AND THE CHURCH

The Seventh Day Adventist Church has opened a center for administration and worship in the village of Poksky, Tula Region, a two hours' drive from Moscow. The three-story structure includes a house of prayer, a publishing department and a seminary. The Seventh Day Adventists have also constructed a new boarding school for mentally retarded children located some 60 kilometers outside Poksky. Though the old school building had fallen into a state of disrepair, officials at the local department of education just didn't seem to care.

Dr. Yevgeni Zaitsev, a young pediatrician who belongs to the Seventh Day Adventist Church, became concerned about the children's welfare. On his initiative, members of his Church started a fund-raising campaign for a new school, donating the money they raised to the Soviet Children's Fund and building the new school themselves.

To quote the school principal, Nikolai Istunov, "It's a godsend."

So the story had a happy ending, you'd say. "Not exactly," wrote Pastor Ark Smirnov in *Moscow News*. Soviet law, of which some regulations are already outdated, forbids religious organizations from engaging in charity work.

"The law on the freedom of conscience, which is presently being revised, should guarantee a believer's right to engage in charity work," he maintained. ■

Every year 6.5 million Soviet women undergo abortions, which, according to the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, is the result of an inadequate level of sex education and a lack of proper gynecological advice. But the main reason is the acute shortage of contraceptives.

The new family health association is not only a medical and social service for the general public. It will pursue family matters at the state level and help doctors too. One of the association's main goals is to decrease infant mortality rates by 30 per cent and childbirth mortality rates by 20 per cent over the next five years.

Headquartered in Moscow, the association will have branches in all 15 republics. It will also act as an umbrella organization, uniting all people connected with family planning.

FOCUS ON YOUTH

"Seventy per cent of all social problems are youth problems," said Victor Mironenko, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League (YCL), a mass youth organization with a membership of 36 million, in an interview with *Izvestia*. "For too long, our needs have been ignored," continued Mironenko.

Young people receive lower wages. Young couples starting out on their own can hardly make ends meet. They need an apartment, furniture, and whatnot. The birth of a child spells additional expenses.

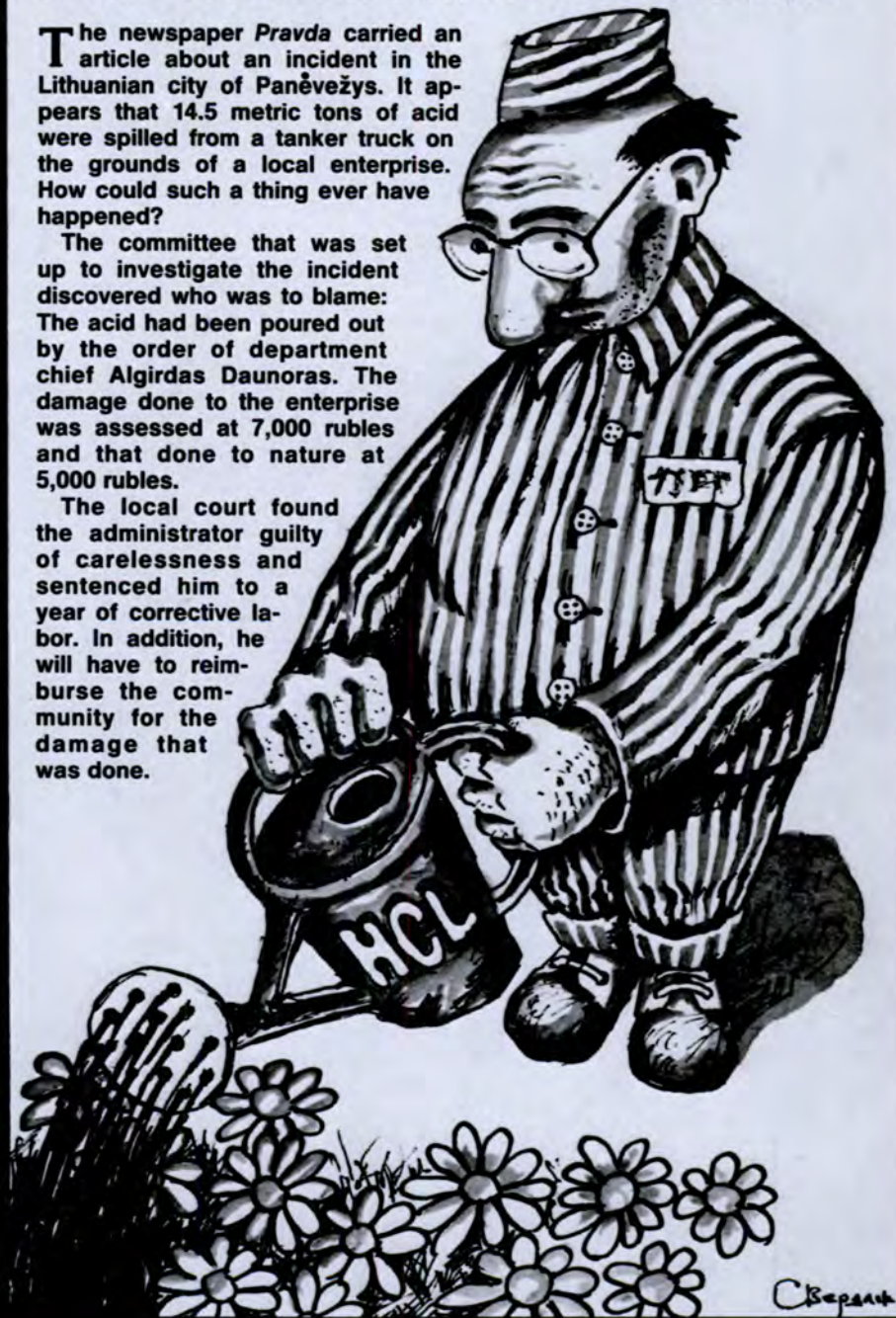
Special legislation on young people, which is being elaborated on the initiative and with the active participation of the YCL, will become the basis for a youth policy. ■

PAYING THE PRICE FOR DAMAGING NATURE

The newspaper *Pravda* carried an article about an incident in the Lithuanian city of Panevėžys. It appears that 14.5 metric tons of acid were spilled from a tanker truck on the grounds of a local enterprise. How could such a thing ever have happened?

The committee that was set up to investigate the incident discovered who was to blame: The acid had been poured out by the order of department chief Algirdas Daunoras. The damage done to the enterprise was assessed at 7,000 rubles and that done to nature at 5,000 rubles.

The local court found the administrator guilty of carelessness and sentenced him to a year of corrective labor. In addition, he will have to reimburse the community for the damage that was done.



CHARITY

THE GIFT OF SHARING

By Nina Fyodorova
Photographs by Alexander Zhmulyukin

Whenever I happen to be in Leningrad, whether on business or for pleasure, I always walk past a certain building on Nevsky Prospekt that has a blue plaque reading, "During artillery bombardment this side of the street is particularly dangerous." I pause for a moment in front of the shell-damaged St. Isaac's Cathedral. I also visit Piskaryovskoye Cemetery, where I look at the diary of Tanya Savicheva, a little girl who died during the Second World War siege of Leningrad. Again I read the words I know by heart: "Everyone is dead. Only Tanya is left."

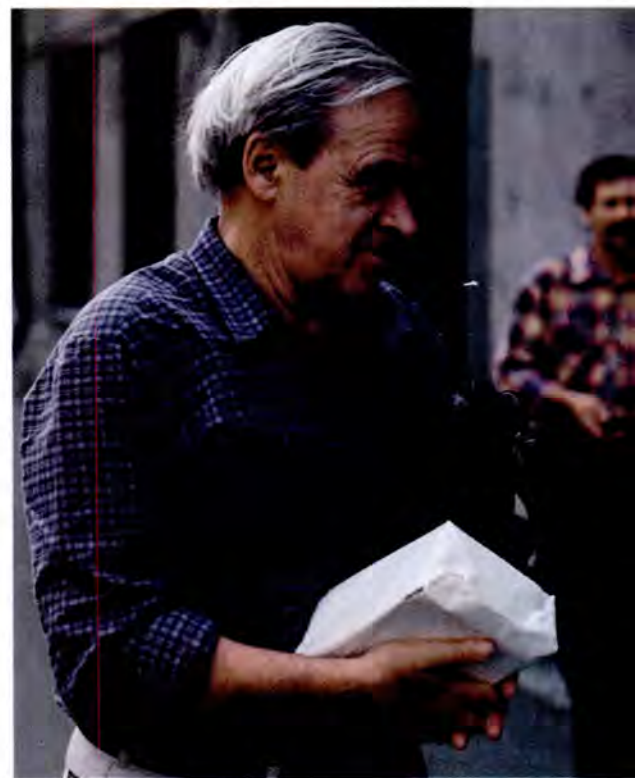
For us, the memory of the siege of Leningrad evokes images of horrible suffering, of grief and also of great courage. I don't believe there is any other city where the memory of the war dead is cherished as steadfastly as in Leningrad. So it is only logical that Leningrad has become the cradle of the public movement for charity.

This movement was inspired by Daniil Granin's impassioned article in *Literaturnaya gazeta*, where he wrote that kindness and charitable attitudes toward the weak, the helpless and the lonely were important gauges of morality, both in individuals and in society as a whole. The article stirred the conscience of the entire city. At first individual people appeared, offering their services. Later it became clear that they would have to unite and coordinate their efforts in order to do the greatest good. And that prompted them to set up the Leningrad Society.

The society's founding conference was held last April. A board was elected, with Granin as its chairman. The new society has many sponsors, including practically all the artists unions, the regional trade union council and a number of institutions of higher learning. The Leningrad Society has also gained official status, with the Leningrad city authorities registering it and assigning it office space in the center of the city. The organization now has an account at the State Bank.

The society's members are of different ages and from different walks of life, but most of them are young people.

Katya Volodina, leader of the Helpers Bureau at the Smolny District Young Pioneers Club, is 15 years old and a ninth grader at School No. 163. She impressed me as responsibility incarnate—just as a good executive should be. Katya did not



sound boastful when she told me about the bureau's activities. On the contrary, she said that there was still much room for improvement.

"Vacation time is not far away, and then everyone is going to spend the summer out of town. What about older people? They need help during the summer, too, don't they?" she said.



Sveta Svirko is a member of the Leningrad Society, an organization designed to help people in need. Svirko works with more than 10 people, but she takes special care of pensioner Yelizaveta Filipovna, who is nearly blind and has a handicapped daughter. Facing page: Well-known writer Daniil Granin is the chairman of the Leningrad Society.



This is how the Helpers Bureau was formed. At the beginning of the academic year, the management of the Young Pioneers club and district Young Pioneer leaders held a conference to draw up plans for the coming year. An "idea bank" was set up, to which everyone was welcome to contribute, and an ad hoc committee was formed to consider the most interesting ideas. One of the ideas was a proposal to set up a bureau to help elderly people living alone. (By that time, the Leningrad Society had already gained recognition.) The committee approved it unanimously. The youngsters consulted the district social maintenance department for the names of the elderly who needed help.

"At first the older people didn't have much faith in our commitment. But when they saw how dedicated we kids were, applications began flooding in," Katya said.

The bureau volunteers are often called upon to perform the most unexpected jobs. They have been asked to fix furniture, sew a nightgown for an elderly woman and to photograph an older man. The youngsters also make beautiful cards and presents to give to the elderly on holidays.

It's easy to see why the service is so important for the elderly: Apart from the practical assistance, it helps them maintain contact with the outside world. But what about the volunteers? How do they benefit?

"It helps us develop tact, understanding and patience," says Katya. "When you see how sad it is to be old, helpless and lonely, you want to be compassionate, even to people you don't know."

The headquarters of the Leningrad Society are located at 3 Dzerzhinsky Street. Interior decoration is in full swing and quite soon the board and the sections will meet there, and all kinds of con-

ferences, discussions and lectures will be held.

The man in charge of the decoration work is Anatoli Yelchenko. Yelchenko, a skilled interior decorator, volunteered his services immediately after hearing an announcement on local television about the Leningrad Society.

The telephone is always ringing with calls from people who need help and others who want to donate their time. A lot of people also drop by the society's headquarters. I was told that as many as 200,000 people in Leningrad—especially orphans, the elderly and the disabled—need help of some kind.

Nothing draws people together like shared tragedy. So fellow sufferers, such as people with diabetes or relatives of children with cerebral palsy, come together for mutual support. About 40 scientists have advanced a program of social assistance for cancer victims. A new club named Longevity has been founded for very old people. Many people in this age group are confined to the home and are very lonely. They need more than just practical help; they also need contact with others.

The charity movement has its own leaders. Take, for instance, Vitali Savitsky, the society's deputy board chairman. He initiated the charity drives, which have become quite popular in Leningrad. Savitsky and his followers maintain that the Leningrad Society should participate actively in the city's public life, particularly in its

The society raises money for its work by holding various benefit events—lectures, parties, concerts, and so on. Below: Anatoli Yelchenko is in charge of repair and decoration.





Clockwise from top left: Society volunteers extend a helping hand to the elderly, orphans and shut-ins. The workers may be asked to do anything—fix an electrical circuit, wash dishes, take a picture of a war veteran or chop wood. The society gets a lot of requests for daily care, and everyone who asks for help gets it.



political aspects, and they organize all kinds of meetings and discussions.

Another movement leader, Alexander Yablonsky, espouses a different belief. He says that charity should rise above politics. In other words, the burden of social change should lie with the authorities; the society's job is simply to bring relief to those who suffer.

Whose stance is more sound, Savitsky's or Yablonsky's? It is hard to say. But no idea is rejected out of hand.

The board also includes cardiologist Dmitri Bykovitsky, a member of a team working at an old people's home; Lyudmila Popova, who studies at an agricultural institute; writer Vladimir Kavtorin; researcher Andrei Kozlov; veteran worker Saikonin; and many others. They were elected because they share the society's fundamental concept: "Kindness must be active."

But Daniil Granin is the recognized leader among leaders. As busy as he is, he finds time to attend board meetings and negotiate with the city authorities.

"We must restore in people's minds the very notion of charity, which has been terribly twisted over the past decades," said Granin. "For many years pseudo philosophers made every effort to inculcate in people the idea that our morals were 'special,' that they were different from universal values. Spiritual values were forgotten.

"There are a lot of people who need our society's help. The work isn't easy and it doesn't win you praise, but there's great satisfaction in knowing that you're providing the most important service of all."





Text and Photographs
by Igor Zotin and
Grigori Khamelianin

PEOPLE WHO CARE

About 18 months ago the Social Maintenance Department in the Frunzensky District of Moscow set up a section to help local residents. The new section provides people living alone, shut-ins and those on fixed incomes (mainly pensioners) with material aid and everyday care.

Buying groceries; picking up prescriptions, the laundry and dry cleaning; and returning books to the library are just some of the services offered by the section.

"We have a wonderful group of people on our staff. They are honest, conscientious and kind. More important, they have compassion for others," says Antonina Lavrova, head of the new section. "We have men and women, young and old. Also, a number of students and pensioners donate their time. That's dedication."

Since the section was started in Frunzensky District, similar service agencies have been set up in all districts of Moscow and in other localities as well.

Yekaterina Pavlova (above) was one of the first people

to be hired when the new section in Frunzensky District was formed. She currently cares for 11 people, most of whom are unable to take care of themselves. One woman (right) is 96 years old. ►





Besides providing everyone with plenty of food to eat—dairy products and fresh vegetables are especially important—Yekaterina Pavlova drops in on clients several times a week, just to talk or to take them for a walk. “Sometimes a friendly chat or a short jaunt

outdoors can be more important than a nutritious meal,” she says. “As I tell the young volunteers who want to work with us, my job is so rewarding, I really don’t know who benefits most—my clients or me!” The clients all say she brings a lot of sunshine into their lives.

Clockwise from top left: Pavlova’s first stop is at the market for fresh produce. Talking with a group of prospective volunteer. Making up a shopping list with one of her elderly clients. On the way back from the store. Lending a helping hand to a male pensioner. ■

THE COMINTERN

By Friedrich Firsov, Kirill Shirinia and
Valentin Sirotkin

*The Third Communist International (Comintern)
was established in Moscow in the beginning of March 1919.
This international organization existed till May 15, 1943.*

In 1919 and 1920 many Communists believed that the communist movement was developing at such breakneck speed that it would not be long before an end was put to capitalism in Europe.

The Second Congress of the Comintern, held in 1920, adopted a manifesto that read in part: "The Communist International is the party of the revolutionary uprising of the international proletariat. . . . Soviet Germany united with Soviet Russia would form a state much stronger than all the capitalist countries combined! The Communist International has announced the cause of Soviet Russia to be its cause too. The international proletariat will not lay down its arms until Soviet Russia becomes a link in a federation of the Soviet republics of the whole world."

Like the Jacobins of the French Revolution, who proclaimed "peace to the huts, war on the palaces," the Bolsheviks, the leading force of the Comintern, divided the world into the exploited and the exploiters, into capitalists and proletarians.

Proceeding from the division of the world according to the class principle rather than the national principle, the Second Congress of the Comintern assessed the war with Poland. The congress unanimously adopted an appeal called "To the Red Army, the Red Fleet of the Russian Federation." The appeal stressed: "We want you to know, our brothers, the soldiers of the Red Army, that your war against the Polish landowners is the most just

war ever fought in history. You are fighting not only for the interests of Soviet Russia. You are also fighting for the interests of all working people, for the Communist International. . . . Today the Red Army is one of the chief forces of world history. . . ."

It is hardly surprising that after such an appeal Commander Mikhail Tukhachevsky issued the following order: "Our bayonets will bring working people happiness and peace. Forward, to the West! To Warsaw! To Berlin!" The man behind the idea for the order was Leon Trotsky, who headed the Revolutionary Council of the Soviet Republic.

The hope for a speedy victory of the proletarian revolution in Europe was not realized. At the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921 the revolutionary proletarian struggle abated, and a counteroffensive by the bourgeoisie intensified. Lenin, who was a sober-minded and sage politician, arrived at a very important conclusion: "Although Europe is not yet ready for a global proletarian revolution, world capitalism is unable to strangle the first socialist republic."

At the Comintern's Third Congress, held in June and July 1921, Lenin came out most emphatically against the advocates of the so-called theory of the offensive. According to that theory, communist parties should raise the masses to revolutionary battles regardless of the objective situation. These people urged the proletariat to throw itself on the sword of its

class enemy. Lenin warned that following "'leftist' stupidities" such as "the theory of the offensive" would mean dooming the communist movement. In the existing situation, it was important to strengthen the positions of the working class and consolidate the tangible results achieved in the struggle for its vital interests instead of waving red flags and issuing super-revolutionary slogans. Lenin drew the attention of communist parties to the task of winning the support of a majority of the working class, of the broad masses of working people.

Clara Zetkin, Otto Kuusinen, Vasil Kolarov, Bohumír Šmeral and other Communists supported Lenin in his uncompromising struggle against leftist elements and for a new political orientation. The political reorientation of the Comintern in 1921 coincided with the transition of Soviet Russia to its New Economic Policy, which had been necessitated by changes in the over-all situation. Zetkin later stated that Lenin had never been a prisoner of his own dogma. He had never allowed any of his own earlier conclusions to fetter his activities. While actively developing theory and practice, he was always ready to reconsider his conclusions, and he never allowed the will of dead letters to override the force that keeps life going.

According to Lenin, the world communist movement, based on common ideological and theoretical positions, is a diversified and constantly developing movement with ►



**At the Second
Comintern Congress,
Moscow, 1920.**

**Above: Lenin,
Bukharin and
Grigori Zinoviev
confer. Right:
Lenin meets with
delegates in
the Kremlin.**

features and national specificities typical of one or another country. He looked upon the Comintern both as a dialectical unity—an alliance of various parties—and as a single world party.

At the forums of the Comintern the participating parties collectively discussed and analyzed the situation, prospects and current tasks, and bore collective responsibility for the decisions that were adopted. In Lenin's day such discussions were characterized by democratism, freedom to defend one's point of view and the striving to jointly look for answers to the most urgent questions, proceeding from concrete historical conditions, national specifics and traditions. Disputable issues were solved on the principle of democratic centralism, that is, by a majority vote taken after each discussion. In cases when tactical differences could not be resolved, compromises were reached based on issues on which there was consensus.

True, a number of the Comintern's



decisions were too general, too "universal." This was more the result of the immaturity of communist parties than deliberate neglect of the specific conditions of the workers' struggle.

Lenin had the ability to unite the most active and capable leaders of the international communist movement in making decisions on major political issues. The same quality was present in the leaders of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks), whom the party's Central Committee assigned to work in the Comintern. Grigori Zinoviev, Nikolai Bukharin and Karl Radek played a big role in shaping

and implementing the policies of the Comintern's Executive Committee. Although these party leaders and Lenin disagreed on a number of issues, this was not an insurmountable obstacle to working out a common Marxist political line.

Lenin's death was an irreplaceable loss for the Comintern. Many of the principled provisions of Lenin's doctrine were subsequently distorted and dogmatized. The Comintern's political evaluations began to conflict with reality, which was borne out by the wrong assessment made by the



Above: In the Presidium at the Sixth Comintern Congress, July 1928. Right: Leon Trotsky was an active participant in the work of the Comintern.



Above (from left to right): Joseph Stalin, Alexander Kosarev and Georgi Dimitrov on the platform in front of the Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square, 1935.



Above: Clara Zetkin and Sen Katayama, secretary of the Communist Party of Japan, at a May Day celebration in Moscow, May 1928.

Fifth Congress of the Comintern, held in June and July 1924.

In 1925 the Comintern drew a number of important conclusions on the deepening of capitalist contradictions and the general crisis of the capitalist system. But its conclusions were too rigid and simplistic. The period of decay was incorrectly interpreted as a period when capitalism had almost exhausted all the possibilities for its development, including the development of its forces of production. Zinoviev, who remained the chairman of the Comintern's Executive Committee until the autumn of 1926, and Stalin stressed more than once that capitalist stabilization proceeds on rotten and shaky soil and that each step of this process brings the world closer to the revolution. The complex dialectics of the development of capitalist contra-

dictions were virtually reduced to the axiomatic allegation that any onward movement of capitalism is a movement toward its death. The analysis of every class battle in capitalist countries proceeded from these grave misconceptions.

Trotsky held one of the most extreme positions. He contended that capitalism was no longer capable of developing its forces of production and that the period of economic growth, which characterized its development at that moment, would be followed by a slump. In the late 1920s only Bukharin more or less realistically appraised the situation and the trends of development. But he, too, underestimated capitalism's resilience and its ability to adapt to new conditions.

As a consequence of all this, the

revolutionary potential of the working class and the national-liberation movements was overestimated. The prevailing misconception in the Comintern and the communist parties was that the local bourgeoisie in the colonies and dependent countries had completely gone over to the side of imperialism and could not play a positive role in the anti-imperialist struggle. Stalin was particularly active in upholding such views. Having discarded Lenin's slogan of a common anti-imperialist front, Stalin, proclaiming the proletariat's hegemony as the prime condition for getting rid of imperialism, insisted that the blow should be focused on the local bourgeoisie. Stalin's ideas were embodied in a corresponding decision taken at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, held in July-September 1928. ►



**Palmiro Togliatti
addresses the
Seventh Comintern
Congress, 1935.**

**Right: A
representative of
the women of
the East speaks
in Red Square
during the
Third Comintern
Congress, 1921.**



More than once in its history the Comintern tended to believe that the masses take the communist platform for granted and accept it as their own policy. There were attempts to establish cooperation with workers who belonged to social-democratic parties on the condition that they change over to consistently revolutionary positions and sever ties with their former organizations. Such attempts usually failed. It would be an oversimplification to assume, however, that sectarian and dogmatic mistakes were always imposed on the communist parties "from above," by the Comintern leadership. Strong leftist sentiments were manifested in the communist parties themselves and in the revolutionary workers movement. The Comintern's Executive Committee was often pressured by sectarian-minded sentiments "from the bottom," and it had to yield to this pressure.

At the time we are talking about, sectarian and dogmatic tendencies were most vividly manifested in the question of a united workers front and in the attitude toward Social Democrats. It is common knowledge that Lenin sharply criticized the role Social Democrats played during the upsurge of revolutionary activity in 1919 and 1920. The sheer emergence of the Comintern was due to dissociation between the revolutionary trend in the proletarian movement and social reformism. At that time, under the slogan of "pure democracy," the right-wing and centrist social-democratic leaders virtually entered into al-

liance with the bourgeoisie against the mounting proletarian revolution.

In the situation that emerged after the Comintern had adopted a policy of a united workers front, the attitude of communist parties toward Social Democrats was determined by a number of new circumstances. In order to rebuff the offensive of capitalism, the Communists had to find a way of winning over the workers who shared social-democratic positions without discontinuing the ideological struggle against social reformism.

Unfortunately, Lenin's ideas of forming a united front were not implemented for several reasons, including both the resistance of right-wing social-democratic leaders who advocated class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the sectarian mistakes in the tactics of the communist parties. At the end of 1923 and the beginning of 1924 Zinoviev and Stalin, who shared the leftist sectarian sentiments current in a number of communist parties, advanced a for-

mula. Their idea actually reduced the meaning of a common front to a maneuver designed to expose social democracy, against which the main blow was allegedly to be dealt. Furthermore, Social Democrats were classified as a "third bourgeois party," a look-alike of fascism and its wing. The invention of "social-fascism" became a serious obstacle in the way of the struggle for the unity of the working class, thereby making it easier for the right-wing social-democratic leaders to prevent the establishment of a united front.

The slogan "A Class Against Another Class," with which the Comintern and the communist parties intended to unite the working class for the struggle against the bourgeoisie, was virtually the projection of sectarian sentiments.

Other weaknesses and mistakes were apparent in the policy of the Comintern and communist parties at that time. The various ways the



Ho Chi Minh (foreground) among delegates to the Fifth Comintern Congress, 1924.



Second Comintern Congress delegate Julian Marchlewski.



Leading Comintern theorist Nikolai Bukharin.



Comintern Executive Committee Secretary Dmitri Manuilski.



Jaques Sadoul, a French delegate to the Second Comintern.



Ernst Thälmann, a prominent Comintern figure, 1926.



Raymond Lefèvre, a leader in the communist movement.

revolution could develop in different types of countries were outlined too schematically; the possibility of transition periods in advanced capitalist countries was discredited; the existence of common democratic tasks and immediate partial demands and the humane ideals of socialism were underestimated. It was alleged that such demands and tasks could sidetrack the proletariat from the struggle for its class interests. In the late 1920s and the early 1930s there were purges in the Comintern designed to cleanse it of "right wingers" and "appeasers."

The leftist-sectarian trend received an additional impetus as a result of the intensification of the class struggle during the world economic crisis of

1929-1933. The Communists assumed that capitalism would not be able to survive the crisis. At that time, the correlation between centralism and democratic principles in the activities of the Comintern's Executive Committee was changing in favor of excessive centralism. This restricted the political maneuverability of communist parties, preventing them from reacting promptly to the swift changes taking place. Communist parties often remained passive, waiting for instructions from the center.

Developments proved to be rather contradictory. On the one hand, they were characterized by the strengthening internationalist cohesion of the communist movement and the

mounting spirit of mutual assistance, especially the support for the party activists, who had to work underground and were persecuted by the class enemy.

On the other hand, Lenin's methods of discussing ideological and political problems in the Comintern were often violated by distancing from the communist movement everyone who disagreed with Stalin's ideas. According to documents, the Comintern leadership was not permitted to take any political step without Stalin's approval. Formerly broad discussions were reduced to narrow and restricted debate that often just followed a pattern worked out in ad-

Continued on page 44

WORKING WOMEN: COMMON PROBLEMS

By Vitalina Koval

Many thought the "women's problem" did not exist in the Soviet Union. How could it? After all, women were granted equal rights with men soon after the Revolution. But now problems that Soviet women have been facing all along are coming to light.

The industrial development of all countries is accompanied by a growing number of women entering the work force. In the Soviet Union 50.8 per cent of all workers are women. Practically all Soviet women of working age (60.2 million) are involved in production. Women not only have broken into formerly all-male domains but have begun to outnumber men in some professions. Women now account for 67 per cent of Soviet doctors, 87 per cent of economists, 58 per cent of engineers and 89 per cent of bookkeepers.

In the USSR women also constitute 61 per cent of all workers with a higher or specialized secondary education and 40 per cent of all scientists and researchers. Yet even women with a higher education and academic degrees stand on a lower rung of the career ladder than their male counterparts. And, on average, women earn 30 per cent less than men. Statistics show that, in this respect, the situation in the United States and the Soviet Union is similar. In the USSR 48 per cent of working men with a higher or specialized secondary education hold executive positions at various levels, while the corresponding figure for working women is seven per cent.

Women continue to shoulder the burden of running a home, and they, in addition to putting in a full workweek, must devote some 36 to 40 hours a week on household chores. To combine motherhood with a career, women must sacrifice the time they could otherwise spend on recreational activities or furthering their education. Sometimes career goals must be put off in spite of the fact that the state has created favorable conditions for young mothers to advance.

The situation for divorced and single mothers is difficult since they rely primarily on their own earnings. The state provides material assistance to

children living in single-parent households, but it is not sufficient to cover the cost of bringing up a child.

Although the USSR has 27,000 special maternal and child health-care clinics, medical services are still inadequate, especially in remote regions such as Siberia, the Far East and the Central Asian republics. The quality of health care also needs improvement. I'm sorry to say that our child mortality rate is still too high.

The upbringing of children is a very important social task. In this respect, the situation is much better for Soviet women than for their American counterparts. The USSR has a ramified network of preschool facilities, including nursery schools and kindergartens, which provide low-cost, all-around care for children of working parents. Even with the large number of these facilities, it's still not enough, and many parents face the dilemma of either hiring a private baby sitter or sending their

youngster to a cooperative nursery; both of these options are quite expensive.

Women who work nights face a different problem since most Soviet child-care facilities are open only during the day. Though the government has passed a number of bills relieving women from night work, the problem is not completely solved.

A shortage of trained teachers and educators in preschool facilities creates other problems—a low level of stimulation at an early stage of a child's development and inadequate care. This is one of the reasons for the high rate of childhood diseases. In addition, a shortage of personnel results in less than optimal teacher/child ratios. For example, often one teacher and one aide have to take care of a group of 20 to 25 children, and one teacher is in charge of a class of 40 to 45 elementary school students.

Another problem for working parents is after-school care. The number of latchkey children is approximately the same for both the Soviet Union and the United States. Not infrequently, unsupervised children are open to all sorts of undesirable influences. In the USSR the extended-day programs do not solve the problem. First, the programs are not available in all schools, and second, many children are unwilling to stay in school after hours.

The collapse of the nuclear family is a common problem for both countries. In the Soviet Union and the United States alike, almost one out of two marriages ends in divorce. Every year more than

700,000 Soviet children wind up in a one-parent household because of a family breakup, which often means a decrease in the standard of living. In the majority of cases, custody of minor children is granted to the mother in USSR. The father is required to pay child support until the children reach the age of 18. Child support payments amount to 25 per cent of the father's wages for one child, 33 per cent for two children and 50 per cent for three or more children.

Unwed motherhood is another common trend in both countries. In the Soviet Union single mothers receive both material and emotional support. Their children are given preference in admission to nursery schools and kindergartens, and often they attend free of charge. The children also receive free vouchers to Young Pioneer camps and health-building and recreational sanatoriums.

Ensuring a comfortable life in old age is another serious problem. In the Soviet Union women can retire at the age of 55. In many hazardous jobs the retirement age is reduced by five to 10 years.

True, the size of retirement pensions is rather small for many jobs. Women's pensions are usually lower than men's because women have worked at lower-paying jobs, and the amount of a pension is determined by a percentage of a worker's average wage.

Under *perestroika*, where people and their interests are the goal of all reforms, Soviet society is striving to provide a more comfortable life for its senior citizens, male and female alike. The size of the minimum pension has already been increased for a number of categories of workers and collective farmers. A new law on pensions, which is being drafted, is to increase retirement pensions and to ensure other tangible improvements in the social and other conditions of our elderly.

Perestroika has changed society's attitude toward solving social problems.

We have made social programs part and parcel of our economic development plans of all enterprises. These programs provide for the construction of kindergartens, housing and recreation facilities, and maternal and child medical centers. An honest appraisal of women's problems and realistic plans for solving them make us feel optimistic that major improvements are in the offing. ■

Vitalina Koval, Candidate of Sciences (Economics), is the compiler and editor of a new book entitled Women in the USSR, which will be published later this year.

For women, a job is not only an income but also a social necessity. Many women would not stop working, even if they had the choice. Their jobs give them great personal satisfaction and the chance to broaden their horizons.

Equal pay for equal work is a reality in the USSR, and Soviet women earn the same as men for similar jobs requiring similar skills. Even so, a great deal remains to be done to improve the living and social conditions of women.

ukrainian embroidery

By Gerrietta Repinskaya
Photographs by Sergei Samokhin





The centuries-old
art of needlework
is alive and well
and thriving
in Cherkassy,
the Ukraine.

finds of the ethnographic expeditions provide inspiration for embroidery designs. Inset: The rushnik, a hand-embroidered towel, dates back to pre-Christian times. Bottom: In the old days these blouses would not only show a woman's needlework talent but also signify her as a good hostess. Facing page: Local resident Makar Mukha is continuing the traditions of decorative folk art.



The young artist described the recent finds of an ethnographic expedition to the Ukrainian countryside. Her oversize green sweater—the latest fashion vogue—concealed both her figure and her short skirt.

"Now, let me show you how women used to dress," she told me, running off to put on one of the ethnographic finds. The change was impressive indeed! The long, flowing lines of the dress made her appear taller and more dignified. Ornamenting the bodice of the dress was rich, colorful embroidery. I couldn't believe my eyes. She looked like a fairy-tale princess who had just stepped out of a storybook.

I met the young artist at the Cherkassy Embroidery Factory, in the central Ukraine. I enjoy recalling my visit there. Imagine a large hall filled with the buzz of sewing machines and the sight of agile fingers moving embroidery tambours to and fro with unbelievable speed and precision, creating bouquets of delicate flowers on lilac, blue or white fine silk. With the skilled eyes of artists, the women

carefully cut a hole in the middle of each of the flowers and fill it with elegant needlepoint net. Setting the finished product aside, they take another piece of silk and begin the process anew.

"I can tell a novice's work from an experienced embroiderer's and even distinguish between the styles of individual embroiderers," Alexandra Telizhenkova, the factory's chief designer, told me. "But to customers, all machine embroidery looks much the same."

In the Hand Embroidery Workshop there is no sound of sewing machines. Each worker has a table, a tambour and a little bench for her feet. But few of the workers use the tambour, preferring to stretch the fabric over their knee. Never losing their count of threads, the embroiderers talk softly while they work and sometimes break into song.

Working with fine batiste is the most difficult job and the hardest on the eyes. Declining eyesight has always been the main occupational hazard of embroiderers, lace makers and carpet weavers. And though today the work is done in spacious sur-

roundings with good lighting and ventilation, the risk to the workers still exists. Even so, embroidery is a very popular trade.

Most of the workers at the factory are women. Only around 100 of its staff of 1,200 are men, who are employed as fitters, mechanics and drivers. Since the majority of the women workers are young, it's not uncommon for the factory management to issue three-day wedding leaves, which are, in time, often followed by 18-month or two-year maternity leaves. The large turnover doesn't seem to faze factory manager Nadezhda Skorokhodko. "Sure, we're always needing skilled hands," she says, "but, just think, we're creating generations of future customers."

Skorokhodko has been managing the embroidery factory for the past 10 years. A garment industry engineer by training, she had gained considerable experience in the trade before joining the factory in Cherkassy, but she says that her present job is her favorite.

Besides fulfilling its obvious role as a supplier of clothing, the factory has a greater purpose, that is, to preserve the traditions of the age-old craft of embroidery. The factory workers take much pride in passing down the secrets of the trade, while the factory itself is active in researching local embroidery traditions and in organizing expeditions to collect samples of all kinds of needlework.

Marichka Aivazovskaya, a young worker who took part in factory expeditions, explains it this way: "At first I didn't understand the full meaning of our work. We visited several villages in search of *rushniks*, embroidered towels, a tradition dating back to pre-Christian times. What we collected became part of the factory museum.

"Then in one village I met an old woman who had lost her husband and her seven sons in the Second World War. She took me into her backyard and spread out a bundle of embroidered shirts. 'My whole life is recorded on these shirts,' she said. 'I could never part with them. Maybe I'll leave them to you in my will.' At that moment I realized that we weren't collecting just embroideries but our country's history."





WALKING HER OWN ROAD

By Valentina Kholopova
Professor of Music at the Moscow Conservatory

Soviet composer Sofia Gubaidulina's career is skyrocketing. Requests for her music come from Austria, Finland, Great Britain and the United States, and illustrious musicians vie for the opportunity to play her pieces. Ranked among the world's top new composers, Gubaidulina received rave reviews during the "Making Music Together" festival in Boston last year.

How should her music be categorized? The composer herself has a ready answer. "My music would disappoint avant-garde composers. I'm not one of them." Nor is she a classical composer. "I won't yield to that temptation," she says. Dmitri Shostakovich once told her to walk her "own unconventional road."

Gubaidulina was born with charisma. A music teacher in Kazan, the capital of the Tatar Autonomous Republic, recognized this in the vibrant five-year-old, who loved to dance while the boy next door accompanied her on his accordion. Little Sonya insisted on going to a music school. After graduating from music school, the zealous musician went on to study piano at the Kazan Conservatory and, later composing at the Moscow Conservatory. Among her teachers were top names in Soviet music, including Grigori Kogan, a well-known authority in the field of clavier music; and Vissarion Shebalin, an outstanding composer.

At the age of 57 Gubaidulina is still a diligent student. Whenever she comes across a new com-

position manual, she'll sit down to practice exercises just like a beginner.

Living a truly Spartan life, the composer refuses to work on commission, preferring instead to make her living mainly by writing musical scores for the cinema. Gubaidulina maintains an extremely demanding schedule consisting of daily workouts and incessant work, sometimes through the night. Even with such a busy life, she has been able to develop a warm and friendly relationship with her grown daughter. The one thing she says she could use more of is quiet time for inspiration.

Gubaidulina is frequently compared to Anna Akhmatova and Marina Tsvetayeva, whose poetry often merges with the composer's music. For instance, Gubaidulina composed her cantata *Night in Memphis* to Akhmatova's translations of ancient Egyptian lyrics. Tsvetayeva's poems inspired *The Soulful Hour*, a poem for orchestra, percussion and mezzo-soprano. Also, one of Gubaidulina's choir pieces is entitled *Dedicated to Marina Tsvetayeva*. Gubaidulina identifies with Tsvetayeva's striking imagery, fiery temperament and brilliant prosody, as well as with the pain of struggle between genius and the philistine mentality.

In *The Soulful Hour* the agonizing strings and mezzo-soprano contrast with the grotesque parts for brass. The Concerto for Bassoon, Cello and Double Bass dramatizes the clash. The bassoon's monologues become fervent confessions sounded from the bottom of a tortured heart, while the

Sofia
Gubaidulina
in her
studio.

frivolous jazz passages of the cellos and double basses symbolize the masses with their trivial preoccupations.

Conflict is essential for Gubaidulina's music. The presence of contrasting elements in her pieces is a major yardstick for analyzing her evolution as a composer. Her early opuses, such as the song cycle *Facelia*, *Chaconne* for piano and the sonata *Five Studies* for harp, double bass and percussion, do not reveal eternal existential conflicts. The conflict emerges as the pivot of composition in the piece *The Animate and the Inanimate*—Gubaidulina's only tribute to electronic music—in the ensemble piece *Concordanza*, in the Concerto for Bassoon, and in the organ piece *The Dark and the Light*. The conflicting themes of the Concerto for Piano and the organ and cello piece *In Croce* acquire symbolic dimension.

In an effort to understand Gubaidulina's love for the conflict, I asked her whether she drew upon the principles of drama that permeate European art and music. "My perception of a dualistic world can be traced to my origins," she answered. "With my father a Tatar and my mother a Russian, I belong to the East and the West. Both cultural identities are intertwined in me."

Synthesizing the East and the West is the leit-motif of Gubaidulina's music. As for her sensitivity to the conflict, I believe her vision of the world is very contemporary. Asked to name her favorite pop artists and music, she replied: "Edith Piaf, Louis Armstrong, spirituals, everything with a tragic side to it."

The West-East interplay makes her work global in essence. She values both sounds—the avant-garde Western European self-contained beat and the Oriental flowing rhythms of strings and percussion. By combining the two, she obtains the "primary musical matter," which touches any audience regardless of cultural tradition. A brilliant sample of this universality is her *Ten Cello Studies*.

Perception, a large piece in 13 parts for baritone, soprano and seven stringed instruments, is a collaborative work by Gubaidulina and poet Francisco Tanzer. Tanzer sent her his poems, which she augmented with a versified commentary and set to music. The piece involves the entire range of human vocal modulation—from aspired singing to pure vocals, from aspired speech to pure speech, from faint whispers to strong recitation.

Sofia Gubaidulina's universal, yet highly original music has won her world renown. Her *Third Quartet* has captivated the hearts of music lovers in many countries. Soon they will be able to enjoy her symphony in 12 parts, *Stimmen . . . Verstummen . . .*

Asked in what direction her music is developing, she replied: "Music does not develop. Music just is, like the universe and the spirit."

here she is . . .

MISS EUROPE

How do you feel about beauty contests? Are they good or bad? Popular opinion in the Soviet Union is not unanimous on this question, but for now those in favor are in the majority. Started quite recently, beauty contests have been held in the capitals of nearly all of the republics and in the major cities around the country.

Although new to the game, Soviet contestants have come on quickly. In 1988 the charming young woman who was our cover—19-year-old Yekaterina Chilichkina, or Katy, short—won the Miss Europe title.

Last June 17-year-old high-school student Masha Kalinina was crowned Miss Moscow. Chilichkina was the audience's choice, but her real triumph was still to come.

"Last September Masha and I traveled to Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany for the Miss Universe competition," recalled Chilichkina. "I was there as a guest, but Masha won one of the prizes. A few days after we got back to Moscow, I was invited to compete in the Miss Europe contest in Helsinki, along with women from more than 20 countries."

"We had a week-long tour of Finland and performed in shows and at concerts. Then the contest itself began. It was held onboard a cruise ship that took us, the jury and the audience from Helsinki to Stockholm and back. I was seasick, but I never showed it."

"Did you have a 'secret weapon' that set you apart from the other contestants?"

"No, I don't suppose I did—though the Finnish and world newspapers kept repeating that there was something special about me. I have nothing against being called 'special' if they say so."

"What do you think they meant?"

"The West has gotten used to its beautiful women and is looking for something entirely new. I don't consider myself a typical Miss Europe, but I'm glad that the beauty of Soviet women has finally been recognized."

"Are you in favor of beauty contests in general?"

"Sure. What's wrong with a woman being recognized for her beauty? I don't want to sound trivial, but it's all very flattering, don't you think?"

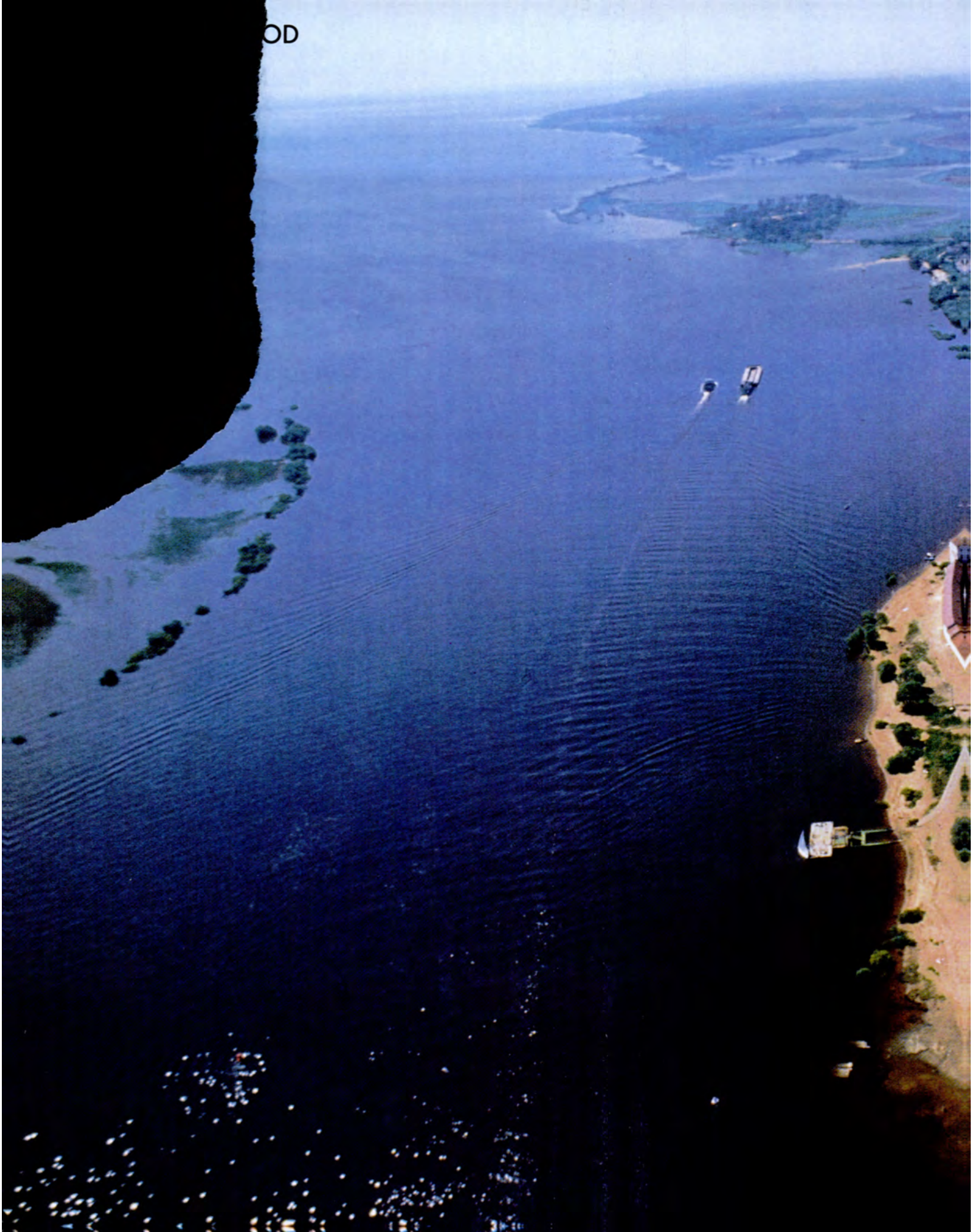
"What do you do for a living?"

"I'm a lab assistant in the Russian-language department of the Second Moscow Medical Institute."

"Are you planning to change jobs?"

"Yes—but not right away. I'm not exactly sure what I want to do yet. The only thing I know is that my future career will have something to do with advertising." ■

OD





FATHER OF RUSSIAN CITIES

Novgorod has more beautiful medieval monuments than any other old Russian city. It was once a center of the East Slavonic tribes. While Kiev was known as the "Mother of Russian Cities," Novgorod was the "Father." It was also a hub of culture. Almost half of all surviving Russian documents from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries were written in Novgorod. Among its restored monuments is the Yuriyev Monastery, situated on the outskirts of the city.

Photograph by Alexander Zemlyanichenko

USSR**USA**

Not long ago SOVAMINCO (Soviet-American International Company) was established in the USSR. Its Soviet sponsors are the USSR State Committee for Publishing, Printing and Book Distribution, the Mir Publishing House, the Sintez Audiovideo Cooperative and the Rekord Experimental Association of the Ministry of Culture of the USSR. The U.S. sponsor is Unicorn Investments International (UII).

SOVAMINCO is the first joint venture of its kind. The company will publish books, booklets, pamphlets, commercial posters and calendars. It will also provide a number of services including consulting, translating, sound and video recording, organizing guest performances by music groups, building and running small hotels, and selling American magazines and newspapers in the USSR and Soviet periodicals in the U.S.

"... MORE THAN SATISFIED"

By Vera Kondratenko

The company has already begun operations in Moscow. Its American branch will open in California in the near future.

"This joint venture is particularly significant," said Martin Lopata, chairman and chief executive officer of UII, "because it will offer a broad range of services never before available to the Soviet public. SOVAMINCO has the potential of tapping a large market previously beyond the reach of American business."

SOVAMINCO was established in accordance with U.S. business practice and Soviet law.

"By our charter," said Tankred Golenpolsky, general director of SOVAMINCO, a writer and translator, "we can do practically anything. That doesn't mean that we'll take up everything at once. But if the American or Soviet business

community makes an interesting request, we'll consider it."

The USSR holds 51 per cent of SOVAMINCO stock; and the United States, 49 per cent. Each of the sides has a certain number of votes on the board of directors. As stated in the SOVAMINCO charter, the U.S. side is entitled to three board members. Lopata, however, has reserved one seat for himself and yielded two to the USSR side, thus commissioning Soviet citizens to represent him.

"We're very glad to have this opportunity to work with Martin Lopata," said Golenpolsky. "Our relations are based on complete and utter confidence. We know that he's a good man and an expert manager, who is active in Soviet-American people-to-people diplomacy."

"The only chance for peace between America and the Soviet Union," said Lopata, "lies in economic equality between the two countries. It is because of my commitment to this belief that I have decided to contribute my time, talents and finances to this joint venture."

When the Moscow Sintez Audiovideo Cooperative and the Rekord Experimental Association—competitors on the home market—pooled their resources to win the foreign market and offered their services to SOVAMINCO, the move was instantly welcomed by the U.S. side. Lopata believes that collaboration with co-ops and experimental ventures is a paying business. He likes the resourcefulness, flexibility and responsibility of Rekord and Sintez.

"We're well aware of the fact that today we are not only making money but shaping the future of our two nations," said Golenpolsky.

These words have already been translated into action. On Lopata's initiative, the company will donate five per cent of its profits to the Soviet-American Youth Innovations Project of the Foundations for Social Inventions (Account No. 708), which has been established by *Komsomolskaya pravda*, the leading Soviet youth newspaper. The money will be evenly distributed among Soviet and American children's and young people's organizations and used for further broadening their contacts. Among other things, the money will be used to set up Soviet-American recreation centers, where young people will have a greater opportunity to meet, to exchange ideas and to discuss new projects—in a nutshell, to get to know one another better.

Right now SOVAMINCO is a company in the making. And it welcomes suggestions.

"Are you satisfied with what your company is doing so far?" I asked Lopata.

"I'm more than satisfied," he answered. ■



Joint projects are often risky and need government regulation. Under the current conditions of economic decentralization in the USSR, a small enterprise can be highly effective in international trade. In the photograph: Valentin Kamenev (left), USSR Consul General stationed in San Francisco, and Martin B. Lopata, chairman and chief executive officer of Unicorn Investments International, hold up a sign that reads, "No problem," the motto of SOVAMINCO.

PANORAMA



PROMOTING PHYSICAL FITNESS!

The proposition to reward workers who include some form of physical exercise in their daily life and are efficient on the job has recently appeared in Soviet sports and other newspapers. Sociological surveys show that most people are in favor of encouraging physical fitness with incentives, such as bonuses, pay raises, job promotions and extra days off.

NEW GENERATION OF GIANT PLANES

An unsightly plane won't fly," a distinguished aircraft designer Oleg Antonov liked to say. That's why all of the airplanes created in his design office impress us not only by their technical flight characteristics, but also by their elegance of line.

One model produced by the Antonov Design Bureau is an especially good example of the marriage of strength and beauty: The AN-124 *Ruslan* cargo transport plane was named after the legendary Russian hero who embodied these virtues.

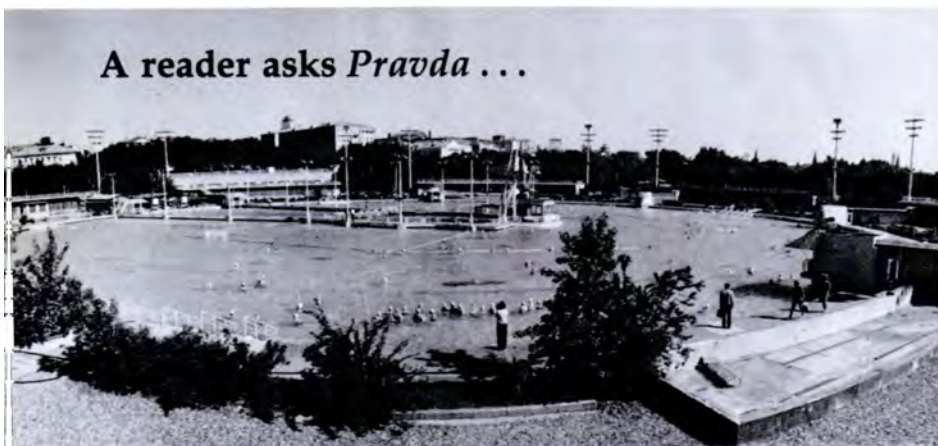
The AN-124 is manned by a crew of six. The plane's cruising speed is about 800-850 kilometers per hour. Its maximum lifting capacity is 150 metric tons. Since its introduction into aviation several years ago, the *Ruslan* has amassed 23 world records.

According to a top Soviet test pilot, the AN-124 is easy to handle because of the 34 computers it has onboard.

"The AN-124's vital systems have three backups," he noted. "Switchover to the reserve system takes place automatically. Once you get used to the plane, there's a kind of fusion between pilot and computers. This symbiosis is where the future of aviation lies."



A reader asks *Pravda* ...



Since 1962 I have been regularly going to the Moscow swimming pool on Kropotkinskaya Embankment. At the age of 70, I feel great. Swimming helps me keep fit. I think it helps thousands of other Muscovites too," writes Colonel General B. Ivanov, Hero of the Soviet Union. "But it bothers me terribly to see people lining up in the street outside in all kinds of weather waiting to get in."

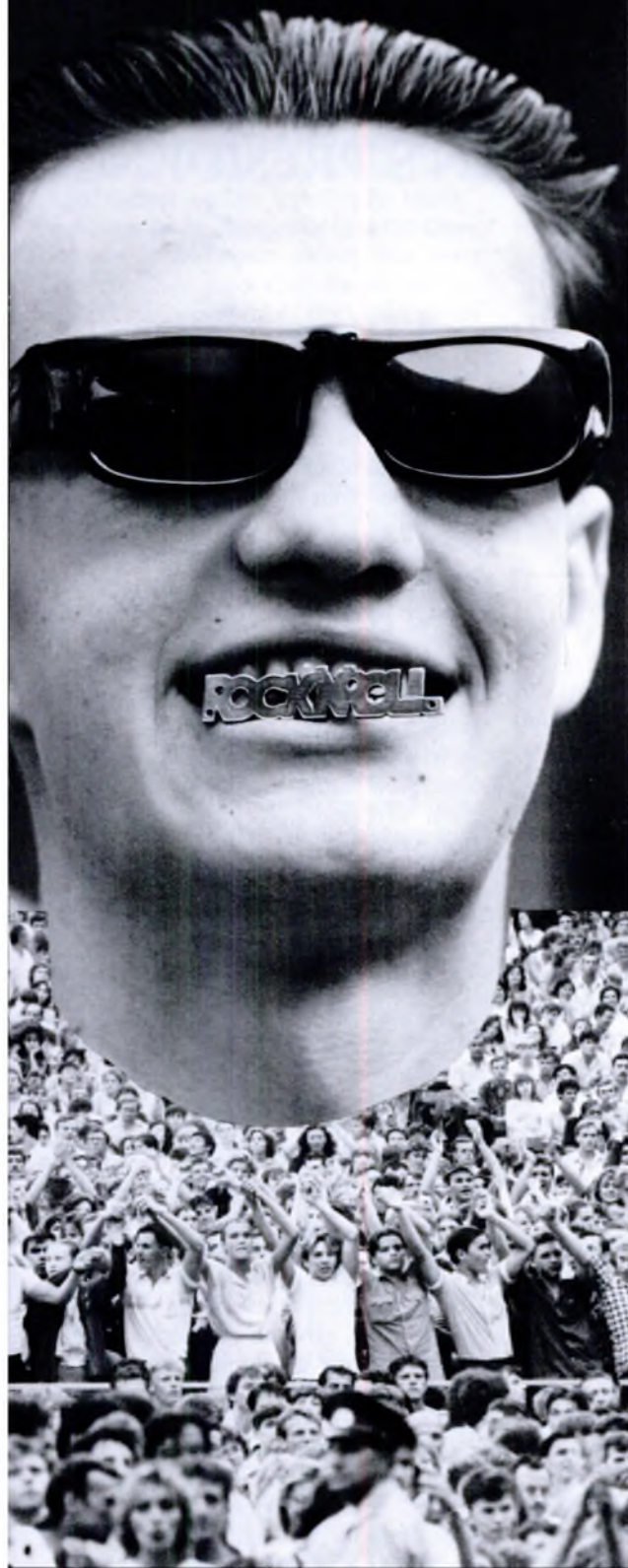
"It's the fault of the architects and sports experts who designed the complex to be used as a swimming pool in summer and a skating rink in winter. But winter swim-

ming has become very popular."

Pravda agrees that something has to be done: Over the past few years the pool's problems have been featured in the press. From the USSR Council of Ministers down to the Moscow City Soviet—all have adopted decisions on ways to alleviate the situation, but still nothing has been done.

Yet the swimming pool is the most profitable sports facility in the capital. It brings in nearly 500,000 rubles in profits a year. But even that is nothing compared to the health and vitality it gives Muscovites who go there. ■

IS ROCK 'N' ROLL DEAD?



The bans on youth groups and associations must be lifted. By driving young people 'underground' and keeping them at a distance, we lose contact with youth," S. Plaksin, Doctor of Science (Philosophy), writes in his article "Unofficial Groups: Children or Stepchildren?" published in the magazine *Politicheskoye samoobrazovaniye* (Political Self-Education).

Following his own good advice, Plaksin approached a group of young Muscovites near the Olimpiyskiy Sports Complex. The boys' business suits, white shirts, red socks and polished shoes, and the girls' modern attire attracted his attention.

"Heavy Metallists," they said, "don't shock anyone any more. Now it's our red socks. Everyone wants to know what they mean." The young people seemed quite likable. Among the group were high school, vocational school and university students, and workers. They all live in Moscow or Moscow Region and meet once or twice a week at a downtown café.

The group's deliberately neat attire is of secondary importance. The main thing that unites all of them is a keen interest in rock 'n' roll.

"Some claim that rock 'n' roll is dead," enthusiast Leonid Lifshitz said. "Not true. We like it as much as our parents did."

"Our rock 'n' roll won't deafen you, even if it's played loud. It's the music's rhythm, softer than heavy metal, that's so attractive. And you can make out the lyrics."

"Wednesday is rock 'n' roll night at the Prospekt Café. The cover charge is just one ruble, and we can dance all night."

"We dream of someday having our own club, but premises are pretty scarce in the city right now, and most of us are too busy working or studying to devote much time to finding a place."



When Loss Is Gain

Construction of the 1.6-million-kilowatt Kaistadorys Storage Plant is in full swing on the high bank of the Kaunas Reservoir in Lithuania. The planned capacity of the upper basin is 40 million cubic meters of water.

The first unit of the station is to go into operation this year. Plans call for eight such power units. When demand for electricity is at its lowest point, water will be pumped from the lower basin to the upper basin. When consumption reaches its peak, the water will run down the pipes to the Kaunas Reservoir and start the turbines. In this way the power station is capable of returning to the network 75 per cent of the energy it uses to pump water, and it will do it precisely when consumers need it the most. ■

ART WORLD

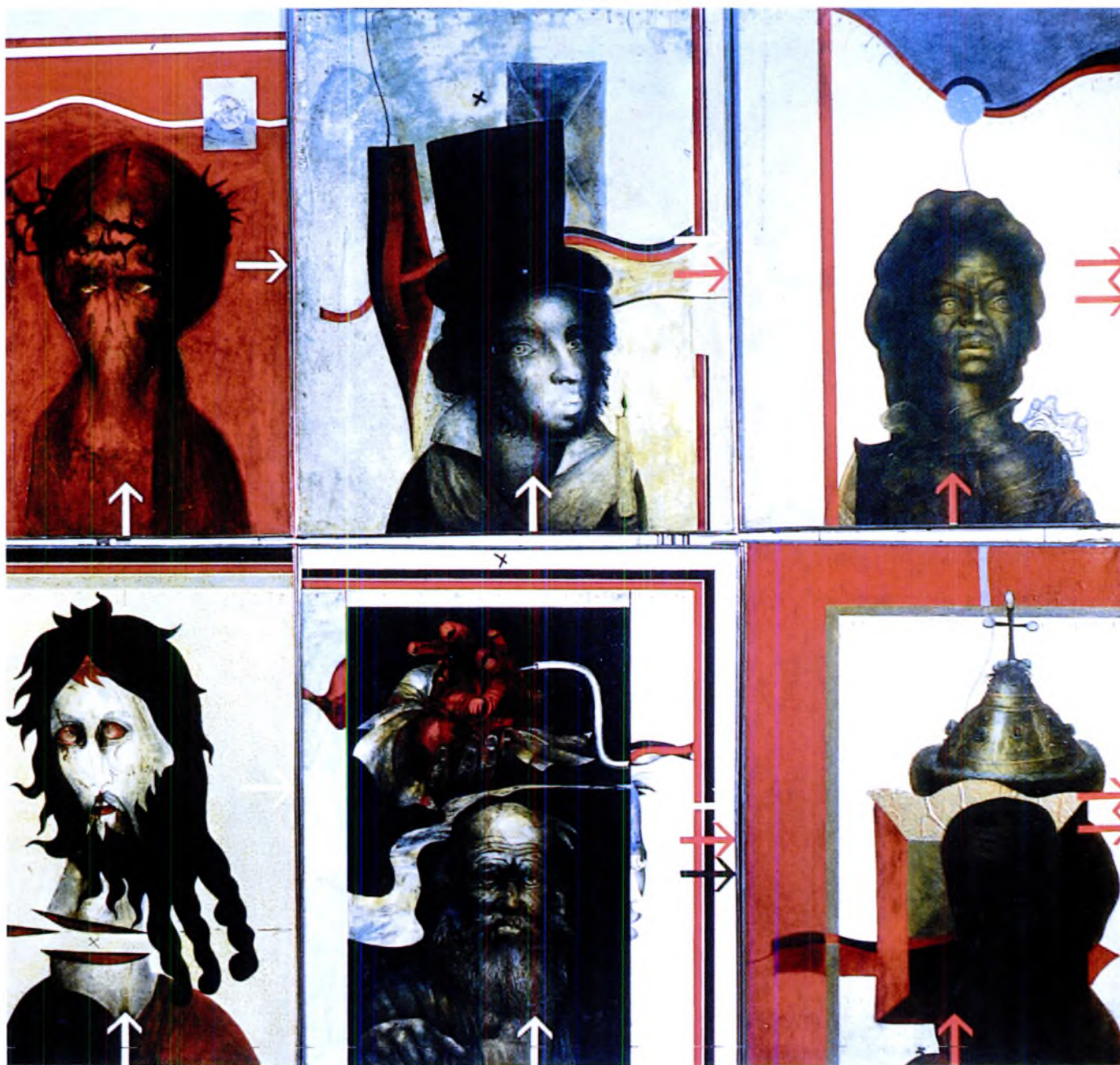


By Larissa Kashuk, Art Critic

Reproductions by Oleg Kaplin

LABYRINTH

A journey through modern images



Indeed, one of the most prominent events in Moscow's cultural life last year was The Labyrinth art exhibit. Organized in a much more democratic fashion than previous shows, the exhibit included roughly 400 pieces by over 150 artists and represented the work of an overwhelming majority of Moscow artist associations, 30 in all.

For decades, while "official art" has been represented by the USSR Artists Union, "unofficial art" has seen an emergence of various artists associations, some big, others with just a few members. The principles uniting the associa-

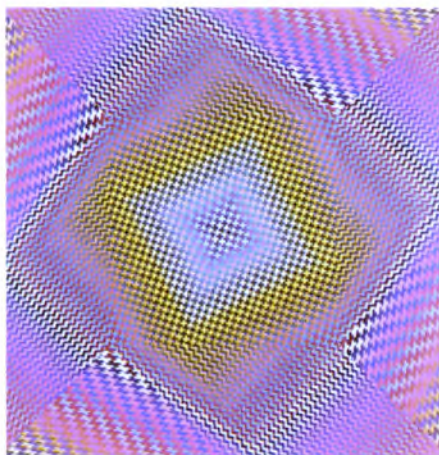
tions were different—shared artistic beliefs, geographic proximity, friendly ties, and so forth. But in most cases the associations are based on shared feelings and values. The Labyrinth exhibit provided an opportunity for the groups to publicly display their works.

The Avant-Garde Club showed great energy and good will. It also generously donated some space to another group, the World Champions, which was unable to use its own assigned area because it would present a fire hazard. Artists from the popular Malaya Gruzinskaya association, which takes its name from a street in Mos-

Above: Sergei Volokhov.
Dialogue.
Facing page:
Yevgeni Mitta.
Excavating the Epoch of Stagnation.



Alexei Sundukov.
Fertilized Soil.



Anatoli Tkachenko.
The Power of Color.



Dmitri Kantorov.
Tango.



cow, worked with special enthusiasm, while The Hermitage showed cooperation, arranging its display practically at one go. The Ark, however, split up in the process of arranging its displays, while the realists from the Moskvorechye group withdrew from the show altogether after learning its exhibit area was next to the Avant-Garde Club's.

The Labyrinth exhibit ran the gamut of abstract painting, which relies on a myriad of associations and metaphors in its attempt to portray modern civilization and the world, as well as public and spiritual life, through composition, color and rhythmic allusions.

Abstract painting is nothing new. It emerged three quarters of a century ago in Russia, later to spread to other countries and continents. However, it should be remembered that for a long time the genre was viewed as somewhat of an "outlaw trend" in this country.

Works in the show highlighted urban life and social themes viewed from a variety of angles. Paintings not only portrayed cityscapes but also gave interpretations of the ideas and the material and technical aspects of modern civilization that are created by urban intellectuals.

Some of the works displayed at The Labyrinth exhibit are to tour abroad in 1989.

Alexander Zakharov.
Princess the Frog.

COMINTERN

Continued from page 23

vance with a view to eventually endorsing a certain political dogma.

The Comintern and the communist parties were working painstakingly for the ideological, political and organizational cohesion of their ranks. They jointly routed Trotskyism, which threatened to push the communist movement toward adventurism, and organized powerful international campaigns of proletarian solidarity in defense of the revolution in China and for the protection of Sacco and Vanzetti. The Comintern was raising the consciousness of the masses to the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against the threat of war and in support of the Soviet Union.

In the early 1930s the alignment of class forces changed noticeably in the international arena. But Communists, Social Democrats and other democratic forces failed to unite to stop fascism. Instead of working out a common platform behind which all antifascist forces could be rallied, the Comintern embarked on a different course. Its leaders believed that socialist revolutions could check the onslaught of fascism. Only much later was the need for a change in policy realized. The initiative belonged both to the French, Italian, Spanish and some other communist parties and to the new Comintern leadership headed by Georgi Dimitrov.

Working out new attitudes, Dimitrov relied on the support of such prominent activists of the communist movement as Maurice Thorez, Palmiro Togliatti, Wilhelm Pieck, Klement Gottwald, Otto Kuusinen and Dmitri Manuilski. Having approved Dimitrov's proposals, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) instructed the Soviet member of the Comintern's Executive Committee to encourage communist parties to handle their political and tactical tasks independently on the basis of the general principles of the Comintern.

The decisions of the Comintern's

Seventh Congress, held in July-August 1935, which restored and developed Lenin's ideas, were a breakthrough in theory and opened up vast opportunities for their application in political activities. Even though the congress was held in the atmosphere of the buildup of Stalin's personality cult, it actually rejected some of the sectarian dogmas (though without openly criticizing them). The Comintern gave up the leftist line aimed at artificially kindling a world revolution.

The new strategy was not implemented consistently and completely, however.

Inneparty democracy continued to be restricted in the leading organs of the Comintern's Executive Committee, and Stalin's statements and instructions were taken as if they were indisputable truth. In a situation aggravated by the growing danger of war, an atmosphere of suspiciousness was spreading. The future and very life of the leaders of many communist parties depended on Stalin's personal likes and dislikes. A campaign of terror against Leninist Communists, which began in the Soviet Union in the late 1930s, reverberated in the Comintern. Leaders of the communist parties of Austria, Hungary, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Finland, Estonia, Yugoslavia and other countries became its victims. Many Communists who had been granted political asylum in the Soviet Union had to share the lot of the Soviet victims of the dictatorial regime established by Stalin with the assistance of Nikolai Yezhov and Lavrenti Beria.

In his capacity as General Secretary of the Comintern's Executive Committee, Dimitrov many times tried to protect his innocent comrades. Sometimes his attempts succeeded, but more frequently the Comintern was unable to protect party activists against the Stalin terror. The Presidium of the Comintern's Executive Committee dissolved the Communist Party of Poland because it was allegedly infiltrated by provocateurs, and its leaders were arrested. This was not only a glaring violation of the Rules of the Comin-

tern but tacit approval of the crime against the Polish Communists. The decision dealt a heavy blow to the Polish working-class movement at a time when the danger of Hitler's aggression was looming over Poland.

The Comintern's Executive Committee proved incapable of showing ideological and political independence in connection with the signing of the Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact in 1939. The treaty caused confusion in the ranks of the international communist movement. Its signing did not imply that the Comintern and the communist parties should slacken their struggle against fascism. But closely following in the wake of the USSR's foreign policy line, the Comintern yielded to tactical considerations. It did not want to give Hitler any pretext for violating the pact, which inflicted serious damage on the antifascist policy of the Communists. The term "fascism" as applied to Hitler Germany disappeared from the Comintern's documents published at that time, and the propaganda blow was targeted on imperialism in general and Anglo-French imperialism in particular. Only after France's surrender and nazi Germany's attack on Yugoslavia did the Comintern finally overcome this misconception.

When World War II broke out, the Comintern classified it as an imperialist war on both sides. Its analysis of the war overlooked the special danger the fascist bloc presented.

When Germany attacked the Soviet Union, the Comintern did its utmost to mobilize Communists and all antifascists to struggle against the Nazis, for the freedom and independence of all peoples. Communist parties were in the forefront of the struggle for liberation, showing examples of heroism and self-sacrifice. They played the role of the cementing and guiding force in the resistance movement. The Comintern's policy of antifascist unity became the policy of the broad masses. But under the conditions of the war, it became increasingly difficult to determine basic political guidelines for all communist parties from a single center. The Comintern was dissolved in 1943.



MAFIA

The word "Mafia" is so commonly used in the USSR that if you hear someone say it, you know they are not referring to something in Italy but to something in our own country. Having become so accustomed to this word, we apply it to practically anything—shops, creative unions, hospitals, diplomats, prostitutes, butchers, chess players, cities, regions and republics. But a cold and dispassionate truth exists in the hints and conjectures. Organized crime is a reality, a social malady against which our society is not immune. Yuri Shchekochikhin, a *Literaturnaya gazeta* correspondent, talks about the phenomenon with Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Gurov, Doctor of Laws.

Gurov: Three features characterize the Mafia or a Mafia-like organization. First, it is a criminal community with its own distinct structure and hierarchal relationships. The community has a leader or boss—or a group of leaders or bosses—a person or persons to handle finances, lieutenants to act as liaison officers between the top and bottom echelons, squads of soldiers, and a host of informants and hangers-on.

Second, it is an organization established to conduct regular criminal activity. Third, it engages in practices aimed at corrupting the state machinery, such as having representatives of the state in its employ. For example, a public procurator might intervene



*Contrary to what
was thought, Soviet
society is not
immune to organized
crime. Like
elsewhere, this
beast has reared
its ugly head
in the USSR too.*

to save an offender from punishment, a member of the militia might convey confidential information about an ongoing investigation or an official might make a telephone call to a useful person to further some shady aim.

Shchekochikhin: Are Soviet and foreign organized crime elements in contact with each other?

Gurov: Soviet criminals have begun to establish contacts with foreign "partners," especially in drug trafficking and antique dealing.

Shchekochikhin: When did organized crime surface in the country?

Gurov: Not under czarism, of course. Gangs appeared in the 1920s, but they didn't become a Mafia because society was not stamped by corruption. People in the state machinery did not use their position for private gain, though there were some cases.

Organized crime did not appear during Stalin's time either because his iron-fisted rule would never have permitted it. In addition, the country was economically poor; whereas, organized crime needs a sufficiently developed economy for its seeds to germinate. Signs of a Mafia-type network first surfaced under Nikita Khrushchev, when we began to put our economy on the right track. However, the scale of the network's activities pales beside that of today.

Shchekochikhin: Though signs of organized crime existed in the 1960s, it became a social phenomenon in the 1970s, and the foreign word "Mafia" entered our vocabulary. The word expressed our bitterness toward

the social injustice we witnessed daily, toward the discrepancy between what we were told and what we knew was true.

We also saw something new: People who had been afraid to show their ill-gotten millions began to invest them openly in fashionable foreign cars, diamond necklaces and private residences. We whispered in desperation: "Could there really be a Mafia?"

Besides the processes that were visible for everyone to see, there were others that were evident only to criminologists and law enforcement bodies.

Gurov: The situation in the 1970s was as follows: More and more money was diverted from the State Budget into private hands. There were numerous methods of doing this, but the most widespread one involved setting up underground workshops and even factories to which state-owned raw materials were pumped. This led to the emergence of white-collar criminals or "workshoppers," as they were called. The appearance of the black market brought about a real explosion in illegal activity.

The heads of the underground businesses fell prey to gangster groups who resorted to all sorts of strong-arm tactics to force the businessmen to share their profits. Their cars, houses and country cottages were set on fire. Their children were kidnapped—kidnapping was unheard of in the USSR until the 1970s. They were blackmailed and tortured. For instance, there's the case of one underground millionaire who was placed in a coffin that was being cut in half with a two-handed saw until he agreed to pay a certain sum.

Never turning to the militia for help, the victims of such vicious acts paid the demanded price. In this way the coffers of the criminal world were filled with sums unprecedented in the history of professional crime. As soon as the gangsters had accumulated enough money, they



brought forth their own bosses, who were given the opportunity to maintain a big staff of bodyguards, henchmen and fighters.

Shchekochikhin: Couldn't the white-collar crooks form their own protection groups? It couldn't have been a question of money.

Gurov: Right. Various criminal organizations, primarily business and gangster elements, were bound to merge. The underground businessmen were the first to request a truce. A peace treaty of sorts was signed at a meeting attended by representatives of both camps. The meeting took place in a city in the Northern Caucasus in the mid-1970s. At the meeting the businessmen agreed to pay 10 per cent of their profits to the gangsters for peace and protection.

The most recent gathering took place in 1985 in a city on the Black Sea coast. That meeting was held to restructure activities in light of a mounting law enforcement effort against crime.

Shchekochikhin: But let's get back to the 1970s. Having agreed to pay money to the gangsters, the workshoppers were likewise obliged to bribe various administrative officials, weren't they?

Gurov: Of course. They had to pay the top to be protected from the law or to receive unlawful goods for their underground workshops. At the same time they had to pay the bottom to be guarded against attack.

That's how the criminal organizations took form in the 1970s.

Today organized crime in the country exists on three different levels. The first or lower level is composed of criminal groups that are in no position as yet to climb to the top. Such groups are active in the Non-Black Soil Zone and in other areas. The second or middle level includes groups that maintain contacts with corrupt officials. The third or top level contains the strongest or most powerful elements. The top is composed of several groups that have merged to form one group, with the strongest controlling the others. It is what is called the Mafia network in the West.

Shchekochikhin: Is there a countrywide Mafia?

Gurov: No and there can't be. Incidentally, there is no countrywide Mafia in the United States either. Each clan controls its own territory.

Shchekochikhin: Do the leaders of the clans know one another?

Gurov: Certainly. We studied about 200 groups. As far as I can tell from the criminal cases I've reviewed, one out of every five groups and, from conversations I've had with some ringleaders, one out of every three groups was connected with corrupt administrative officials.

Shchekochikhin: Which regions of the country are most infected by the Mafia?

Gurov: The infiltration is uneven. Our findings show that organized crime has the greatest grip in southern areas, including the Ukraine and Moldavia. The most contaminated of the Ukrainian cities are Kiev, Lvov, Odessa, Donetsk and Dnepropetro-

trovsk. Moscow and Leningrad, of course, are not untainted. Some criminal organizations, though not so well developed, exist in Tambov, Penza, Yaroslavl and Perm also. The underworld now considers it a matter of prestige to control small cities. In Moscow Region these are Balashikha, Lyubertsy, Pushkino and Orekhovo-Zuyevo.

Shchekochikhin: What makes these districts so attractive to organized crime elements?

Gurov: The answer lies in the economic sphere. The South is our Klondike. Why has Uzbekistan become the talk of the town lately? Not only because the fraudulent cotton yields produced billion-sized profits and the venal officials corrupted the republic. We cite Uzbekistan also because a good deal of effort has been made to get to the bottom of this case. Other areas are yet to be investigated.

Not long ago a criminal organization called Department was discovered operating in Khabarovsk Territory. Under the guise of setting up a relief fund for those in prison, the Department had urged the underworld to collect money. However, according to its appeal—I read it myself—the money was intended only for the upper stratum.

Shchekochikhin: Does this mean there might be new discoveries in store for us that are no less significant than those in Uzbekistan?

Gurov: I suppose so. Organized crime is gaining momentum, with stronger groups swallowing up weaker ones. The criminal world today consists of those who control and those who are controlled by others. Traditional criminals preferring to work in the old way are also taken under control. As our findings show, today the ringleaders are levying tribute not only on underground businessmen—as before—but also on common pickpockets and drug pushers. "If you don't pay up, you don't work" is the motto. I think this attempt to gain all-pervasive control is most dangerous.

Shchekochikhin: But the control of some is bound to cause resistance from others, isn't it?

Gurov: Right. The thieves, for instance, have split up into two warring factions. Some of them are living by the old principles, while the others have come to serve the sharks. The former have a derogatory name for them—"the shark's lackeys." Sometimes members of the different factions even resort to murdering each other.

Shchekochikhin: What is the root of the conflicts between the groups?

Gurov: More often than not the groups quarrel over spheres of influence or turf.

Sometimes there are armed skirmishes. Many of the fighters are good athletes and, regrettably, obtaining firearms seems to be no problem for them. One armed skirmish took place recently between two criminal factions, one from Moscow and the other from Moscow Region.

The regional group wanted to wrest control of the thimblerriggers, operating at Moscow markets, who were paying the local thugs for protection. The thimblerrig, known elsewhere as the shell game, is a simple trick devised to separate people from their hard-earned money. Huge profits are to be made in this swindle.

Actually, the chiefs of criminal groups are not interested in attracting too much attention, and they have arbiters to settle territorial disputes.

Shchekochikhin: What about the new cooperatives?

Gurov: My colleagues and I recently polled 109 officials of criminal investigation departments. Asked what changes they observed in the criminal organizations in view of the emergence of cooperatives, 81 per cent of those polled mentioned a growth in blackmail rackets; 52 per cent, protection of cooperatives; and 22 per cent, partnership or investment of money in cooperatives in or-

AN OFFICIAL VIEW

The following letter was received by *Literaturnaya gazeta* after its article on the Soviet Mafia appeared in print.

The need to concentrate the efforts of the internal affairs bodies on disclosing established criminal groups became obvious several years ago. With this in view, specialized divisions have been set up in some regions and cities. . . . Between 1986 and 1988 the divisions rendered harmless hundreds of dangerous groups that were active in the economy and engaged in racketeering, robbery, extortion and theft. Some 350 million rubles' worth of valuables and cash were confiscated from the criminals.

As your article justly notes, action against organized crime has its own peculiarities and is linked with certain difficulties. For instance, in some cases the ringleaders who

have not personally perpetrated any crime continue operating outside the law; criminal groups in various regions continue to establish and consolidate their business contacts and power; and no reliable legal protection exists for witnesses in organized crime cases.

Plans call for markedly improving the specialized divisions and equipping them with the technical facilities and assistance they require. The objective of the research laboratories and other sections of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs is to provide a clear-cut definition of organized crime and to draft proposals for introducing additions in the legislation on criminal penalties for organized criminal activity and participation in criminal communities.

V. Kankin, Head
Chief Criminal Investigation Department
USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs

der to launder their illegally obtained funds.

Shchekochikhin: Are the cooperatives turning to the militia to safeguard them against racketeers, protectors or partners?

Gurov: Very few indeed. They're afraid we won't be able to protect them.

Shchekochikhin: How much money is the Mafia leadership bringing in today?

Gurov: Judge for yourself. The stakes of their card game run to half a million rubles, and the bribes they've offered members of our staff sometimes amount to 300,000 or even a million rubles.

Shchekochikhin: Who are these leaders, these godfathers? Are they high-ranking officials?

Gurov: No. They are known in criminal parlance as "trustees." These top criminals are big shots only in their own environment, among their faithful underlings.

Shchekochikhin: But who are they?

Gurov: According to available data, our Mafia clans are run by former athletes, career criminals, inconspicuous business managers or, say, a waiter in a restaurant. These ring-leaders have their own bodyguards and henchmen, and systems for controlling their domains. And, most important of all, they have venal connections, which help them to climb higher and higher.

Shchekochikhin: How do they live?

Gurov: Strange as it may seem, the trustees live modestly and, to all appearances, seem to be law-abiding citizens. Of course they have country houses, cars and good apartments, but they never flaunt their wealth.

And they never keep drugs at home or millions of rubles stuffed in mattresses.

Shchekochikhin: Can these crime bosses hire assassins at will? If so, how much would they pay for such a service?

Gurov: They can and they already do. How much does it cost? Judging by some completed criminal cases,

Though signs of organized crime existed in the 1960s, it became a social phenomenon in the 1970s, and the foreign word "Mafia" entered our vocabulary.

from 30,000 to 100,000 rubles. But the biggest sums are not spent on this kind of service. It's less profitable to hire an assassin than it is to bribe a top public official. That's why two-thirds of the underworld's loot goes to bribe officials, according to the research institute attached to the Procurator General's Office. Two-thirds! Just think of it; what a sum!

Shchekochikhin: Why is all this becoming public now? Only five years ago the notion of a Mafia in this country would make people at the Ministry of Internal Affairs lift their

brows in astonishment and laugh, "You've been reading too many detective stories."

Gurov: Maybe so, but you couldn't possibly think that everyone in the militia was unaware of what was going on.

Shchekochikhin: I believe they knew and felt helpless to do anything about it, and they haunted the offices of high-ranking officials in their ministry. I believe it because several years ago these very people from the militia repeatedly visited our editorial office and, at the risk of losing their job, leaked the true story to us.

Gurov: That's the whole point. No one was interested in recognizing the existence of organized crime. I don't think I have to explain why.

Shchekochikhin: What's being done now to combat organized crime?

Gurov: Special divisions have been set up in the criminal investigation department, but not everywhere, and they are often given other assignments. This is because some people still can't believe that the Mafia-type network isn't a figment of the imagination but a reality.

Shchekochikhin: Is there any way out?

Gurov: Through *glasnost*! Organized crime must know that we're aware of it and will do everything to fight the phenomenon!

Shchekochikhin: I agree. Bureaucracy is its salvation and *glasnost* is its death. But if the Mafia has formed its fighting groups, can it use its forces to destabilize the situation in the country?

Gurov: Perhaps. I wouldn't exclude that possibility. ■





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THE TREE OF BENOIS

Members of the ancient and renowned Benois family created a museum near Leningrad.

By Alla Belyakova

Photographs by Alexei Varfolomeyev



Top to bottom: A sign marking the museum. The passport of Fyodor Benois, the oldest member of the clan. The coat of arms of Nikolai Benois, originator of the idea for the museum. On display at the museum are various publications that have been written about the family.

Leningrad is surrounded by beautiful architectural ensembles and former czars' palaces, which are often called the city's "pearl necklace." One of the most beautiful of the pearls is Petrodvorets (formerly called Peterhof).

In September 1988 the attractions of Petrodvorets expanded to include one more—the Benois Museum. The bulk of its collection is made up of valuables donated to the Soviet Cultural Fund by the members of the Benois family who live in Western Europe.

The Benois dynasty stands out in the history of Russian and world culture. The Russian branch of the family tree can be traced to eighteenth century St. Petersburg. The Russian Czar Pavel I hired a chef from Paris, Louis Jules Auguste César Benois, whom Russians called Leonti Nikolaevich. The enterprising chef married the daughter of a German copper-smith, Yekaterina Groppe, who became the Empress Maria Fedorovna's favorite lady in waiting. Seventeen children were born to the happy couple, including the famous architect Nikolai Benois. In Peterhof alone, he designed a railroad station, a palace hospital, stables and a residence for ladies in waiting. This residence now houses the Benois Museum.

The Benois family as a whole has been extraordinarily gifted in the sciences, technology, commerce and military strategy, but it was those who devoted themselves to art who won the greatest renown.

Above right: Relatives from all over the world gathered for the opening of the museum. Many family members met for the first time at this event. The opening was a real celebration of the fine arts. Right: Benois clan members gather at a concert of church music.





This masterpiece by Leonardo da Vinci was bought from Mikhail Benois by the Hermitage in 1914. The painting is registered as Madonna Benois. Right: Fyodor Benois. Far right: Clan members look at Madonna Benois.



Representatives of the youngest generation of the Benois family (Serebryakov branch). What will they contribute to the glory of the famous dynasty? Opposite page: The Benois genealogical tree.



The dynasty includes the brilliant artist Alexandre Benois, leader of the "World of Art" group; sculptor Yevgeni Lansere; painter Zinaida Serebryakova; composer Nikolai Cherepnin; and actor and writer Peter Ustinov.

Over the years the family scattered, some members staying in Russia and others settling in Europe, the United States and China. But even though members of the Benois clan live in different countries and speak different languages, the spirit of the family is alive and well. Everyone in the Benois family has a great love

and respect for their ancestry. That's why Russia has always held a special attraction for them.

The idea for the museum originated with Nikolai Benois, whom many people called the "Russian Italian." Born in Peterhof, he worked at La Scala in Milan, Italy, for 50 years.

"The museum could cover a broad spectrum of the history of Russian art, the work of four generations of architects, painters and decorative and graphic artists," wrote Nikolai Benois. "Thanks to its rich archives, iconographic materials and its growing library, the museum could become not only a repository of works of art, but a major cultural and research center." Unfortunately, he did not live to see his dream come true.

Nikolai Benois' idea was supported by the Rodina (Motherland) Society, the USSR Ministry of Culture, the Soviet Embassy in France, the Executive Committee of the Leningrad City Soviet, the Soviet Cultural Fund, the USSR Commission for UNESCO and many other organizations.

The treasures given to the museum by Benois members living in Italy, France and Great Britain are hard to enumerate. One of the first gifts was the picture *On a Deserted Bank*, painted by Alexandre Benois and donated by his son Nikolai. The family of the famous Russian painter Zinaida Serebryakova contributed generously to the museum collection. The eminent La Scala singer Disma de Cecco, widow of Nikolai Benois, donated the costume she wore during her guest performance in Leningrad in 1968 and photographs of her husband's works.

"I think the Benois family has set a fine example by returning our national treasures," Georgi Myasnikov, first deputy chairman of the board of the Soviet Cultural Fund, said at the museum's opening.

Quite a few items were presented to the museum by Soviet citizens and organizations. For example, Leningrad State University donated 14 water colors by Albert Benois.

The Benois Museum is located in the Freilinski Dom near the main entrance to the Lower Park, not far from the Greater Peterhof Palace. The house restoration design was

created by Irina Benois. She and her granddaughter Varvara, a graduate of the Leningrad Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, contributed a great deal to the museum collection and decoration.

Before the Revolution the elegant two-story structure was inhabited by the Empress's favorites. But during the siege of Leningrad the house was seriously damaged. After the war its interior was rebuilt and converted into communal apartments. It took specialists six months to restore the original interior.

The museum's opening became a veritable festival of culture. The blue and white palace, with the Benois coat of arms over the entrance, looked festive, its windows glistening in the sun. More than 100 members of the Benois clan gathered for the celebration.

"The opening of the Benois Museum is more than a cultural event. It has international significance and a great magnetic force. Politically, it's an achievement that proves the fruitfulness of the new relations between countries and people," commented Soviet Ambassador to France Yakov Ryabov.

"It's very difficult to list all of the Benois creations," said architect Peter Braslawsky of France. "They are scattered from Brussels to Buenos Aires and from Milan to San Francisco. But we exhibit works by as many members of the Benois clan as possible.

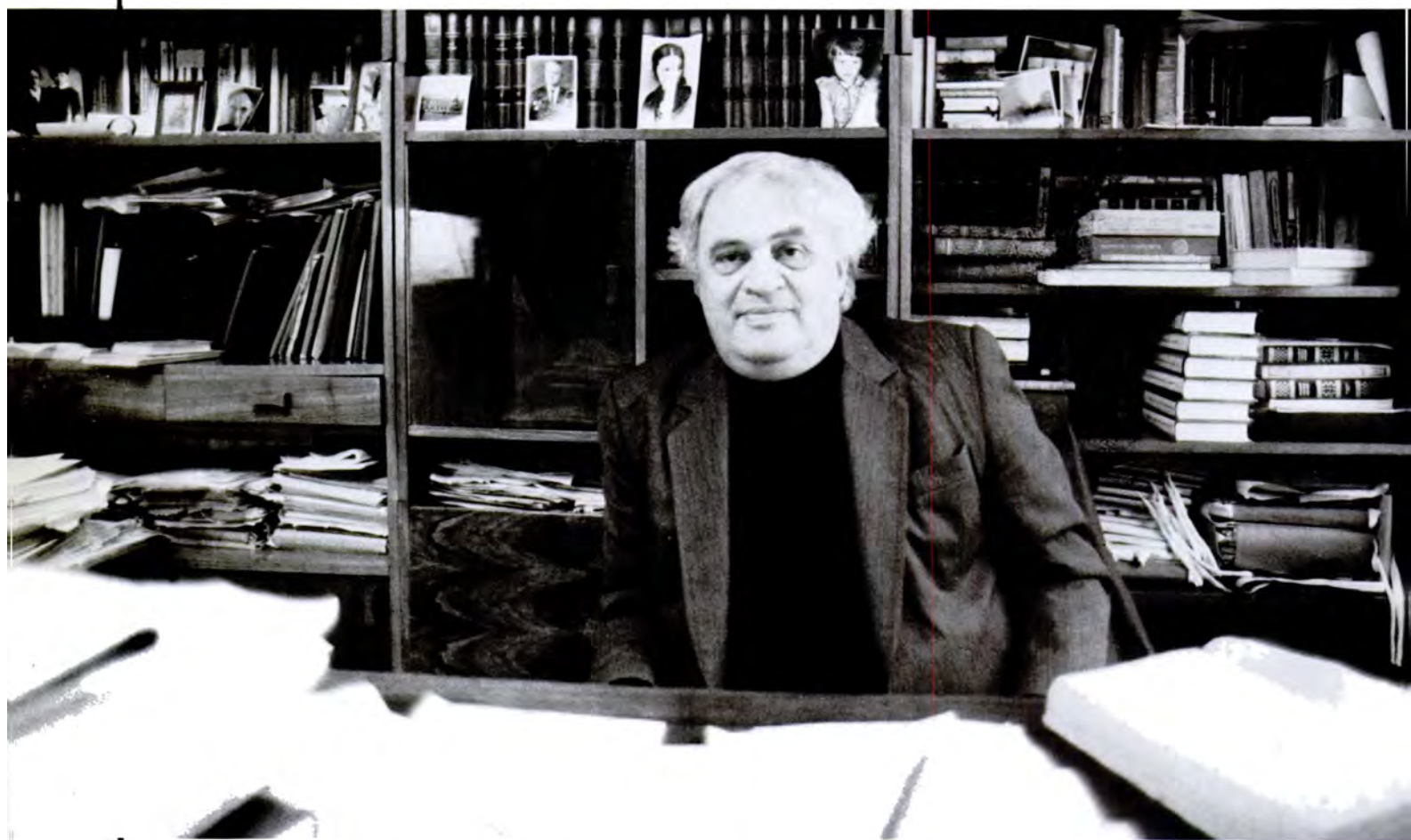
"We are indebted to Russia. Our ancestors drank the potion of Russian culture, which gave them Herculean strength and made them world famous. The museum will be a temple of international cooperation rather than just a rich collection. Another historical building designed by Nikolai Benois, which stands next to the residence for the ladies in waiting, will house an international cultural center. This year its status will be discussed by UNESCO. We, the Benois family, think that it should be an artists' recreation home and an international artists discussion club combined."

The Benois clan is like a spreading tree whose roots feed its branches and buds, uniting continents, countries and cities all over the world.



REVOLUTION FROM ABOVE?

Is perestroika a revolution from above? Is it a revolution at all? Vladimir Glotov discusses these and other questions with Nathan Eidelmann, a prominent Soviet historian and writer.



Nathan Eidelmann: During my recent visit to Paris, a French colleague told me: "Your Revolution is 70 years old; ours is 200. Obviously our experiences were different, still . . . We had several revolutions; same with your country. Therefore, we do have something in common."

I saw what he was driving at: We

have to live through a series of revolutions before life gets better.

Vladimir Glotov: Isn't there a grain of truth in what he said?

Eidelmann: The problem is that, until recently, our historians were deathly afraid of drawing historical parallels. I often wondered why they were so intolerant. Friedrich Hegel and Karl

Marx had nothing against it. As is known, history proceeds in a spiral, where each period resembles the preceding one. So parallels are possible.

Glotov: But from where does this "parallelophobia" stem? From political timeserving?

Eidelmann: I think two things were considered dangerous—drawing parallels and talking about all the "ifs," "ands" or "buts."

The idea being imposed on the public consciousness was that we did not have any alternative, that our route of development was unique and could be compared to no other.

The only explanation I can offer for this is that people were simply not expected to discuss things.

Both Marxist and non-Marxist historians recur to parallels—expertly and carefully, of course, but they "don't overdo it!"

You hear statements like, "It's our way" or "We were the first to traverse it, hence our mistakes and miscalculations." But let's keep in mind that, long before October 1917, people knew that mistakes could happen in the course of revolution, just as they were aware of the dangers that lurked in a postrevolutionary period.

Glotov: Do historical forecasts interest you?

Eidelmann: Sure, I find this phenomenon fascinating and have studied it in Russian literature and public thought. Some people say we lack theory. That's hardly so! Eighteenth and nineteenth century Russian literature discussed the inevitability of revolution at length. An imminent explosion was foreseen by both those who hailed the Revolution—for example, Alexander Radishchev in the late 1700s and Nikolai Chernyshevsky in the 1860s, and those who were apprehensive of it like Fyodor Dostoyevsky. Revolution was predicted more than once.

Glotov: I remember learning that in school.

Eidelmann: But there's something we were never told about, notably, their perception of revolution. Almost everyone had certain misgivings about things changing for the worse in this land of serfs.

Take Radishchev, the first Russian revolutionary. He went through a profound inner crisis after 1790. He could

not help but extrapolate from Robespierre's guillotining that events in Russia could take a similar turn after an insurrection.

Alexander Pushkin was afraid of an "irrational and ruthless" rebellion. Mikhail Lermontov hated the czarist regime but predicted a tragedy—bloodshed in the dark year of an explosion that was bound to destroy everyone and everything.

We consider Alexander Herzen an eminent revolutionary, but, so far, we've not given much thought to his idea about a necessity of acquiring greater freedom before a revolution. I'd formulate it as follows: The more democratic experience a country accumulates, the easier the revolution will proceed and the more lenient the post-revolutionary dictatorship will be. Take Great Britain, which had its jury, Parliament and charter long before any revolutionary outbreak. Certainly there were reprisals and the beheading of Charles I, but Great Britain emerged as a "modern" state a mere nine years after Oliver Cromwell came to power.

France's democratic traditions were less developed, and, as a result, its revolution was more cruel and Napoleon's dictatorship lasted longer.

Russia was even less developed democratically. Herzen said: "Set yourselves free! Freedom from spiritual, inner, individual and societal inhibitions will moderate revolutionary bloodshed."

He also advised not to call Russians to take up the battle-ax. "Let them rise to rebellion themselves. Don't impose restrictions on their freedom of political choice. On the other hand, if there is an uprising, we should remember that the ax can only destroy, not build. We must be able to take hold of the ax before it crushes everything and it's too late. We need a broom, not an ax. We need builders." Herzen, too, was afraid of wanton cruelty. He believed that Russia was bound to plunge into an orgy of bloodshed, as even France, with its sufficiently democratic institutions, was not immune to postrevolutionary terror. In his destructive endeavor, a Russian slave would think himself a free man and would fail to discern the will of a usurper in revolutionary disguise.

Chernyshevsky also warned against

revolutionary euphoria. Dostoyevsky was similarly apprehensive in his *The Possessed* as was Alexander Blok in his *Retribution*.

Russian literature, from Radishchev to Blok, was a litmus test for societal ferment. Whatever the reaction, the writings always warned: Be careful not to return to a servile state. Be merciful. Accumulate democratic experience. I think it's useful to give all this full consideration.

Glotov: Our government is currently displaying restraint with regard to the bureaucracy that opposes *perestroika*. It's a case of a "quiet" revolution. Do you think we're drawing a lesson from the past or is there some other reason for it?

Eidelmann: I think both are true. We've drawn an important lesson from the past in the sense that repressive methods are bound to backfire. We have acquired a kind of selfish wisdom. Personally, I'm a believer in egoism and don't trust pure idealists.

Power is certainly egoistic. The government realizes that the less blood and destruction, the better. Certainly some negative aspects persist, but if we eradicate them through force, we'll bring back bloodshed, and the immediate effect will, in the final analysis, be tantamount to defeat.

Glotov: I think that's exactly what Mikhail Gorbachev is making clear: We don't need an "enemy-of-*perestroika*" label. Some think it's shilly-shallying, compromising with bureaucracy, but it's something altogether different.

Eidelmann: Yes, there's another aspect I'm very interested in—defining the nature of our present revolution.

Frankly, it's a revolution from above. Naturally it stimulates movement at the grassroots level, without which there would never be success, but still, it's a revolution from above.

Glotov: But is a revolution from above possible?

Eidelmann: Sure. It's a distinct feature of Russian revolutions.

Glotov: But doesn't the phrase sound a bit weird to you? Why call it a "revolution" if it's from above?

Eidelmann: Any major historical movement proceeds along two lines: from the top to the bottom and from the bottom to the top. Even in the case ►

of the French Revolution of 1789, which was a typical instance of a grassroots movement, we cannot ignore the role played by the Convent, the central authorities, the "top."

When we speak about a revolution from above, what we mean is not that all changes come from the upper echelons of power, but that movement from the top to the bottom is prevalent. I've written a book on this subject entitled *Russia: Revolution from Above*, which is to be published sometime this year.

Let me assure you, I didn't invent the term: It was widely used by Herzen, and others.

Glotov: Specifically, what's the book about?

Eidelmann: In it I analyze two specific, deep-rooted features of Russian history. One is a relatively small degree of capitalist development, with a numerically weak bourgeoisie, if any. But we're not speaking about that now.

The other is the enormous power wielded by the state and a weak counterbalance to it. There were tyrants among European monarchs, Henry VIII and Louis XI, for instance. But their power was at least partially balanced by Parliament, local government and the courts.

Historically—I'm not speaking about antiquity—the mighty centralized state had no opposition. Ivan the Terrible was as ill-tempered as Henry VIII; both had many wives. Though Henry VIII was much harder on them than the Russian Czar, he was restricted in his arbitrary actions by the Parliament, the court and the bourgeoisie, while Ivan the Terrible certainly had more leeway. Thus, the ratio of forces was in the state's favor.

That means that under the conditions of a strong centralized state, all major transformations in the country—both positive and negative—were initiated at the top. Ivan the Terrible's rule is a vivid example.

Two centuries elapsed. Peter the Great came to power. Someone once said that if the subjects of Peter the Great had ever been polled, at best two per cent of them would have voted in favor of his reforms.

Popular opinion was against the Petrine Regulations. As for the nobility, although the Czar acted in its in-

terests, he never closed the credibility gap. Nonetheless, with the support of a certain part of the nobility, Peter the Great managed to revamp medieval Russian society. I won't assess the negative and positive aspects of his reforms at this time. What is relevant is that Russia had its feathers ruffled, which was a powerful impetus to development. In other words, that was a revolution from above, a harsh and contradictory one. Having opened a window on Europe, Peter intensified serfdom at the same time. He granted personal freedom to the nobles but used the cudgel as his main instrument of power.

I'd say that, as a state leader, Peter the Great was a combination of Joseph Stalin and Mikhail Gorbachev.

Glotov: Was the 1825 uprising of the Decembrists an attempt at a revolution from above?

Eidelmann: Yes, the Decembrists intended to seize central power in St. Petersburg, oust the czar and make a revolution at the top. They wanted to activate the masses later on.

Glotov: So they wanted to usurp power when the ruler was still alive and then have *perestroika*?

Eidelmann: Exactly. And finally, the reforms of the 1860s. Alexander II and a number of progressive, far-sighted statesmen and ministers pushed through a number of reforms. Let me point out that it was a set of reforms, not solely a peasant reform, as is traditionally highlighted.

The Peasant Reform implied changes in the economic structure; the Zemstvo Reform led to local self-government. There were also reforms in the judiciary, in education, in the military structure and in the press, that is, political and economic reforms.

Glotov: Weren't they insufficient? Couldn't they have been better?

Eidelmann: Yes, but they could have been worse too, and they governed Russian life for about 40 years. I wish we could be sure today that the current reforms would govern our life for at least half a century!

The 1905 revolution was certainly a grassroots revolution. It was suppressed. As for the effort of the then Prime Minister Pyotr Stolypin, it was an attempted economic and political reform from above.

What I am driving at is that the prerevolutionary period of Russian history yielded many examples of revolutionary transformations initiated from above.

Glotov: What about the Soviet period?

Eidelmann: Vladimir Lenin wrote that we had inherited a powerful state. Many things have changed in this country, but the role of the state has remained the same. History has a kind of genetic code of its own. The role of the state never changed, and illusions, typical of the popular thought of the past, held firm. No doubt, Stalin took advantage of the deep-rooted Russian monarchist mentality.

In 1921 NEP [New Economic Policy]—a major transformation from above, the first attempt at *perestroika*—was introduced.

Then, from 1929 to 1930, Stalin's counterrevolution, a deadlock, also occurred at the top.

Nikita Khrushchev is associated with the second effort toward *perestroika*, also from above. We may talk of inconsistency and halfway measures, but his reforms had dimension.

We say "revolution," but we could just as well say "fundamental change." It's difficult to spell out the difference between a revolution and radical reforms.

I think the current revolution from above is supported by a wealth of historical experience, with both positive and negative sides—the successful Petrine Regulations, the reforms of 1861 and NEP in Soviet years, on the one hand, and the harsh rule of Stalin and Ivan the Terrible, on the other.

My reference to different historical periods is intended: They all have a common thread—radical change initiated from above.

Glotov: What general conclusion do you arrive at?

Eidelmann: First, there are grounds for optimism as well as pessimism. The "top" option is not necessarily doomed to failure. We know of instances of success. Secondly, we have to thoroughly analyze both prerevolutionary and Soviet reform efforts to answer the questions: How were they implemented? How can more people get involved? To what methods does the opposition resort? If you read about the feudal landlords' opposition

to the reforms of the 1860s, you note their striking resemblance to contemporary conservatives. Both predicted disturbances and were happy when tumult broke out. The historical insurrection in Poland was akin to present-day tensions in Nagorny Karabakh. Sometimes the opposition was even ready to provoke disturbances. The famous St. Petersburg fires were probably the work of arsonists.

In my work I analyze the psychology of opponents of *perestroika*.

To involve people in the *perestroika* effort, we have to know what our opponents are like. We must take our time. Otherwise, we'll slide downhill at a dizzying speed. Our advance is slow, but we shouldn't worry about that.

Glotov: Your metaphor suggests that as you travel downhill toward the flats, your sled gains speed, and there's danger of a crash. What would you say to that?

Eidemann: But the flats are close.

Glotov: Still, the end of the course, the involvement of people, calls for the utmost responsibility.

Eidemann: You've touched upon a very important point: We tend to idealize the populace. We've always been taught that people are the driving force of history. But even Herzen, a recognized democrat, said that situations exist where government may know better than society. I think that this is to some extent true of the present situation. During a revolution from above, society is often more conservative than the governing forces.

Let's recall Herzen again; I have high respect for him. What he said was that the conductor should be a step ahead of the choir, never two steps. If you are two steps ahead, the choir can't hear or understand you. One step is the right distance.

Even at the height of the Khrushchev era, everyone was "for" and never "against." Nobody dared to show doubt. Our previous leaders were afraid of the people. Stalin, even Khrushchev, and all the more so, Brezhnev. The masses, be it the people or the Supreme Soviet, were expected only to churn out decisions.

Now people are free to discuss things, and the Nineteenth All-Union Conference of the Communist Party of

the Soviet Union is the proof of that.

But that doesn't imply absolute freedom. By the way, I'll be so bold as to say: It's good, and only good.

It suddenly turns out that there are vast untapped resources for further involving more people in the *perestroika* drive. However, we must display moderation. Otherwise, we'll be like the man who stuffed himself with food after a long period of starvation.

We're now working out ways to govern the active community; we haven't had much experience so far, only suppression of dissent or complete unanimity.

Czarism used the abundant energy of the people to its advantage. The war against Napoleon in 1812 was a truly popular endeavor. Ordinary people pioneered Siberia. The old czarist government was frightened by the outlet this energy would find—for example, the Pugachov Rebellion. The government managed to channel the torrent of popular discontent into a reservoir that would harness the energy for the state. And the Russian people, with their vast latent abilities, were further enchained.

Glotov: In what way?

Eidemann: For example, in 1612, during the climax of the so-called Times of Trouble, local leader Kuzma Minin and Prince Dmitri Pozharsky led a popular army to liberate Moscow from foreign invaders. Russia had no ruler at that time, yet immediately after the victory, a new czar was elected. No one asked for democracy, for the abolition of serfdom. On the contrary, 30 years later serfdom took its final shape. That was due to the absence of a bourgeoisie to assume leadership and a lack of political awareness.

Late in the eighteenth century Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov and Peter the Great praised the fine qualities of the Russian soldier, not solely for his discipline, but also for his initiative. Nonetheless, soldiers were not supposed to revolt against the throne. Remember, the Decembrists were able to lead soldiers to Palace Square only under the slogan "Long live Czar Konstantin!"

To sum up, the czarist government used the tremendous latent energy of the populace to its advantage.

Glotov: Same with Stalin's times.

Eidemann: Right you are; the parallel is evident. The victory over Hitler revealed the vast potential of the people and, at the same time, the insufficiency of democratic awareness.

That was the tragedy of a people fighting for their cause without any attempt at criticizing or opposing the tyranny.

Yet Stalin—and he wasn't alone—was afraid of popular revolt. So he held the masses in submission and used the media for intimidation and propaganda.

The masses were viewed as a powerful executive means. But there is another option. Gorbachev discovered the possibility of reviving the activity of people.

Our government is revolutionary in character. The conservative wing opposes that. What's the best way to combat bureaucracy? By making structural and personnel changes. But that is not enough. We need an impetus from the bottom.

Glotov: Do you mean councils of work teams, a choice of candidates and the cooperative movement?

Eidemann: Yes, and also popular fronts, artists unions, whatever.

I think the current effort to activate people's initiative is well thought out. As I see it, it is bound to bear fruit in struggling with the bureaucracy.

Glotov: In this sense, having one person hold two posts, the party and the country leader, signifies the unification of the active community and its subordination to central power at the same time.

Eidemann: We're looking for an escape from passivity, an attitude that was prevalent during Stalin's and Brezhnev's times, but, at the same time, we reject anarchy. I think this is exactly what we call revolution from above, when people are being drawn into politics, thus making up the basis for revolution.

While encouraging movement at the bottom, the government must naturally set limits. Otherwise, there's anarchy. On the one hand, people want their lives to be better and support measures curtailing bureaucracy. On the other hand, bias and a servile mentality still exist. People have to be educated politically.

A Russian journalist wrote in the ►

nineteenth century: "What kind of country is this? Peter the Great ordered us to be enlightened, and we became enlightened. If ordered to be free, we'll be free."

Glotov: Well said!

Eidemann: The masses have tremendous latent energy, and it has to be released very carefully if we do not want an explosion.

Glotov: It's worth recalling Pushkin's "irrational and ruthless rebellion" again here.

Eidemann: This is what we're now speaking about—pouring positive content into popular revolt.

Glotov: Along the lines of the Cultural Revolution in China?

Eidemann: This was roughly equivalent to the year 1937 in this country, when nobody ordered people to attack Nikolai Bukharin's house, but they were told to vote in favor of the court's decision. After all, Stalin was afraid of pitting people against the government outright. The Chinese did not harbor such fears.

It's a curious experience. God forbid it should ever be repeated!

Glotov: Do you mean that history is full of cases where nations draw directly upon each other's experience?

Eidemann: I wouldn't say so. Usually a leader proceeds from his own experience, but he reckons with what is going on and what took place in the past in neighboring countries. Many claim that the intelligentsia is supporting the government today for the first time ever. But that's far from being true. There have been periods in Russian and Soviet history when the intelligentsia was the government's ally. Intellectuals from the nobility supported Peter the Great, Catherine the Great and Czar Alexander II.

The same situation existed during several periods of Soviet history, but to be frank, the policies of the past decades have been plebeian-oriented, while many active intellectuals stayed uninvolved.

Glotov: How so?

Eidemann: The leadership was slightly contemptuous and suspicious of the intelligentsia. Even Khrushchev, who was supported by intellectuals, had a strong bias against them. The

large role played by intellectuals in the second industrial boom was ignored in this country. For decades Stalin's campaigns, Khrushchev's mistrust and Brezhnev's indifference wasted our intellectual potential. As a result, we have a vast number of "internal emigrants," escapist.

I think I can accurately define the notion of escapism.

Academician Andrei Sakharov was requested to "resume active scientific research." Consequently, he had been passive before. He had been forced into his escapism.

Sakharov is an outstanding personality, but there are plenty of ordinary people whose energy has been similarly smothered. This results in mystical and religious escapism, alcoholism, erosion of the family.

To go back to your question about whether we draw on the experience of others, I'd like to point out that Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders are busily involving the intelligentsia in the *perestroika* drive.

Abridged.

Courtesy of the magazine *Ogonyok*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Continued from page 3

I very much like the new, smaller size of the magazine. In the January issue I particularly liked Roy Medvedev's summary of events in "What Society Are We Rebuilding?"

I hope Darya Nikolayeva's column will continue to appear from time to time also.

Lanetta Williams
Oakland, California

We found most of the articles in your January edition very interesting and certainly very informative of the lifestyles of your people. And the photography was magnificent. Also, somehow we found the new size much easier to read. Particularly, we thought the article on "Joint Ventures" to be very significant, as that is probably the best avenue we all have for peaceful existence.

Since your country is so vast and to help us know it better, may we make one suggestion? The magazine shows

two outlines of your country, but nowhere does it show the location on the subject of two articles, namely, Sakhalin and Gus Khrustalny. It would help to have an arrow showing these places on the map when you write about them.

Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Shaffer
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

The back cover of the January 1989 issue of *SOVIET LIFE* shows a jasper cameo portrait from the eighteenth century, depicting an "unknown man." My husband and I feel quite certain this is an Italian-style silhouette of Christ, the same "Joshua hanging on a cross" shown inside the magazine on page 44, so I wanted to share this suggestion with you.

Candace Collins
Lapeer, Michigan

We've received many letters about the identification of the cameo appearing on the back cover of our January issue. All of the correspondence has

been forwarded to researchers at the State Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. As soon as we receive their answer, we'll be sure to inform our readers—The Editors.

Your article about Americans in Siberia in the December *SOVIET LIFE* got me to thinking. Siberia is only a few miles from one of our United States (Alaska). Perhaps Americans could travel to the Soviet Union through Alaska. There are probably thousands of Americans who would love to be able to drive their campers, trailers, etc., up to Alaska and down through Siberia to the heart of the Soviet Union, and perhaps there are Soviet citizens who would like to travel in the opposite direction.

Andy Neher
Aptos, California



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EXPLORATION

A Fiery Giant

Text and Photographs by
Vladimir Ivanchenko

Russian Cossack land explorer Vladimir Atlasov introduced Klyuchevskaya Sopka to the civilized world in the seventeenth century:

"Haystack-shaped, it is rather big and high," he wrote. "Fire spews from its vent, and sometimes there is hail. And there are clouds half the size of the mountain." Atlasov was the first to collect data on the volcanoes of Kam-

Klyuchevskaya Sopka is the largest and most active volcano in Eurasia. The giant last erupted in 1987.





A rare photo of a lava burst taken at a height of 4,750 meters. Insets, top to bottom: Vladimir Ivanchenko during a recent ascent. Among Kamchatka's peaks, Klyuchevskaya Sopka holds pride of place in beauty. Its cone is distinctly graceful.

The following century Russian Academician Stepan Krasheninnikov (1711-1755) devoted many pages of his *Description of the Kamchatka Lands* to Klyuchevskaya. He recorded the volcano's memorable 1737 eruption: "A terrible fire raged for a whole week. Many local inhabitants, who were fishing nearby, thought any minute they would die. The mountain turned into molten rock, flowing down like a river of fire. The roar

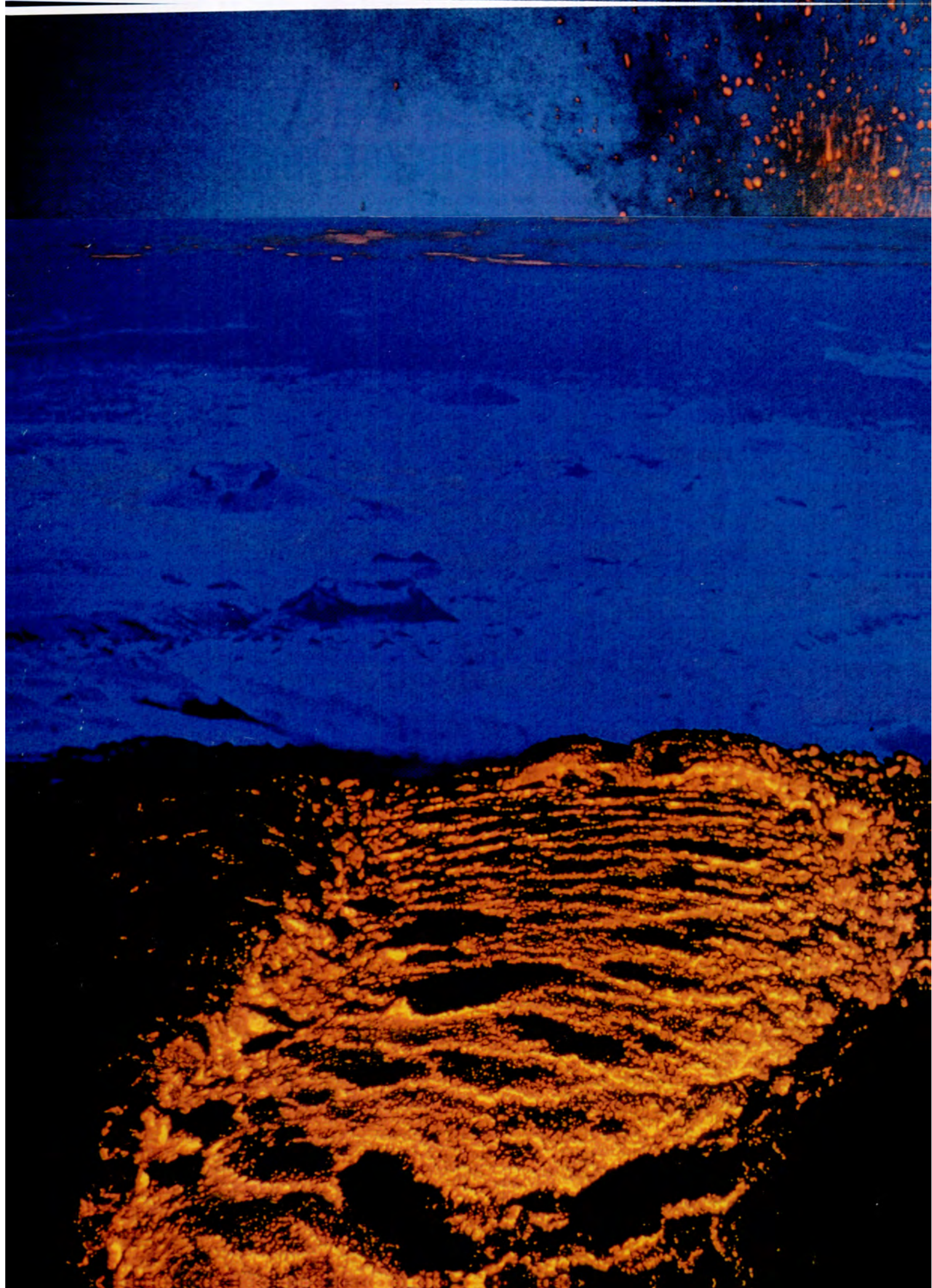
The first man to scale the height of the volcano was Russian mining engineer Daniil Gauss, a member of the Billings' expedition of 1788.

"Each step seemed to take me closer to my grave," Gauss later wrote. "Lost in thought, I commanded my spirit into the hands of the Almighty. Curiosity made me reach the summit so that I could look into the crater and leave this description for posterity."

It was 143 years before Gauss's

taineers. In 1935 the Institute of Volcanology of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences set up a research station in the settlement of Kluychi, at the foot of Klyuchevskaya Sopka. Later that year Valeri Kulakov led a group of Soviet scientists down into the crater. The next year Sophia Naboko became the first woman to scale the giant, causing a sensation.

Though the volcano stands only 4,750 meters high, climbers at its



Red-hot
rock fills
the crater.
Right: "And
the mountain
belched out
clouds," wrote
Russian Cossack
land explorer
Vladimir Atlasov
after seeing
the fire-spitting
natural furnace
for the first time.



of oxygen as if they were at an altitude of 6,000 meters. This is the influence of the Pacific Ocean and the adjacent seas.

With an incline of 32 to 33 degrees, the cone would not seem to pose a difficult challenge for professional climbers. Yet the composition of its strata—layers of crumbly material and clinkers combined with glacial matter—makes scaling the giant furnace truly treacherous. Avalanches caused by volcanic tremors are impossible to predict.

Over the past 55 years a cluster of 12 side eruptions, occurring every six or seven years and lasting up to several months, has been recorded on the slopes of Klyuchevskaya. Lava eruptions at accessible altitudes of up to 3,000 meters have been studied in detail. Data on eruptions at the summit, however, are much harder to obtain, despite an abundance of expertise. The two leaders are Anatoli Khrenov, head of an expedition of geologists and chemists, and Vladimir Andreyev, head of a geological party for the volcanological sta-

tion. Khrenov has accumulated vast experience over the past 20 years and learned to intuit many things about volcanoes. Andreyev has ascended Klyuchevskaya Sopka twice during eruptions. "The lava samples," he says, "as many as I could carry, are the best reward for my work." Working nearly blind in hell reincarnate, Andreyev almost fell twice while descending, but he never once let go of his priceless cargo.

I was fortunate to be with Andreyev during the latest eruptions at Klyuchevskaya in 1984 and 1987 and to film everything I saw. What follows are excerpts of entries I made in my diary:

"The crater, the 700-meter-deep well at the summit, has disappeared. It is filled with sludge and lava. It is a miserable-looking hill spewing volcanic bombs and clouds of ash. Red-hot molten rock cuts the black surface in several places. Blue-colored gas seeps from thousands of cracks and fissures. The wind mixes the gas and the ash, making day into night. The

rock dances underfoot, forcing us at times to crouch on all fours.

"We try to get closer to the source of the fire, but gusts of gas make the scene weird and frightening. Yet the wind proves to be our ally—blowing the gas aside, it lets us forge onward.

"Finally, the epicenter—a pulsing viscous liquid of molten rock. Illuminated by pinkish clouds, the fiery river moves slowly. All shades of red, orange and purple.

"You can see the volcano growing, raising its cupola to the sky. The mosaic of fiery colors boggles the mind. The surface of the lava flow forms curious patterns, only to be broken again as it advances.

"Now the volcano is shaking to life, forcing us to retreat. Standing behind a giant rock, we see lava spilling over the edge. What a sight!

"The air suddenly turns gray and dark. We are under a cloud of ash. It's time to go back. Andreyev contacts the base camp via a walkie-talkie. His husky voice full of pride, he says, "We're done." ■

SPORTS

Pedaling His Way to The Top

By Alexander Lyubimov
Photographs by Andrei Golovanov

Gintautas Umaras' ascent to the height of world track cycling has been rapid and impressive. In 1987, joining the ranks of other Soviet cycling greats, Umaras became the USSR's fourth world champion in the 4,000-meter individual pursuit. And in 1988 at the Olympics in Seoul, Korea, he became the first Soviet athlete to bring home a medal in this event. Breaking records and winning championships—that has been his life, but not all of it. Now there's journalism too.



Because of the travel associated with following an active sports career and studies, cycling star Gintautas Umaras rarely spends more than a few days of the year in his apartment in Klaipeda, Lithuania. But when he is home, friends are always welcome to drop in.

Asked why he took up sports in the first place, Umaras replied, "Ever since childhood I dreamed of visiting far-off places and meeting all sorts of different people. I also wanted to grow up strong and resourceful. I achieved that goal. Now I want to become a journalist. I first tried my hand at writing in 1985, after returning from a tour of Colombia. I sent my article to a newspaper, which published it not so much for its literary merit as for the fame associated with my name."

Since then Umaras has contributed articles to different newspapers around Lithuania.

"Right now I'm limiting my writing to sports," says the budding journalist, "but I'm interested in history, politics and economics, too. Someday I'd like to give those areas a try, but I'm not ready yet."

Finding another career after retiring from big-time sports is a common problem among athletic stars. And the athletes who manage to plan ahead and face this challenge deserve the highest respect. Umaras seems up to the mark. ■



**NEXT
ISSUE**



PERESTROIKA IN LITHUANIA

The Lithuanian movement for *perestroika* calls itself "Sajudis." Its motto is "*Glasnost*, democracy, sovereignty." Sajudis supports *perestroika*, the program of the CPSU that is dedicated to renewing society by making it more democratic and responsive. Read about Sajudis' goals and its relationship with the authorities.



SMOG IN NIZHNI TAGIL

Pollution has often been a concomitant of industrial development. The people of Nizhni Tagil, a city in the Southern Urals, did something about their air-quality problem, which was largely caused by emissions from a local iron and steel mill. The city's progress is highlighted in the next issue.

COMING SOON

Victory Day in Poltava



AN EXACTING HOBBY

Mechanical engineer Nikolai Gundorov, 56, spends most of his leisure time making models of architectural monuments, railroad stations, locomotives and carriages. He started his hobby 20 years ago, soon after buying a set of trains for his son.

First came the railroad station, then the water tower and crossing guard's hut. Gundorov

landscaped them all with trees, shrubs and flowers. Later, miniature passengers appeared.

The railroad station project, which took 18 months to complete, is scaled to one-eighty-seventh of actual size. At present Gundorov is working on the tenth of 15 buildings for his scale model of the czar's out-of-town palace at Tsaritsyno, near Moscow. ■



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Troikas, teams of three horses pulling a carriage or sled, are an old Russian tradition. They are often depicted in folk art and in lacquer miniatures. A recent competition of troikas, held in Moscow, drew representatives from 13 horse farms.



Soviet Life

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Front Cover:
The Kuril
Islands. Story
on page 45.
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SMOG

Chimneys Belching Smoke

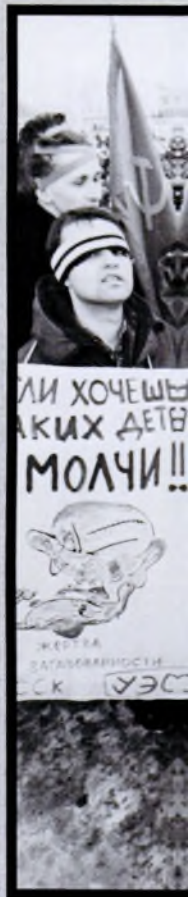
Soot billowing out of the iron and steel mill blankets the snow with a layer of grime.

By Victor Sanatin
Photographs by Pavel Kassin

Smog is a common phenomenon in Nizhniy Tagil, a major industrial center near Sverdlovsk in the Russian Federation. Nizhniy Tagil is one of 50 cities in the USSR where pollution levels are unhealthy. The main culprit is the Nizhniy Tagil Iron and Steel Mill (NISM), which annually discharges 629,000 tons of noxious substances into the air.

Early last spring meteorologists forecast a continuous spell of windless weather. Unfortunately, they were correct. One day a dust cloud began to accumulate over the city. With every hour, the smog grew thicker. By lunch time cars and trucks were driving past NISM with their headlights on. Toward evening the city was hidden beneath a heavy, suffocating blanket. The following morning citizens felt dizzy and sick as they left for work. Pollution levels were so high that children complained that their faces felt as if they were burning as they walked to school.

That was the last straw. The air quality triggered an explosion of public awareness, which began at the headquarters of the City Komsomol ▶



**Protesters
at a Mass
Demonstration**

*Posters warn of the
consequences of
continued pollution.*



(Young Communist League). Komsomol leaders from some local enterprises paid a visit to the City Komsomol Committee. They were in the mood for action.

"What should we demand? First of all, closing down of the first and second coke-oven installations at NISM. These facilities were built 45 years ago, and their technology is out of date.

"We should demand the recall of those deputies to the local Soviets who have systematically violated socialist law, deliberately neglecting environmental protection standards. We should demand that the City Procurator's Office thoroughly investigate every specific case of pollution and even initiate criminal proceedings against the culprits."

How should the Komsomol leaders present their demands? They decided to organize a demonstration and then send an appeal to the USSR Council of Ministers. The appeal's principal goals were: to solve the conflict between the USSR's Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the people of Nizhniy Tagil about shutting down the outdated coke-oven installations; and to get enough money appropriated to upgrade the air-purification facilities.

SMOG

Polluters must be accountable! Ten thousand people gathered to force the plant to shut down its outdated equipment and upgrade the air-purification facilities.

The demonstration they organized attracted 10,000 people to one of the city's squares. Many of the demonstrators carried posters expressing their anxieties about air pollution.

War veteran Nikolai Duzenko addressed the assembled crowd through a loudspeaker from the high steps of the movie theater: "Dear Comrades in the Komsomol! I'm tremendously grateful to you for today's meeting—for your bravery, for your ability to look disaster straight in the eye."

Tenth grader Ilya Baranov also spoke into the microphone: "Citizens, to be able to speak here, I had to slip away from school. We were forbidden to take part in this meeting. But I think that protecting our native city's health is our duty. On behalf of all the city's schoolchildren, I demand that the building of adequate purification facilities be started!"

Boris Belous, a worker, said: "Today's meeting is a red-letter day for me personally. This is the first serious evidence of *perestroika* in my native city. I am grateful to the Komsomol for this bold action!"

Soon after the protest demonstration, one of the coke ovens at NISM was shut down. But the other oven continues polluting the city. ■





LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

I have always believed that the people of the USSR were no different from the people of any modern industrial country. It is wonderful to know that I have been right all these years. Your fine magazine shows the life of the average Soviet citizen to be quite similar to that of the average American.

Edward Reich
Azusa, California

In reply to the letter of Mr. Joseph Milakovich of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, published in your February 1989 issue: I am indeed sorry Mr. Milakovich finds speeches boring. Perhaps his need for synopses is not the lack of appreciation, but the lack of comprehension. I am sorry he feels the need to answer for the American Public reader. Not all of us are of the opinion that these articles and speeches are long-winded. We are most interested in the full import of the opinions, observations, and commentaries brought out in the articles and reprints. Every person's ideas merit full respect. Every person's courage, the same. Lastly, ALL things a person says contribute to complete understanding; leave out one thing and the whole can be lost therewith.

Victoria Bertling
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Congratulations on your new (January 1989) format and clear plastic instead of "hide-away" paper mailing cover! Great improvement.

William Jerman
Ravenna, Ohio

When the postman delivered the mail today, there were three magazines, all in one group—same size, somewhat the same thickness—and one of them was your magazine! I was so shocked and disappointed to note the change in all respects.

I hope the Moiseyev Dancers, which are performing at the end of this week in Boston, will not be diminishing in any respect.

John Lingos
Brockton, Massachusetts

Journalistic commendation is due the editors of SOVIET LIFE for the changed new format.

The proportion of those receiving it who actually read it should go up considerably.

It now fulfills the bottom line of any good editor: to be read.

Though not a journalist, your own Mikhail Gorbachev certainly understands, as he told the editors in Stavropol Region, that "it is not enough to write ideologically correct articles. They also should be interesting. Is anyone reading what you write? Is there any point in printing stories that no one wants to read?"

William Moody
Silver Spring, Maryland

I do like the smaller size of SOVIET LIFE. It is easier to manage with my arthritic hands!

In the January issue I particularly enjoyed the articles: "The Khanty: In Harmony with Nature," and "Jasper."

Louise Marsh
Roper, North Carolina

SOVIET LIFE, like good wine, improves with age. On this inauguration day for President Bush, may the doors open wider toward truth and understanding between our two countries.

I do not drink vodka. But I will drink a toast to all my Russian brothers and sisters for a happier New Year.

John Cataldo
St. Clair Shores, Michigan

Editor's Notes

"Your foreign policy initiatives are swiftly changing the West's attitude toward you. But your domestic problems are being solved rather slowly," an American journalist told me a few days ago. I think he is right. Eighty-one per cent of the respondents to a recent *Moscow News* public opinion poll believe that *perestroika* has not yet picked up the necessary pace.

The new political thinking is bearing fruit in international affairs. Not a single Soviet soldier remained in Afghanistan after February 15. Many people are concerned about the Afghan veterans. The numbers of the indifferent are receding.

The American press once wrote that Gorbachev's vigorous activities are running up against the political apathy of the masses, who do not see any tangible results of *perestroika*. I most emphatically disagree with such a conclusion. Yes, we would like to have more appreciable results, and we would like to have them sooner. But any level-headed citizen in this country realizes that consumer affluence will not come about at the wave of the leader's magic wand or as a result of simply passing new legislation. True, some people prefer to sit on their hands and wait for manna from the skies, while whining that nothing is changing. But the ranks of active supporters of *perestroika* are growing.

On March 26 the Soviet people elected their first Congress of People's Deputies. For the first time in many decades we had a real election campaign, rather than a performance that was carefully orchestrated in advance. The campaign has shown that people are not indifferent to politics and that they do care who will represent them in the country's highest legislative body.

The *Moscow News* opinion poll I mentioned asked participants to name the most urgent problems the new legislature should discuss. Forty-one per cent of the respondents named the food problem and 39 per cent, human rights, the continued democratization of life, and abrogation of the laws that infringe on the rights of citizens.

I think the answers are very indicative: Soviet people are actively striving for change—and not only in the areas connected with the quality of life. This means that the success of *perestroika* is guaranteed no matter what difficulties we have to overcome. Improvements in the international climate and progress on the way to disarmament are also guarantees of its success.

Robert Tsfasman

GLASNOST

THE SOVIET PRESS AT WORK

Musician Turned Minister



Raimond Pauls, a well-known musician and composer, has just become chairman of the State Committee for Culture in the republic of Latvia. This marks the first time in several decades that a nonparty member has been appointed to a ministerial job. The musician explained that he accepted the position because he feared that the job might go to an old-school bureaucrat who had no cultural background and would be prone to arbitrary decisions.

Pauls graduated from Riga Conservatory and then spent a number of years playing piano in a jazz orchestra, managing a children's choir, and composing musical comedies, symphonies, and film scores. He has written songs for such Soviet pop stars as Alla Pugachova, Valeri Leontiev, and Laima Vaikule. Although he is not a member of the Latvian Popular Front, Pauls says the movement's program has some positive aspects. "We should not be frightened by 'nationalism' and 'separatist tendencies,'" he noted. "People only want to see their native language preserved and to be able to use the resources of their republic as they see fit. The opposition often comprises people who are afraid to lose their comfortable jobs."

From the newspaper Moscow News

POWER OF SPEECH

"For the past three and a half years, the Soviet media have been trying to restore the people's faith in the written word. It was a formidable task, considering that the trust had been broken," said Yuri Orlik, in a review of the readers' mailbag in the newspaper *Izvestia*.

Most Soviet readers believe that the media have coped with this challenge.

"Even three years ago I wouldn't have dreamed of reading what I am reading now in the press," wrote Sergei Vybyli from Krasnodar Territory in southern Russia.

"After many years of silence, people have regained their power of speech. The feelings of pain and indignation, suppressed for decades, have exploded," wrote Vladimir Briks from Solnechnogorsk in Moscow Region.

Nevertheless, many people are frightened by the overwhelming wave of criticism. They accuse the media of defamation, disrespect for the past, and subversion of socialism.

"Enough self-flagellation," wrote Konstantin Sergeyev from Baranovichi, Byelorussia.

"Should we wash our dirty linen in public?" asked Vladimir Fyodorov from Yakutsk.

"How sincere are your odes to *perestroika*?" asked Kirill Gadjiyev from Makhachkala, Dagestan. "Everyone is 'in favor' again. I haven't read a single critical article about the current party policy, but I know some people advocate a different concept of development. I don't understand a democracy that allows criticism only after the 'changing of the guard.'"

From the newspaper Izvestia



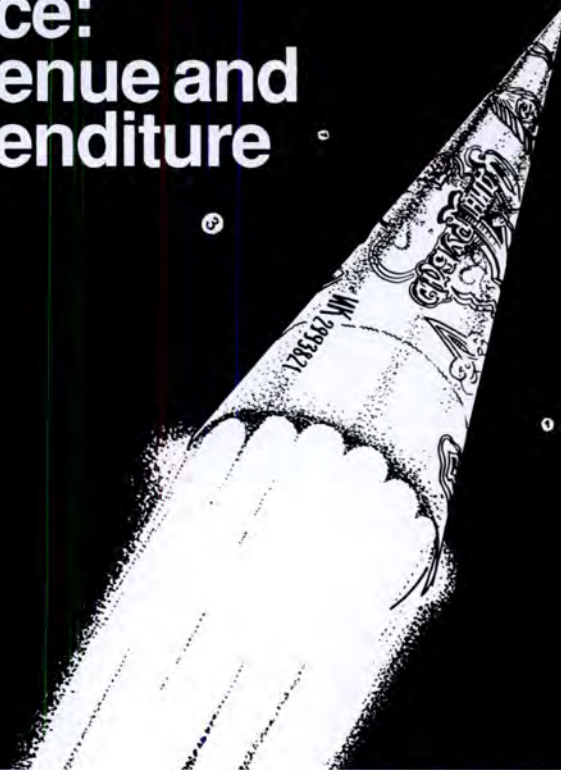
The Soviet press is discussing the profitability of space research. We never hear about the financial difficulties involved in a particular project. They are simply ignored by the officials of space research agencies, who instead prefer to talk about technical problems and the great missions accomplished.

Izvestia correspondent Boris Konovalov is astonished by the reluctance or the inability of Glavkosmos, the USSR space agency, to put its work on a commercial basis and make space research a profitable business. For instance, Glavkosmos has ignored an offer from the French company Navspace to represent Soviet interests in utilizing the results of a Soviet space program.

Scientists know that application of space research products could yield billions of rubles. But the Soviet research agencies that work on space technology and materials have their own obligations to honor. Under the current economic system, application of research results in an onerous, often unbearable, burden.

From the newspaper *Izvestia*

Space: Revenue and Expenditure



In an interview with Novosti Press Agency, political scientist Soltan Dzarasov spoke about the prospects for a multiparty system in the Soviet Union.

The attitude of Soviet society toward political struggle is very specific. We should look for its roots not even as recently as the Stalin period, but throughout the history of Russia. In a word, this society has no tradition of democratic discussion. It could not be created during the centuries of monarchy and decades of Stalinism. There was one and only one correct way. So, "those who are not with us are against us." And that means that political opponents are not just members of our society who hold other views, but enemies. Supporters of one party treat its opponents as enemies, and political rivalry between them turns into confrontation. The society may divide, with unpredictable consequences.

I don't think the development of democratic institutions in the Soviet Union should be slowed down. But we should not make hasty decisions, either. A person who has been starving should not be given too much food at once; it may kill him. Like-

A Multiparty System Is Not the Only Way to Achieve Pluralism

wise, a society that has no democratic traditions should not be given limitless freedom; it may misuse it. The activities of the newly established popular fronts and unofficial organizations in the Soviet Union have demonstrated that some of their leaders are politically shortsighted or are espousing ill-considered economic concepts such as introducing local currency.

But democracy, provided it's not just democracy on paper, presupposes one of two options. If a political party is united by rigid discipline and precludes pluralism of opinions, then those who disagree with its platform should have the right to set up other

parties. If there are no other parties, then the ruling party should provide for extensive political freedom inside itself. That was an option advanced by Lenin. His idea was that during a discussion, each party member or group can develop its own platforms. The platform supported by the majority is adopted.

The mechanism of platforms has not been recognized by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union de jure, but it already exists de facto. There are different platforms on economic development, for instance. Abel Aganbegyan believes we should speed up modernization of the machine-building industry and retool existing enterprises. Another platform is represented by Vasili Sel-yunin, who believes we should concentrate on production of consumer goods, using the equipment that is available. Both points of view have their supporters.

This is the way democracy is developing in the Soviet Union today. Considering the characteristics of this country, I do not believe a multiparty system is the most expedient and effective way to ensure pluralism of opinion. At least not at this stage. ■



Old friends, artist Robert McCall and cosmonaut Alexei Leonov, meeting in Moscow.

SOVIET-AMERICAN SPACE FANTASY

Text and Photographs by
Alexander Kuleshov

Robert McCall is a space painter. An American artist, McCall became known in the Soviet Union after the 1975 Soyuz-Apollo space flight, when his paintings were reproduced as emblems on envelopes and on badges.

McCall did not meet Moscow science-fiction artist Andrei Sokolov until the late 1970s, although they had known each other's work very well before that. When McCall and Sokolov finally met, they decided to continue their new relationship on canvas. But 10 years elapsed before they actually got to work on a project together.

I asked Sokolov to describe this artistic collaboration with an American painter.

"Robert came to Moscow last summer at the invitation of the USSR Artists Union. That was when we began working together," Sokolov said. "The picture, which we haven't finished yet, will be donated to the United Nations on behalf of the International Association of Space Explorers.

"While we were planning what the picture would be, we talked about many possibilities before we finally decided on the figures of a man and woman in space suits flying to faraway stars. They personify humanity.

"We didn't forget the pioneers who took the first difficult steps on the road to outer space. Of course it's hard to describe all space achievements in one picture, but we certainly have to include Yuri Gagarin's flight, the American astronauts' expedition to the Moon, and the historic docking of Soyuz and Apollo. The Soviet Union and the United States, after all, pioneered in space exploration. The tentative name of the picture, which is four meters by two meters, is *Humanity's Route to the Stars*.

"We will continue working on the painting during my trip to the United States, and we'll probably complete it this spring in the Soviet Union. If we finish in time, we'll send it to the first



Phobos probes a Martian satellite, by Andrei Sokolov.





Mankind's Route to the Stars (top),
Robert McCall and Andrei Sokolov.

A City of the Future,
by Robert McCall.

American science-fiction artists visit Moscow during the celebrations of the thirtieth anniversary of the first Soviet satellite.

McCall and Sokolov with some of their collaborative efforts.

international exhibition of space painting in Moscow. American artists will contribute about 150 works to this show, and Soviet artists will probably display even more. After its run in Moscow, the exhibition will go to the United States and Canada."

I asked Sokolov whether his collaboration with McCall had inspired other paintings.

"Yes, it did," Sokolov replied. "While Robert and I were working on the main picture, we thought of the idea of a series of paintings devoted to the joint Soviet-American exploration of Mars. These new paintings will feature both past and future projects, such as U.S. Vikings, Soviet Phoboses, and the Energia rocket—the world's most powerful booster, which will certainly be used in the Mars project. We haven't worked out all the themes yet, but some of the paintings will show an unmanned Martian vehicle, which is still in the design phase; a thermal-sounding weather balloon hovering over a snow-covered pole on Mars; and Soviet and American flags billowing in the streams of gas ejected by a spaceship as it lifts off on its return from the "red" planet to Earth. We are planning for this Martian series to comprise 15 to 18 pictures."

"I know that space crews, even international teams, have to pass a compatibility test," I said. "What about you and Robert?"

Sokolov answered, "I'm not new to joint work. I've worked, and rather successfully, with cosmonaut and artist Alexei Leonov for more than 20 years. But that was an artist-consultant relationship. Robert is a skilled and talented painter, and I was a little nervous before meeting him. As soon as we got down to work, however, all my nervousness disappeared. It turned out that we even had similar habits. For example, I usually hum when I paint. To my great surprise, I heard Robert humming something too! I said to him, 'Bob, do you always sing when you paint?' 'No,' he answered; 'only when it's going well.'"



Stairway to the STARS

By Yuri Biryukov

Photographs by Pyotr Kozlov

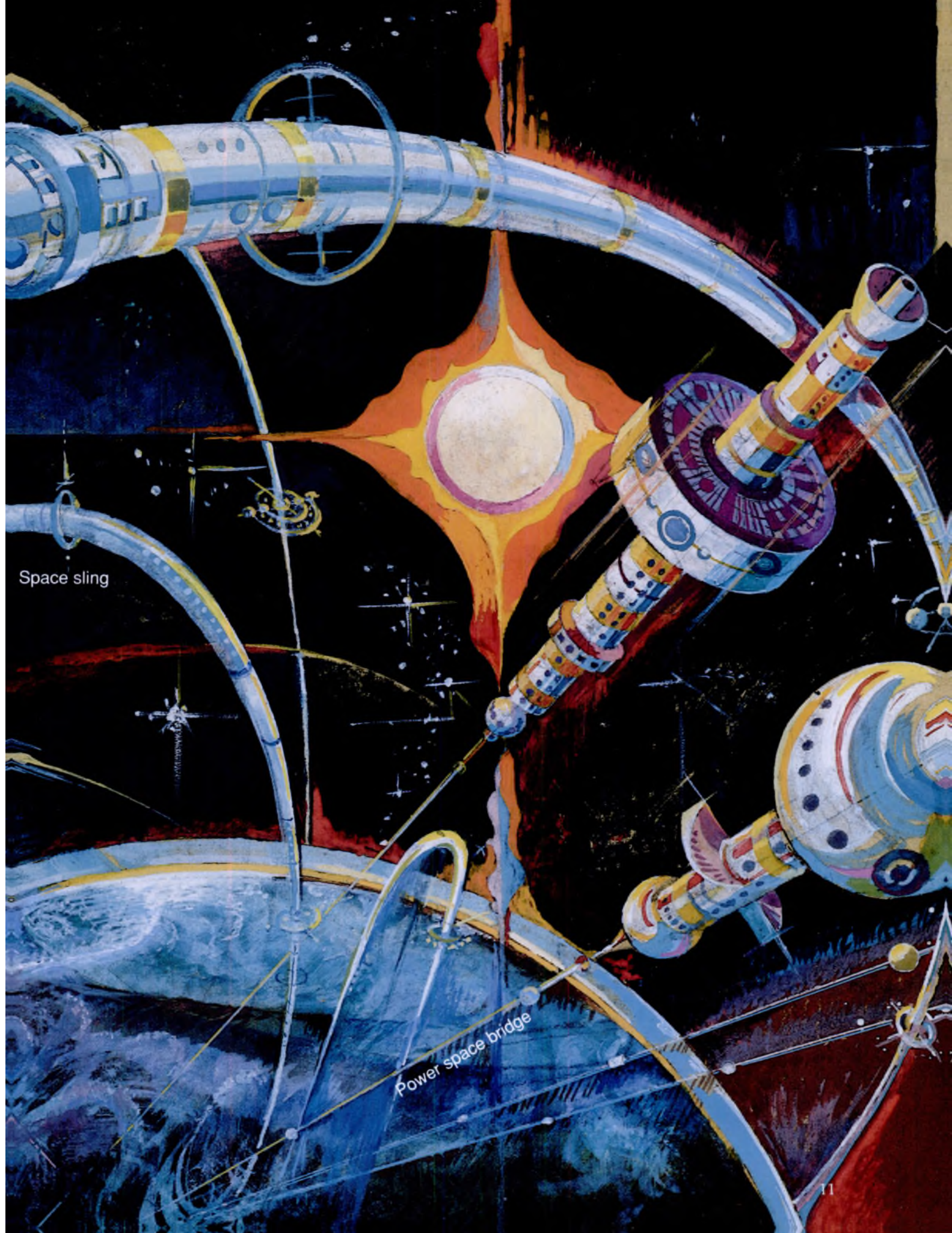
Earth-Moon elevator

Planetary transportation vehicle

*"Transportation is essential
in conquering the universe.
What is impossible today will
be possible tomorrow."*

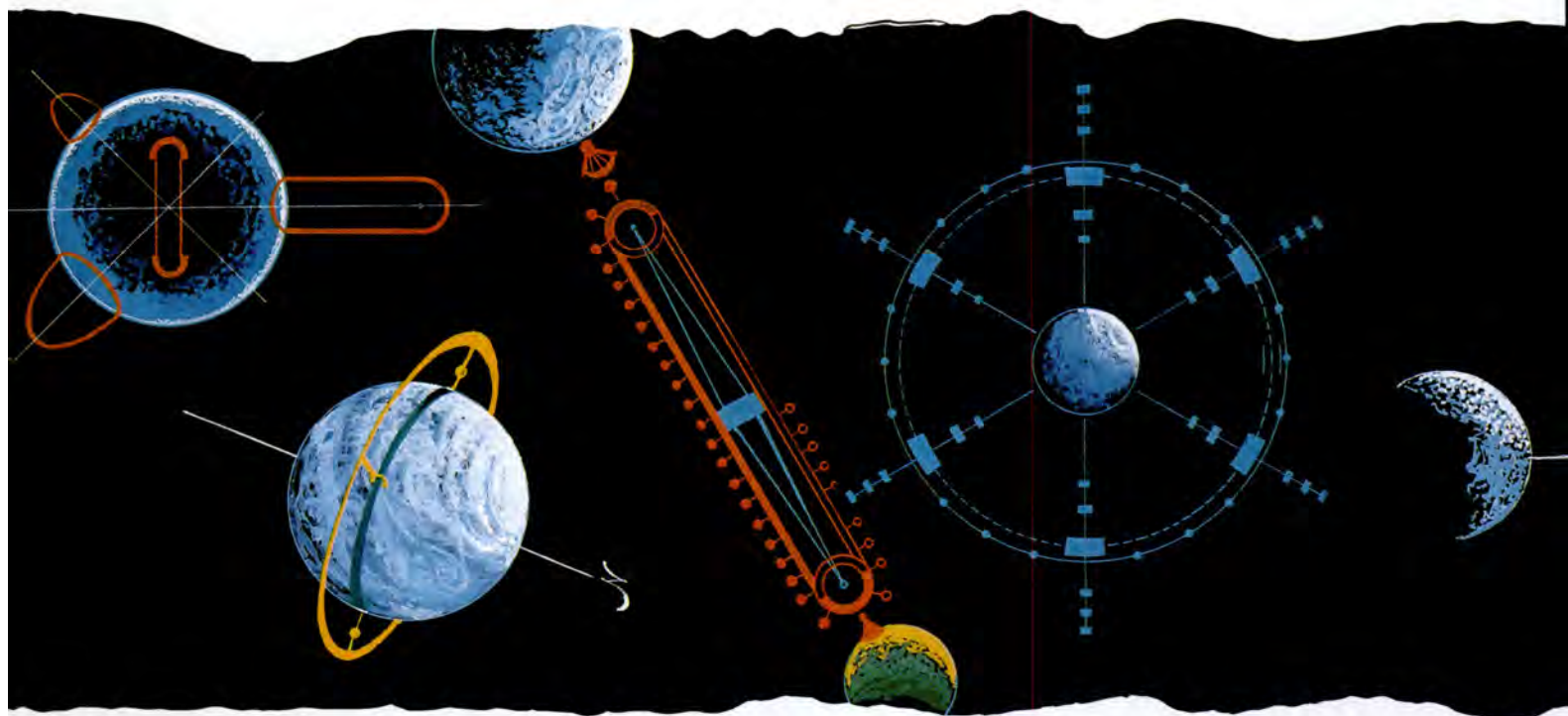
Konstantin Tsiolkovsky

Small transportation space bridge



Space sling

Power space bridge



Bridge in space," "sky lift," "ascent up the space ladder"—we often hear such metaphors in discussions of modern space exploration. Moreover, they have now actually become newspaper clichés. To all appearances, the science and technology of the not so distant future will be able to realize these poetic images.

By the 1930s the general public was already aware of theoretical astronautics and of the work of Konstantin Tsiolkovsky (1857-1935), the founder of this field. Experts all over the world insisted that the only device capable of overpowering the Earth's gravitational field was the liquid-fuel rocket that Tsiolkovsky proposed. Yet Tsiolkovsky himself questioned this opinion. "Many people think that I'm hustling and bustling about the rocket for its own sake. This is a big mistake. The rocket, for me, is just a method of penetrating deep into space, but it is certainly not an end in itself. If any other method of travel in space develops, I will accept it just as readily. The objective is to resettle from Earth and colonize space."

Because Tsiolkovsky was more aware of the rocket's limitations than were its advocates and opponents, he continued the search throughout his life for new, more effective methods of space travel.

Tsiolkovsky became fascinated with the idea of exploring the universe in his early youth when he invented a space machine powered by centrifugal force. In notebooks dating back to 1879, he left drawings of planets with rings, swings, and bridges around them, together with calculations of the speeds that would be necessary to overcome the gravity of various celestial bodies.

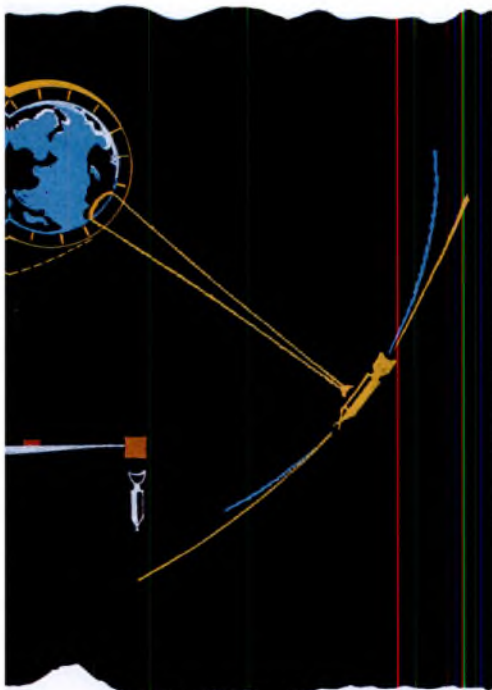
In his famous book *Dreams of Earth and Sky*, which was published in 1895, Tsiolkovsky evaluated the possibilities of space transportation and proposed the idea of an artificial Earth satellite. He spoke in this book of an equatorial springboard, reaching beyond the Earth's atmosphere to an altitude of more than 300 kilometers. A train would run up this springboard at a speed of about 8.5 kilometers per second—a speed at which gravity would be neutralized by centrifugal force.

Tsiolkovsky proposed in this book an extremely high tower built at the Equator. As you ascend the tower, the directional force of gravity remains the same, but the intensity of its power gradually diminishes. At an altitude of about 36,000 kilometers, the force of gravity disappears altogether, but then it reappears, pulling in the opposite direction. Tsiolkovsky calculated the height of such towers for other planets too.

Always on the lookout for new ideas, Tsiolkovsky continued thinking about practical methods of space travel. He developed the systems that have evolved into the multistage booster rocket (Vostok, Saturn, and Energia) and the reusable winged transport orbiters (Columbia and Buran). Tsiolkovsky predicted that the entire solar system would be converted into an integral space structure with lots of settlements lying near the asteroid belt and using the entire energy of the Sun.

Not until half a century later was this idea revived, by the American physicist Freeman Dyson, who was studying the question of extraterrestrial civilizations. When Dyson published his ideas, he unleashed a torrent of criticism from people who insisted that his proposal was impossible. But a Soviet physicist, Georgi Pokrovsky, developed a design that could make the "Dyson sphere" work. Tsiolkovsky himself had foreseen such a possibility in a paper entitled "Life in Interstellar Space," which was published in 1920. Pokrovsky used an approach that was very similar to that of Tsiolkovsky, and he also worked on the idea of using towers and other such structures for launching space vehicles from asteroids.

Pokrovsky designed the first real engineering project for a space struc-



Space projects, left to right:
Space bridges, by Alexander Maiboroda (1984);
omniplanetary wheel, by Anatoli Lunitsky (1982);
space conveyor, by Yuri Avdeyev and Victor Klimov (1978);
space necklace, by Georgi Polyakov (1977);
space lift, by Yuri Artsutanov (1960); and a
36,000-kilometer tower, by Konstantin Tsiolkovsky (1895).

ture on Earth—a pneumatic airship tower 160 kilometers tall. Its principal function would be to install astronomical and astrophysical instruments beyond the atmosphere. Pokrovsky wrote: “If the tower is filled with helium, it could hoist to a high altitude an aerostat filled with hydrogen. This system could replace various types of lifts.”

Pokrovsky’s project received no favorable notice at the time of its publication. The idea was so unusual that specialists must simply have taken it for a wild fantasy. But only a year later a newspaper article with the headline “Going to Space in a Locomotive” described a project for an even larger tower with an electrically driven rope tow, which was the work of Yuri Artsutanov. Artsutanov’s project got considerably more attention than Pokrovsky’s and became labeled with the name of Pokrovsky’s design, “space lift.” Details of the space lift were soon published in several scientific journals. About six years later four American engineers published a very similar design, which they called a space hook, in the magazine *Science*. They gave no credit to Artsutanov, and a wave of protest on his behalf helped to publicize the idea for the space lift. Another boost to Artsutanov’s idea came from the novel *The Fountains of Paradise*, by Arthur

Clarke, which featured the space lift.

Artsutanov took Tsiolkovsky’s idea from the realm of intellectual exercise to that of serious project. He saw that the lift’s main function would be to organize intensive cargo traffic between the Earth and space and that it would be a much more economical means of transportation than rockets.

Artsutanov worked out a mathematical theory of loads affecting the space lift, including gravitational, centrifugal, and other forces. His project called for a “rope” with a payload of 2,000 tons to be hoisted by rockets into a stationary orbit, from which point it would be uncoiled in both directions by rocket engines attached at its ends until it could be secured at the Earth’s Equator. The maximum traffic capacity of such a rope tow would be 12 tons a day.

The idea of a space lift intrigued many scientists. One of them, Georgi Polyakov, worked out a system of such structures linked in a kind of space necklace around the Earth, like the idea of an “orbital belt” developed by Academician Sergei Korolyov.

Last year, at a symposium on the prospects for a mission to Mars, Polyakov presented an original project for building a space lift on Phobos that could assist in the implementation of a large-scale Martian expedition. Other original proposals came from Yuri

Avdeyev and Victor Klimov, who suggested a self-propelled space conveyor between the Earth and the Moon that would be capable of lifting loads from the Moon into space.

Unfortunately, a great gap exists between all these projects and our actual capabilities, even though the demand for large, cheap, and ecologically clean cargo flows from Earth to space and back is intensifying.

Anatoli Lunitsky, an engineer from Gomel, Byelorussia, suggested a new principle of space travel, “the omniplanetary transportation facility,” using centrifugal force. The basis of the system is a toroid resting on the Equator and supported by high trestles spaced at equal intervals around the globe. The toroid measures 40,000 kilometers in length and 8 to 10 meters in diameter. Inside, along the whole length of this conduit, powerful electromagnetic belts are laid. When the power is switched on, these belts begin to accelerate like a magnetic levitation train. When the belts develop a speed of eight kilometers per second, their weight is balanced by centrifugal force. As a result, an “omniplanetary wheel” lifts off from the trestle and starts rising at a comparatively low speed.

Lunitsky’s system is much smaller than the space lift, so the structure is expected to experience much smaller loads than the rope tow. This will help to confine the size of the structure and will allow the use of materials already in production, such as modern structural alloys and polymers.

Nevertheless, the development and implementation of Lunitsky’s project present many engineering problems. Proponents of the idea say that these obstacles are no more insuperable than those that seemed to be in the way of developing rockets in Tsiolkovsky’s day. But the principal obstacle is the staggering scope of the project and the degree to which its implementation must be based on global cooperation.

Alexander Maiboroda, a young scientist from Rostov-on-Don, inspired by Lunitsky’s omniplanetary wheel, proposed a dynamic structure that is a thin-walled ring accelerated by linear electric motors. Maiboroda planned a ring 2,000 kilometers in length and 600 kilometers in diameter. To maintain

Continued on page 61

IN FOCUS

Emotions, Traditions, and Ambitions

By Ilja Baranikas
Photographs by Marijonas Baranauskas
and Audrius Ulozevičius

The Lithuanian flag flies over
Gediminas Tower in Vilnius.



Thousands of Lithuanians
gathered in the streets of
Vilnius last October
during the constituent
assembly of Sajudis, the
Lithuanian movement for
perestroika.



Elena Kubilienė addressed the assembly on behalf of Lithuanian mothers. Below: The hall that accommodated the delegates to the Sajudis congress.

Soviet people are paying more and more attention to developments in the union republics. *Perestroika* revived our sense of national self-awareness, making us review the existing system of relations between the central government and local governments, between the interests of the country as a whole and the interests of the constituent republics.

When I attended the constituent congress of the Lithuanian movement for *perestroika* last October, I was amazed at the excitement and vigor of the audience. Such an atmosphere is characteristic throughout the Soviet Union nowadays. This is a logical result of the stifling of people's initiative and energy that occurred during the period of stagnation. New, grassroots democracy is emerging in a vortex of passions. Any views, demands, and proposals may now be expressed. In some areas this has generated a kind of triumphal enthusiasm for one's own ideas combined with utter intolerance of the ideas of others.

Sajudis

In Lithuania the brooks of people's activity merged into the powerful river of the Lithuanian movement for *perestroika*, which the Lithuanians call simply Sajudis (Movement). In June 1988 a representative group met and elected the Sajudis initiative group and adopted the movement's slogan: "*Glasnost*, Democracy, and Sovereignty!"

The group included economist Kazmiera Prunskienė, who is known for her ideas on regional profit and cost accounting; writer Vytautas Petkevičius; philosopher Bronius Genzelis; music professor Vytautas Lansbergis; writer Algimantas Čekuolis; and others.

The new movement rapidly gained strength. A rally held at Vingis Park in Vilnius on July 9 drew an audience of 100,000 people to meet with the delegates to the Nineteenth All-Union Conference of the Communist Party ►





Delegates to the congress spoke out in favor of *perestroika*, *glasnost*, and democracy.
 Right: Algirdas Brazauskas, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. Far right: Lithuanian architect Virgilijus Žemkalnis-Lansbergis.





of the Soviet Union who had just returned from Moscow. Algirdas Brazauskas, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania (later elected First Secretary of the Central Committee), informed the audience that the leaders of the republic had agreed with a proposal to legalize the old national flag and the national symbols. Yellow, green, and red flags have been raised in Vilnius and in other cities.

By the time its constituent congress convened, Sajudis had 180,000 active members and 1,000 support groups all across Lithuania, and it was supported

by a majority in the republic.

"Sajudis is not a party, not an organization, and not opposition," Čekuolis told journalists at a press conference held on the eve of the constituent congress.

"As its program says, Sajudis is a civic movement that is based on public initiative. It supports and deepens the reorganization of Soviet society on the principles of democracy and humanity begun by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The movement emerged on the initiative of citizens, and it expresses the moral and national revival of society."

According to the statute adopted by the congress, any supporter of *perestroika* and of the Sajudis program goals may participate in the movement. Many Communists are members of Sajudis; in fact, 17 of the movement's 35 founding members are party members.

The representatives of the intelligentsia in the initiative group display political sobriety, which is reflected in the program and statute of the movement. But some Sajudis activists also expressed many assessments and demands of a nationalistic, extremist character at the congress. ►

Traditions

Many pressing problems have accumulated in Lithuanian society. Most of them are characteristic of Soviet society as a whole, but some are specifically local issues. The representatives of the town of Alytus, for example, called for help at the congress: An oil refinery is polluting the town's wells.

Emotions ran high during discussions of the Soviet-German pact of 1939, the deportations of citizens from the Baltic area in the postwar period, and other similar issues.

National sentiments are sharp in Lithuania because for many centuries its statehood was assimilated first into the Polish-Lithuanian union and then into the Russian Empire. Under Stalin the Lithuanian people—together with Germans, Chechen, Crimean Tatars, Koreans, Estonians, and many other nationalities—suffered from the extremes of the nationalities policy of the "leader of the peoples."

Any historic injustice leaves deep psychological scars. True, some things have been remedied. For instance, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic has adopted a decree that recognizes as unlawful the deportation of citizens from Lithuanian territory in 1941-1952 and that rehabilitates the people who were deported.

National interests are often clearly visible in the Lithuanians' assessment of the adverse effects of the command system of administration. An example is the policy of extensive development of the economy—when the central government departments decided to build large enterprises in Lithuania, despite the fact that the necessary raw materials and labor were unavailable locally. Both the raw materials and the work force were brought to Lithuania from outside. Many Lithuanians considered this a policy of "Russification."

Solutions

At its November 1988 session the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR adopted a law making Lithuanian an official language. The languages of the

indigenous population in the Transcaucasian republics have long held official status. The act meets the legitimate national demands of the Lithuanians, who want an opportunity to use their native tongue in any situation, even in the militia where, in effect, the Russian language alone is used. Sajudis wants people living in

alities living in Lithuania will have the right to develop their own national culture and language.

Sajudis' demands concerning freedom of religious belief are also reasonable. We know that in the past there were many cases of violation of the rights of believers—churches were taken from them, and the state inter-



Priests at the Vilnius Cathedral celebrated the government's decision to return the cathedral to believers. Top: Delegates to the Sajudis assembly elected their leaders by secret ballot.

Lithuania to respect the language and traditions of the indigenous population and to know them. This is quite logical, especially since the Sajudis program ensures that other nation-

ferred in the appointment of clergy. All the Catholics attending the congress were gratified by the news that the Vilnius Cathedral, which had housed an art gallery for many years, was returned to the Church.

Moscow favors discussion of the question of broadening the powers of union republics. Each republic must be the master of its own land rather than the servant, with no rights, of more



Algis Klimaitis, general secretary of the Baltic Intergroup, addresses the assembly.



Delegate Bronius Genzelis, professor of philosophy, takes the microphone.



Academician Algirdas Buračas, an economist, speaks to the assembled delegates.

than 100 masters—the ministries and departments of the central government. The concept of regional profit and cost accounting is closely linked with this issue. This year not only the Baltic republics but also the Tatar Autonomous Republic, Byelorussia, and other areas will change to regional profit and cost accounting.

I believe that the demand to introduce Lithuanian citizenship is unrealistic. While the whole Soviet Union is talking about abolition of internal passports and registration of permanent residence as vestiges of the Stalin era, in the Baltic area they want to tighten restrictions on the movement of citizens. Meanwhile, the process of integration is under way all over the

world. The members of the European Economic Community have long been living with EEC passports, and they need them only for travel outside the community.

The membership of Sajudis is not exclusively Lithuanian. Russian and Polish support groups have already appeared, but the Lithuanians dominate Sajudis—this is natural because they constitute 80 per cent of the republic's population. The attitude of many non-Lithuanians living in the republic toward Sajudis is apprehensive and sometimes even hostile. The national demands about the language, culture, and sovereignty, the mass demonstrations with national flags and costumes, and the singing of na-

tional songs—all these manifestations frighten them. Sometimes they erroneously identify Sajudis with such extremist groups as the League for Freedom of Lithuania, whose members flaunted an absurd slogan, "We support withdrawal of Russia from the USSR!" during the congress.

There is a certain social warp in Sajudis—its membership includes few workers and is dominated by the intelligentsia. Its leaders explain this fact by a low level of political consciousness and activity of the working class. But this assertion accords only with the realities of yesterday.

"The aspirations of Sajudis meet the major interests of all inhabitants of Lithuania..." said Brazauskas in his address to the congress. "The revival of Lithuanian national self-awareness does not give people of other nationalities any cause for anxiety..."

Alas, not all non-Lithuanians living in the republic understand this. The most important thing now is for people to learn to be tolerant and respectful toward others, to accustom themselves to pluralism of opinion and to different views, nationalities, languages, and customs. This is also an element of *perestroika*. ■

Editor's note: The material for this article was prepared in December. Since that time several new tendencies and aspects have appeared in Sajudis; these are not reflected in the text.



Foreign journalists followed the proceedings with great interest.

GLASNOST

Soviet Criminal Code Revision

The Soviet Union is discussing a new criminal code. When citizens have finished suggesting proposals and amendments, a draft of the document will be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet for ratification. Alexander Yakovlev, a professor at the Institute of State and Law, explains that reform was needed because criminal law has developed unevenly since the previous codification 30 years ago. Punishment has become more severe, while experience has shown that repressive measures do not reduce crime. At the same time, the universal humanitarian values that have come to the fore call for



criminal law reform. The main idea behind the reform is that the effect and preventive impact of punishment will be ensured through inevitability and fairness, not greater severity. Terms of punishment are to be reduced for almost all crimes, and alternatives to jail terms, such as fines, suspended sentences, and corrective labor, will be available. Capital punishment will be limited to certain extreme cases.

Gulag Archipelago: Glasnost Sets In

"We still have a lot of unnecessary restrictions on the rights and interests of convicts that do not always help to rehabilitate them," says Lieutenant General Ivan Katargin, head of the Main Correctional Department of the Ministry of the Interior. "The current legislation places restrictions on correspondence for convicts. Disciplinary penalties may include deprivation of the right to a rendezvous with relatives, a ban on watching movies, and so forth. The new law is very strict with respect to dangerous criminals and recidivists but provides for more humane conditions for the major-

ity of convicts. Correctional labor institutions used to be closed to the public, but that policy is now history.

"An important priority for our department is juvenile delinquency. The Ministry of the Interior is planning to give teenage offenders the right to long visits with their parents, to short-term visits home, and to participation in various sports events outside the camp. In other words, we are applying the principles of the educator Anton Makarenko, whose watchwords were collectivism, self-management, and trust."

From the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*

WHAT WE THINK ABOUT LINES



Lines are a national disgrace." This was the conclusion of most of the 7,283 people polled by the weekly magazine *Sobesednik* (*Interlocutor*) and the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. People were asked: "Has the problem of lines changed in the past three years?" and "How would you suggest eliminating the lines?" Their responses are tallied in Tables 1 and 2.

"It's Outrageous!"



This was Mikhail Gorbachev's description of the snowballing quantity of paperwork in our lives. The average Soviet citizen has to apply for 5.5 documents a year. But at least 40 of the most widely used permits could be eliminated. Every year people waste 1.7 billion hours getting the papers they need. Bureaucrats spend 27.8 million hours a year issuing those documents.

"If we tried to count the cost of red tape, we'd end up with some astronomical figure," wrote economist Vladimir Klein. "The combined efforts of issuing and receiving the necessary papers cost 5.25 billion rubles a year. According to the roughest estimates, that amount would suffice to build more than a million new apartments a year."

From the newspaper
Moskovsky komsomolets



Table 1
"Has the problem of lines changed in the past three years?"

Area	Longer	Same	Shorter	Undecided
Trade	56.4	39.1	2.8	1.7
Services	23.0	44.5	5.9	26.6
Rail and air transport	47.7	36.6	6.0	9.7
Municipal transport	20.7	56.1	15.3	7.9
Entertainment	25.9	44.5	16.5	13.1
Restaurants	26.1	50.1	8.5	15.3

Table 2
"How would you suggest eliminating the lines?"

Solution	Yes	No	Undecided
Price rise on scarce commodities	4.4	83.7	11.9
Sale of goods at workplaces	35.9	45.8	18.3
Increase in imports	78.7	10.9	10.4
Promotion of co-ops	39.4	37.9	22.7
Material incentives for workers in trade and services	65.2	17.7	17.1



- 1—ESTONIAN SSR
- 2—LATVIAN SSR
- 3—LITHUANIAN SSR
- 4—BYELORUSSIAN SSR
- 5—MOLDAVIAN SSR
- 6—GEORGIAN SSR
- 7—ARMENIAN SSR
- 8—AZERBAIJAN SSR
- 9—TAJIK SSR

Multinational Problems: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow



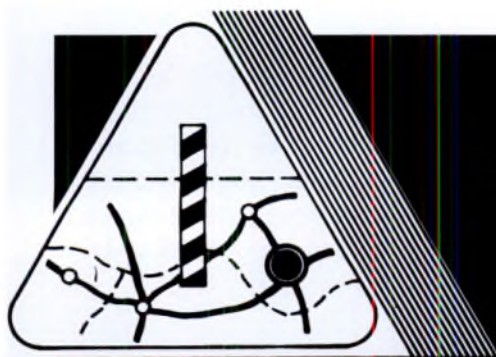
The first Soviet Constitution (1918) proclaimed "the emancipation of large and small nationalities."



Celebrations in Tashkent, 1924. From the archives of the Aibek Museum of History, Uzbekistan.



Revolutionary Riga, 1919. From the Moscow Museum of the Revolution.



Administrative and Territorial Composition of the USSR

(January 1, 1987)

Union Republic	Autonomous Republics	Autonomous Regions	Autonomous Areas
Russian Federation	16	5	10
Uzbekistan	1	-	-
Georgia	2	1	-
Azerbaijan	1	1	-
Tajikistan	-	1	-
USSR (total)	20	8	10

Ethnic developments in some areas of the Soviet Union—in the Baltic republics, in Yakutia, in Alma-Ata, and in Nagorno Karabakh, for instance—are creating problems that the country as a whole must strive to resolve. We thought that in general we had worked out our ethnic problems once and for all, and we were justifiably proud of this accomplishment. Unfortunately, it wasn't so.

"Have you ever witnessed manifestations of nationalism or other instances of improper attitude toward people of other nationalities?" Sociologists from the Higher Komsomol School of the Komsomol Central Committee addressed this question to thousands of Soviet people. The replies were: "Yes," 58.4 per cent; "No," 29.9 per cent; and "Ignored it," 11.7 per cent.

When asked about their attitude, 36.7 per cent answered: "I denounce any manifestation of nationalism and try to combat it." A total of 52.6 per cent were prepared to "justify" nationalistic behavior, and 10.7 per cent said they never censured manifestations of nationalism.

We are publishing in this issue an abridged transcript of a round-table conference sponsored by the Central Committee of the Young Communist



Traditional hair style in a Tajik village.

League (Komsomol) and the editorial board of the journal *Molodoi kommunist* (Young Communist), which has a circulation of more than 600,000. The magazine invited party and Komsomol functionaries, scientists, teachers, and cultural representatives from Moscow and from union and autonomous republics to participate in the conference.

We should not have assumed that absolutely all the problems were resolved.



Newlyweds in Byelorussia.

Zhan Golotvin, *Interethnic Relations Department, Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee*: For the most part, the nationalities problem the Soviet Union inherited has been successfully resolved. But we have had a one-sided understanding of our success, and this, in my opinion, has caused some theoretical and practical mistakes in the past few years. We should not have assumed that absolutely all the problems were resolved. But we scientists have nonetheless tried to prove in our numerous papers that we now have only "positive" tasks—namely, the development of a single national economic complex as a material basis for the cooperation of nations and nationalities living in the USSR, the search for optimal ways of satisfying the interests of every nation and nationality, and so on. We tried not to notice the negative aspects.

Alexander Arinin, *department head, University of Bashkiria*: First I would like to say a few words about contra-►



Mixed Families (per 1,000 families)

Republic	1970	1979	Republic	1970	1979
Russia	107	120	Tajikistan	132	130
Lithuania	96	113	Kazakhstan	206	215
Ukraine	197	219	Armenia	37	40
Moldavia	179	210	Turkmenia	121	123
Byelorussia	166	201	Georgia	100	104
Latvia	21	242	Estonia	136	158
Uzbekistan	109	105	Azerbaijan	78	76
Kirghizia	14	155			

dictions, which were caused by a number of factors, both objective and subjective. The objective causes are those that came from the past and could not be resolved earlier. Subjective factors are the mistakes and miscalculations in the nationalities policy.

I'll begin with the objective causes. Marx and Engels said that "...relations between various nations depend on how much each of them has developed its productive forces, the division of labor, and internal communication." This means that the quantitative and qualitative level of the development of the working class of socialist nations is one of the main indicators of the maturity of ethnic relations. Let's analyze the situation from this point of view.

The over-all strength of the working class is 1.8 times as great as it was 25 years ago; in the Transcaucasian republics, 2.7 times; in Central Asia, 3 times; and in Moldavia, 3.7 times. This increase, however, resulted mostly from the conversion of collective farms to state farms—that is, through growth in the number of agricultural workers and not of the industrial proletariat, which is the most class-conscious force. Apart from that, the industrial working class grew in strength as a result of an influx of rural people.

The technical know-how and culture of the indigenous population continued at a rather low level, and native nationalities remained poorly represented in science and technology. This

Conditions that some people take for the interests of their own republic can and do predominate over the interests of the state in general.

means that perceptible distinctions between the republics remain in the quantitative and, to an even greater degree, in the qualitative composition of the working class of the indigenous nationalities. This condition, naturally, influences the cultural life of the nation since, as Marx pointed out, the ruling classes play the dominant role as generators of ideas.

Another objective factor I would like to mention is the transition of a considerable part of the country's population to socialism, by-passing the formation of capitalism. The nations of this country began their social-

As a result of an incorrect nationalities policy in the past, many Ukrainian intellectuals were erased from our history.



The Sioni Cathedral in Tbilisi, Georgia, was built in the sixth century.

ist transformations from different levels of development and in different conditions, including the level of public consciousness. Various negative trends emerged in some republics because of the tenacity of ethnic links and because of contradictions in relations among ethnic groups that arose during the period of stagnation.

Objective causes also arise from natural and geographic factors. For example, the Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics have an environmental advantage for growing fruit and vegetables on individual plots of land. This advantage, along with flaws in the economic mechanism, permitted the population of those republics to reap rather high profits, thus hampering the migration from regions with an

excess of rural labor force, reducing the social activity of rural dwellers, and helping to preserve vestiges of the past in everyday life. Eventually these conditions tended to encourage a revival of unfavorable conduct, which left its mark on the development of relations among ethnic groups.

Asker Normatov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Tajikistan: A theory must help us draw practical conclusions. However, theories often tempt us to analyze problems in an abstract way.

Ethnic relations have their peculiarities in various regions, in various spheres, among various sections of the population. Take Armenia, for example. Ninety per cent of the people who live there are Armenians, the indigenous people. In Tajikistan only

In multinational states any socioeconomic, cultural, and legal problems have direct implications for relations among nationalities.

about 60 per cent of the people are natives and in Kazakhstan, only 36 per cent. This is why ethnic relations in each of those republics have their own characteristic features. In scientific developments and, consequently, in practical activities, these factors were often ignored.

Stanislav Chernilevsky, film director, Dovzhenko Film Studio: We don't always remember that in multinational states any socioeconomic, cultural, and legal problems have direct implications for relations among nationalities. For example, we all feel very strongly about ecological problems. In the minds of some people, these problems can very well take on a nationalist tinge. Ukrainian cultural leaders devote a lot of attention to them, and with ample reason. In addition to Chernobyl, the Ukraine has nuclear power plants in Rovno, in Zaporozhye, in the southern Ukraine, and ▶

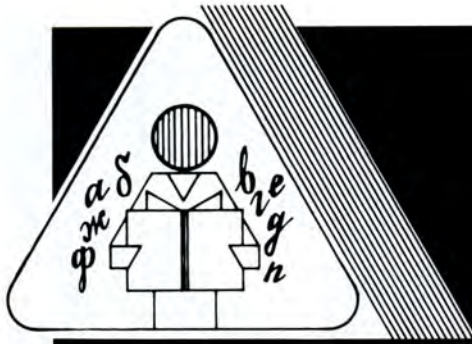


Academician Vladimir Mikhalevich is director of the Institute of Cybernetics, Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine.



Ethnic Population Patterns in Union Republics

Republic	Year of Census	Population (000,000)	Peoples (% of total)		
			Indigenous	Russian	Other
Russia	1970	130.1	82.8	82.8	17.2
	1979	137.6	82.6	82.6	17.4
Ukraine	1970	47.1	74.9	19.4	5.7
	1979	49.8	73.6	21.1	5.3
Byelorussia	1970	9.0	81.0	10.4	8.6
	1979	9.6	79.4	11.9	8.7
Lithuania	1970	3.1	80.1	8.6	11.3
	1979	3.4	80.0	8.9	11.1
Latvia	1970	2.4	56.8	29.8	13.4
	1979	2.5	53.7	32.8	13.5
Estonia	1970	1.4	68.2	24.7	7.1
	1979	1.5	64.7	27.9	7.4
Moldavia	1970	3.6	64.6	11.6	23.8
	1979	3.9	63.9	14.2	21.9
Georgia	1970	4.7	66.8	8.5	24.7
	1979	5.0	68.8	7.4	23.8
Armenia	1970	2.5	88.6	2.7	8.7
	1979	3.0	89.7	2.3	8.0
Azerbaijan	1970	5.1	73.8	10.0	16.2
	1979	6.0	78.1	7.9	14.0
Kazakhstan	1970	13.0	32.6	42.4	25.0
	1979	14.7	36.0	40.8	23.2
Uzbekistan	1970	11.8	65.5	12.5	22.0
	1979	15.4	68.7	10.8	20.5
Turkmenia	1970	2.2	65.6	14.5	19.9
	1979	2.8	68.4	12.6	19.0
Tajikistan	1970	2.9	56.2	11.9	31.9
	1979	3.8	58.8	10.4	30.8
Kirghizia	1970	2.9	43.8	29.2	27.0
	1979	3.5	47.9	25.9	26.2



Indigenous Population of Union Republics Speaking Fluent Russian

Nationality	(% of total)		
	1970	1979	+/-
Uzbek	14.5	49.3	+34.8
Tajik	15.4	29.6	+14.2
Turkmen	15.4	25.4	+10.0
Azerbaijan	16.6	29.5	+12.9
Kirghiz	19.9	29.4	+9.5
Georgian	21.3	26.7	+5.4
Estonian	29.0	24.2	-4.8
Armenian	30.1	38.6	+8.5
Lithuanian	35.9	52.1	+16.2
Moldavian	36.1	47.4	+11.3
Ukrainian	36.3	49.8	+13.5
Kazakh	41.8	52.3	+10.5
Latvian	45.2	56.7	+11.5
Byelorussian	49.0	57.0	+8.0

in Khmel'nitsky. Preparations are under way for the construction of another one, in Chigirin. Can this concentration of nuclear power plants be regarded as reasonable in a republic that has favorable conditions for agricultural development? Can this be a reason for saying that those who oppose ill-considered decisions are only upholding their "selfish local interests" to the detriment of the interests of the whole state? Such arguments are still rather common in discussions on those subjects.

Zori Apresyan, editor in chief of the journal *Molodoi kommunist*: Someone pointed out quite correctly that economic, ecological, and other factors can also influence ethnic relations, both positively and negatively. On the one hand, the simplest thing is to brand a person a "nationalist"; it is far more difficult to convince him that your stand is correct. On the other hand, conditions that some people



The youngest participant in the annual Tbilisoba folk festival in Tbilisi, Georgia.

The nations of this country began their socialist transformations from different levels of development and in different conditions, including the level of public consciousness.



Obstetrician Olga Onenka and newborn in Nanai District, Russian Federation.

take for the interests of their own republic can and do predominate over the interests of the state in general. I think that this is the reason for the occasional one-sided approach to the contribution of this or that republic to the common resources of the state. How well are young people informed of the real situation? For instance, what do the young people of Turkmenia think about their republic's labor productivity, which has not grown for 15 years?

Some people used to say that this or that Transcaucasian, Central Asian, or autonomous republic made too great a contribution to the over-all national

income. In such cases I ask: Do you, Comrades, remember what your republic started with? Do you remember what an important role Russia and the Russian working class played in helping remote, outlying regions and national republics to get on their feet, to gain in strength?

Golotvin: Unfortunately, exaggerating the contribution made by one's own republic to the over-all national income is a common fallacy. One of the reasons for this is the growth of national awareness, which is a positive process. It is a complex and dialectically contradictory phenomenon.



Language Study Preferences, Elementary School

(Data from sociological polls conducted in the late 1970s and early 1980s)

Nationality	Language			
	Native tongue	Russian	Native tongue in elementary school, Russian in secondary	No reply
URBAN				
Moldavian	53.4	22.5	12.4	11.7
Georgian	70.1	16.5	4.8	8.6
Estonian	69.5	3.2	10.1	17.2
Uzbek	53.7	28.6	2.4	15.3
RURAL				
Moldavian	71.5	11.2	8.1	9.2
Georgian	80.1	11.6	4.4	3.9
Estonian	71.4	2.9	12.0	13.7
Uzbek	64.7	20.0	2.7	12.6

Students must have the right to choose among Ukrainian, Russian, Kazakh, or whatever other schools are in the neighborhood.

we guarantee hard currency for the country, we are entitled to special conditions. But at the same time, no one talked about the fact that Yakutia gets 63 per cent of its meat products, 56 per cent of its dairy products, 50 per cent of its vegetables, and the greater part of its machinery and equipment from other republics.

Today we have a much clearer view of this subject, to which we must pay special attention. The clashes involved school students and young workers, but mostly first and second year students at Yakutsk University, who had come to Yakutsk not long before that and hardly had any experience in ethnic relations.

Apresyan: What is the ethnic background of the students?

Rodionov: The population of the republic comprises 52 per cent Russians, 34 per cent Yakuts, 6 per cent Ukrainians, and 8 per cent other nationalities. In the 1985-1986 academic year, Yakuts composed 79.5 per cent of those studying in the university's day department. The situation is changing: Last autumn 55.5 per cent of the students admitted were Yakuts and 36.2 per cent, Russians.

A New Year's ritual in the village of Volonka, Moldavia. Participants traditionally call at every house.



A*presyan*: Changes in the character of ethnic relations are largely connected with processes taking place in the social sphere. It is an open secret, however, that in some republics nationality can be a great benefit to a person trying to gain admission to a higher educational establishment, to get a promotion, or to be recommended for a managerial position. On the whole, the classification of the population by the character of employment very often took on a noticeable nationalistic coloring. For instance, in some republics representatives of the native nationality totally dominate the nonproductive sphere, but they constitute a much lower percentage of the industrial working class.

These and other disproportions sometimes create tension in relations between representatives of the native nationality and other nationalities. Today about every fifth resident of the USSR lives in a republic where he or she is not a member of the native ethnic group.

S*ergei Isayev, executive secretary, Youth Organizations Committee*: Our education, in the spirit of internationalism, is oriented mostly toward foreign countries. Take, for instance, all these international clubs, conferences of international teams, and meetings with foreign tourists. We are forgetting about our own country, and we are not alone in doing so. Soviet television, for example, has for many years organized the international TV festival "Rainbow," which acquaints us with the cultures of various nations throughout the world. A show like this is a useful undertaking. But we have no such programs about the nationalities of the USSR.

We have a special bureau for international youth tourism, which devotes a major part of its efforts to organizing trips abroad. But we pay a lot less attention to internal tourism. Many people in Moscow, for example, would like to take a trip to Central Asia, to the Transcaucasian republics, or to Siberia, but it is next to impossible to do so. The reason it is so difficult is that those regions have no tourist accommodations. So we have to develop those facilities!



World War II veteran Avel Yakimovich in Frunze, Kirghizia.

Exaggerating the contribution made by one's own republic to the over-all national income is a common fallacy.

R*odionov*: What is worrying us in Yakutia? We see that newcomers know nothing about the republic in which they are living. It's really a shame.

A*lexei Moiseyev, deputy secretary of the Komsomol Committee at the KamAZ Auto Plant*: Regrettably, not just outsiders but also locals working at our plant know very little about the history and culture of Tataria. We have no ethnic complications in the republic, but that condition is like a national nihilism. Some people seem reluctant to admit that they are Tatar.

C*hernilevsky*: As a result of an incorrect nationalities policy in the past, many Ukrainian intellectuals were erased from our history. Even now we know little about the real history of the

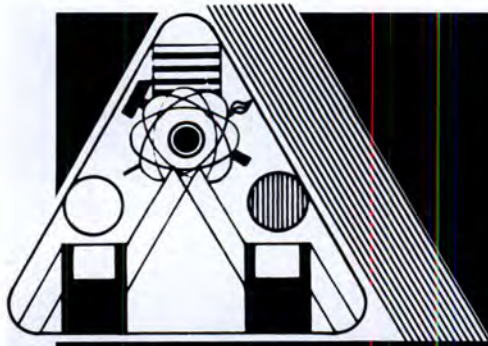
Ukraine. And the problems of the Ukrainian language? In the town of Novodnestrovsk, Chernovtsy Region, built during the construction of the hydroelectric plant, the authorities opened two schools for 1,500 students each, both of them Russian-language schools. In the republic at large, 16 per cent of the educational institutions are Ukrainian and 84 per cent are Russian, while 74 per cent of the total population is Ukrainian—of the 49 million people living in the Ukraine, according to the last census. Of the eight children's theaters in the Ukraine, the Ukrainian-language theater is in Lvov; Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, has only a Ukrainian-Russian children's theater.

Obligatory languages in schools in the Ukraine are German, English, and other foreign languages, while Ukrainian, the native language of the republic, is offered for optional study. A strange situation: The study of Shevchenko's works is obligatory in Ukrainian schools, but students who don't study Ukrainian don't study Shevchenko either. So it happens that Russians studying in Russia know Shevchenko, while some Ukrainians at school in their native republic do not.

A*presyan*: Students must have the right to choose among Ukrainian, Russian, Kazakh, or whatever other schools are in the neighborhood. But the problem is that we don't have the facilities for this.

A*ndrei Susokolov, Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences*: The problem of bilingualism has two sides. The mastering of Russian by native nationalities is undoubtedly a very important process, which should be continued. However, the nonnative population of union and autonomous republics often does not know the language of the native nationalities, which has a negative effect on ethnic communication. In my opinion, it is quite possible that the reduction of the number of bilingual Estonians in the republic of Estonia is a reaction to this situation.

There are some reasons for that, and availability is one of them. For an adult living in Uzbekistan, for ex-



Growth Rate of Industrial Output (1913=1)

	1940	1986		1940	1986
USSR	7.7	205	Lithuania	2.6	198
Russia	8.7	199	Moldavia	5.8	403
Ukraine	7.3	129	Latvia	0.9	51
Byelorussia	8.1	326	Kirghizia	9.9	480
Uzbekistan	4.7	103	Tajikistan	8.8	195
Kazakhstan	7.8	309	Armenia	8.7	550
Georgia	10.0	226	Turkmenia	6.7	94
Azerbaijan	5.9	98	Estonia	1.3	73

ample, it is easier to learn Urdu, Sanskrit, and even Chinese than to learn Uzbek. Much is being done in Estonia today to improve the knowledge of Estonian among non-Estonians living in the republic. Russian children learn Estonian in nursery school. Bilingual groups were created by way of an experiment at the Tallinn Pedagogical Institute, where instruction is in two languages. Most of the people who move to Estonia, however, actually have no way to learn Estonian, the language of the native nationality, even if they are eager to do so. This is a serious problem, which we should resolve promptly.

Victor Avotins, popular Latvian journalist: Our ethnic relations were reduced to bilateral contacts between Letts and "other" nationalities, without the slightest notion of who these "others" are. Who but a cosmopolitan stands to gain from this? I believe that Russians were the hardest hit in this ethnic problem because, aside from the inner problem of national awareness, they had to tolerate the fact that during Stalin's personality cult and the stagnation period many

"initiatives" were said to belong to Russians.

Bureaucrats vilified Russians and the Russian language when they passed silly decisions, and they vilified Letts and the Lettish language when those silly decisions yielded bitter fruit. But bureaucrats were concerned only for their own positions. Bureaucrats hardly knew the Russian language as Russian. Most probably they regarded it as the language of Moscow.

The views of the Russian-speaking population of the republic should be made known to Latvians through the press in order to assess carefully the psychological aspects of a dramatic revision of the history of the formation of the Soviet republic of Latvia. Perhaps it would be good for representatives of the Russian-speaking population in Latvia to get together and discuss their national and cultural problems and ways to resolve them. In my opinion, the positive experience and potential of the Church should be used for instilling in people universal, humane values. I would like the emancipation process to be a reasonable combination of national awareness and national criticism.

In some republics nationality can be a great benefit to a person trying to gain admission to a higher educational establishment, to get a promotion, or to be recommended for a managerial position.



Natalya Gellert, a German, and her son, Armand. She is a machine operator at the Amangeldy State Farm in Kazakhstan.

As an intellectual, I am especially concerned about national cultural development. The accomplishments of creative forces, theaters, choruses, and music groups are impressive. But those features are only the apex of the pyramid of culture, and if we take care of them alone, totally forgetting about the cultural aspect of economy and of any work, specifically, the culture of ecology, education, and so on, culture will become the property of a separate elite group that will "pass it on" to working people. This would mean that popular culture would be replaced by outwardly cultured behavior, while the people would be "freed" of the civic duty to create, to make any and all work a part of culture. ■

SOUTH URALS: Another Troy?

By Gennadi Zdanovich
Photographs by Sergei Arkanov

Soviet archeologists have just finished excavating a town in the Southern Urals that has proved to be a thousand years older than Troy. We don't know what it was called in ancient times, so scholars named it Arkaim, after the mountain at whose foot it lies.

The excavated site was apparently a temple complex with farmers settled all around, as indicated by traces of irrigation ditches similar to those found near Mayan cities.

Swastika patterns on pottery shards and the circular layout of the city suggest that the community professed a solar religion.

Window platbands in every Russian village feature the circle, a solar symbol that appeared slightly later than the swastika. The quadrangle, another widespread motif, stood for the earth. We use the four cardinal points of the compass to get our bearings, and we build quadrangular dwellings because the terrestrial symbol left its mark on our mentality.

The Arkaim excavations filled in many gaps in the history of the people who lived on the Ural and Kazakh steppelands thousands of years ago. We found many elaborate bone harness fragments, corrals for capturing wild horses, and chariots in burial mounds. ■



A bird's-eye view of Arkaim.

A stone statue from
Easter Island.



A stone statue from
the Southern Urals.



By Igor Smirnov

MOMENTS OF HISTORY PRESERVED FOREVER

By Jean Katzer

Photographs by Victor Khomenko



The Central State Archives of Documentary Films and Photographs of the USSR.

The "people's graphic memory"—this is a popular name for the Central State Archives of Documentary Films and Photographs of the USSR, which is in the town of Krasnogorsk, not far from Moscow. When the archives were founded, more than 60 years ago, they were a modest collection, but they have become the leading Soviet repository of photographs on various aspects of Russian, Soviet, and world history. They are as much a part of Soviet cultural development as libraries, picture galleries, and museums.

The archives' holdings comprise more than 600,000 negatives of documentary photographs, 150,000 canisters of film, and 1,500 photo albums. These documents help reconstruct the atmosphere and details of historical events, and they are often used in feature and documentary films, in research, and in books.

Valentin Runge, deputy director of the archives, talked about the collection. The photographic history of our country begins with pictures made as early as the dawn of photography. The first photographs in the collection were taken during the 11-month defense of Sevastopol in the Crimean War, between 1853 and 1856.

Other interesting early documents are photographs taken during the 1877-1878 Russo-Turkish War, as a result of which Bulgaria was liberated from the Ottoman Empire. The archives have some portraits of the participants in that war and some battlefield photographs. We also have documents relating to the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War. Some photographs show the uprising



Every year many researchers from other countries work in the film archives. One such scholar, Richard Raath (standing), compiled an American catalogue of Soviet documentary films about World War II.

aboard the battleship *Potemkin* in 1905, which in a way ushered in the first Russian revolution.

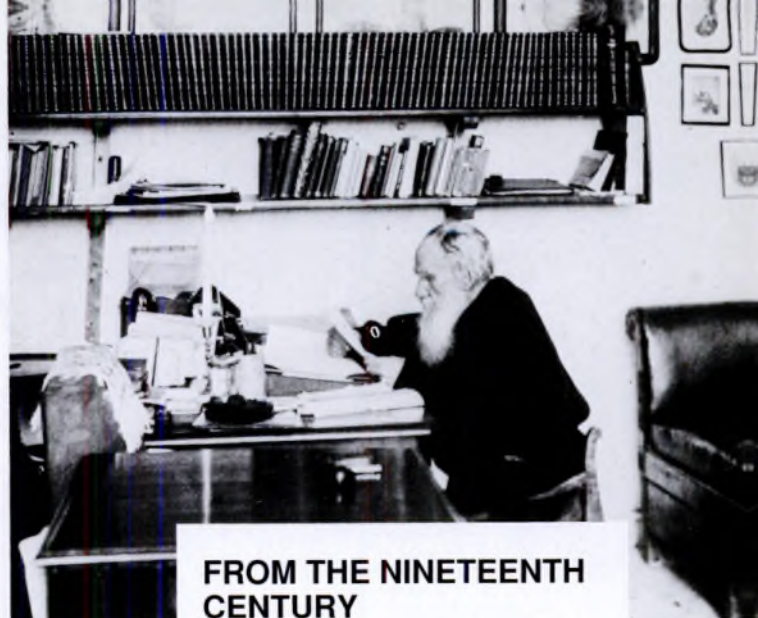
The archival photographs reflect the history not only of Russia but also of other countries. For instance, the collection *China in 1900-1901* contains pictures illustrating the ruthless suppression of the Boxer Rebellion by foreign invaders. Other early photographs show French colonial forces in Algeria in 1874, when France was acquiring colonies in Africa.

Some unique documentary films as old as the cinema itself are part of the collection. Among these is a newsreel showing the coronation of the last Russian Czar, Nicholas II, made at the end of ▶



Some photographs in the archives date back to the Crimean War 1853-1856 (left).

Leo Tolstoy is the subject of a unique collection of photographs in the archives. The writer at his desk at his family estate, Yasnaya Polyana, where he wrote most of his books.



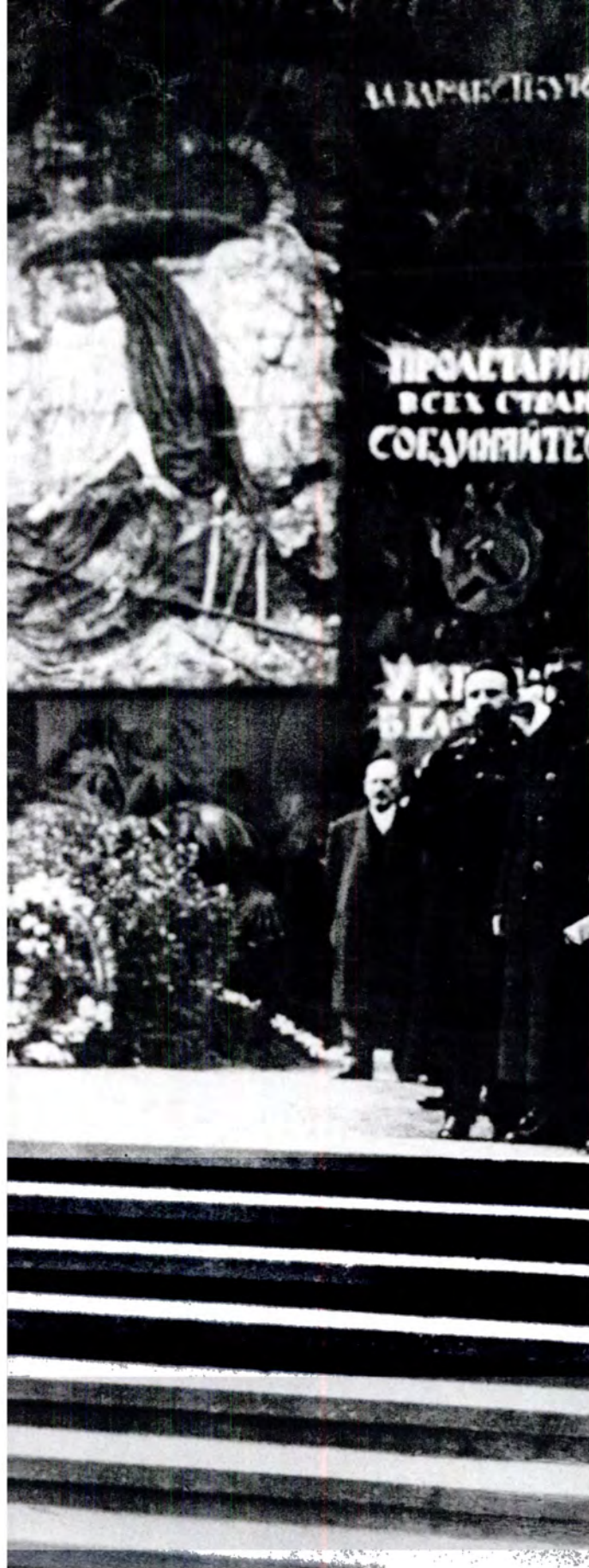
FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A still from a documentary about the coronation of Nicholas II, the last Russian Czar, in 1895. In this photograph, published here for the first time, Nicholas is in the right foreground.





A rare photograph of Lenin, taken during the May Day celebrations in Red Square in Moscow, 1919.



FROM THE 1930s

Below: Nikolai Bukharin (center left), a prominent Communist Party leader, with young mountain climbers on Mt. Elbrus, Northern Caucasus, in 1934. This photograph is published here for the first time. Bottom: Workers in training at the auto and truck factory under construction in Nizhny Novgorod (now Gorky) in 1931.





The light energy transforms itself in the crystal, acquiring "magic properties."

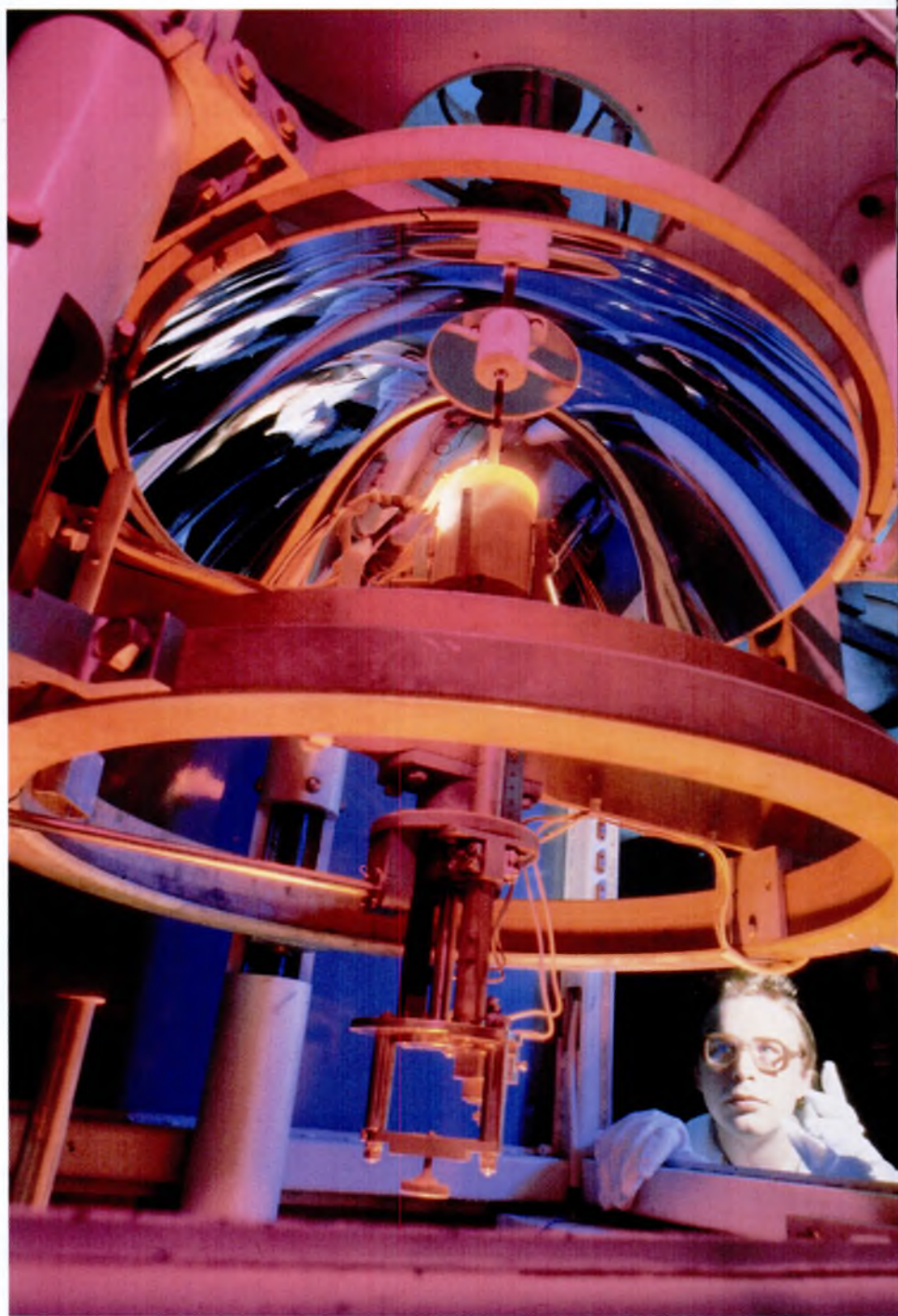
NEW FAMILY OF LASERS

A miraculous ray—the laser—has become the symbol of twentieth century technology. Lasers are indispensable in dozens of industries, in medicine, in science, and even in art.

The world's first ruby laser had a dark red ray. Then came different lasers, whose rays were produced in crystals of different composition, in semiconductors, in gases, and in liquids. The rays became blue, green, or invisible—infrared. All these different types of laser have one thing in common: The rays have the same wavelength, and they vibrate together, producing a very sharp and powerful beam of light.

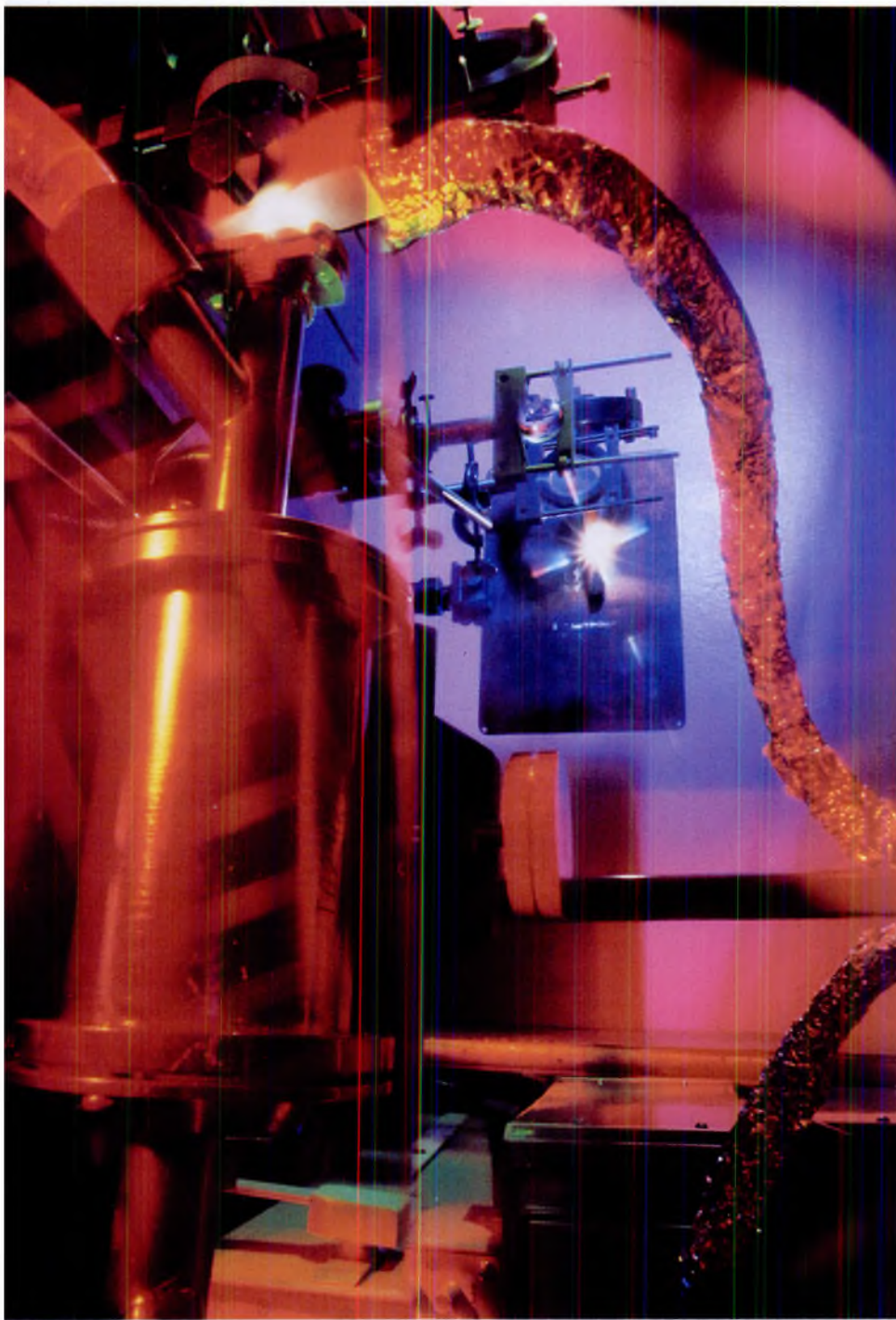
In a solid-state laser the ray is produced in this way: The working medium—a crystal—is illuminated with a special bright lamp. The light energy excites atoms in the crystal, raising them to a condition of very high energy. The energy is eventually released as laser light.

Energy transformation in the laser is highly inefficient, however. Com-



Professor Ivan Shcherbakov (top left), department head at the Institute of General Physics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, displays a solid-state laser crystal. The new family of lasers looks promising for medical applications. Because the laser beam is well absorbed by living tissue, it can be used as a bloodless scalpel.





pared to the laser, even the steam engine, which has always been considered the most uneconomical of machines, looks like a perfect device—it utilizes more than nine per cent of its fuel, while the laser crystal makes use of only one to two per cent of the energy expended.

Physicists have been trying to increase the efficiency and power of lasers for three decades.

"By the beginning of the 1980s, many had stopped believing that this was even possible," said Professor Ivan Shcherbakov, department head at the Institute of General Physics of the USSR Academy of Sciences. "But then along came a group of young scientists in the Soviet Union. One of the famous 'fathers' of the laser—Academician Alexander Prokhorov, winner of the Lenin Prize and the Nobel Prize—had faith in the newcomers from the beginning. Today the work of this group is known all over the world.

"In the view of Prokhorov, we have succeeded in developing a new generation of solid-state lasers," continued Shcherbakov. "We have evolved crystals with new compositions and a new quality—they transform up to 10 per cent of the energy into a laser ray, which makes them about three to five times more efficient than other known crystals.

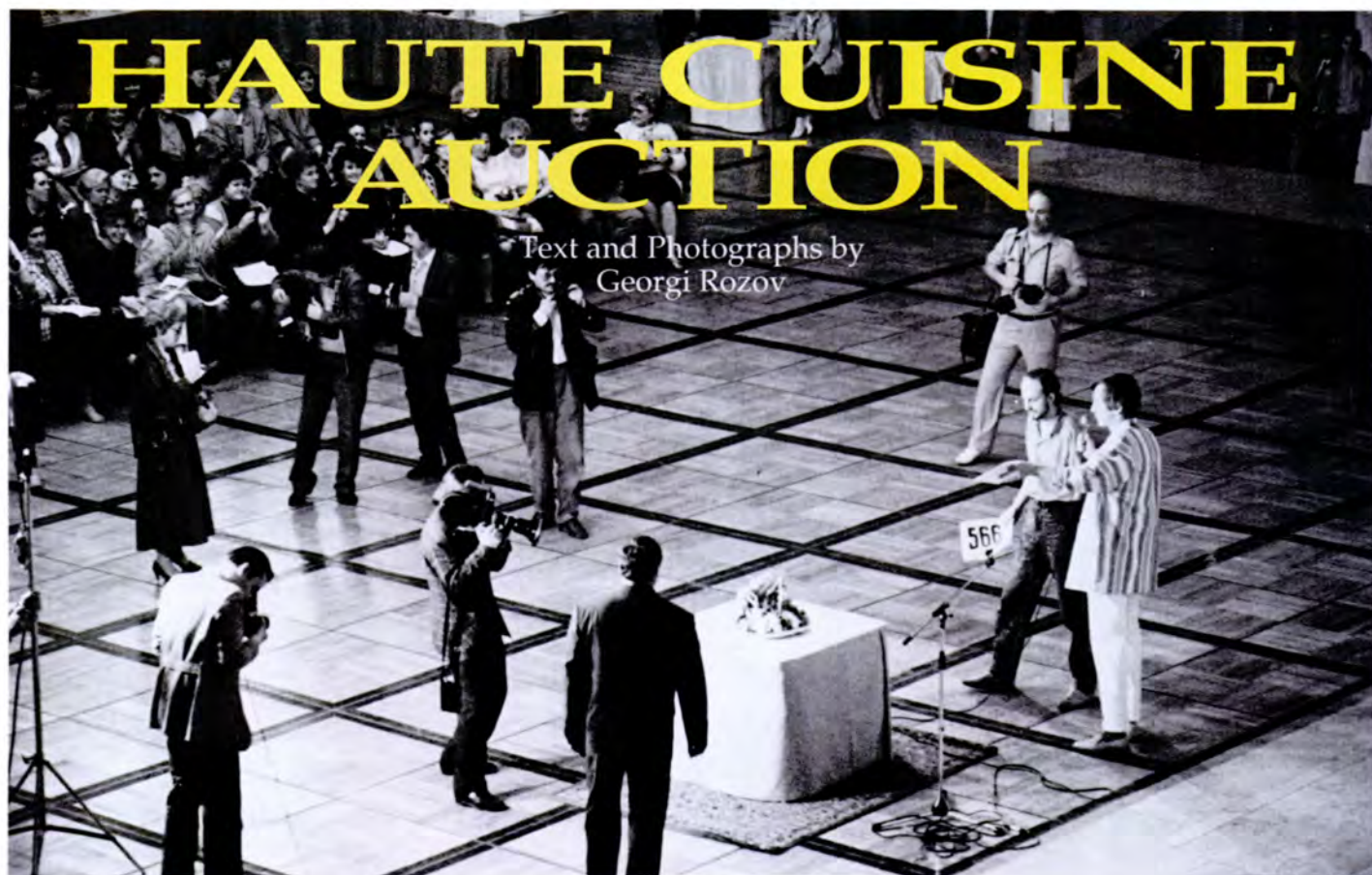
"Scientists, including American scientists, have given high marks to the results of our work, which we carried out in collaboration with scientists from Hamburg University, the Federal Republic of Germany. American scientists regret that they discontinued joint research in this field with their Soviet colleagues.

"One of the new-generation lasers is really indispensable in medicine because its ray is well absorbed by water and living tissues and so can serve as a highly accurate, sterile, and bloodless scalpel. Lasers belonging to this family but having different wavelengths hold promise in the most diverse technologies. The work goes on." ■

A new method of increasing laser efficiency has been developed in the Solid-State Laser Research Laboratory.



Text and Photographs by Victor Reznikov,
Soviet Union Magazine



Text and Photographs by
Georgi Rozov



The auction was the idea of Boris Stasyuk, manager of the restaurant board. Charity was not his only aim; he knew it was good advertising—the board is very short of young cooks. All the proceeds went to a children's home.

Auction used to be a word that had virtually no place in our life. Every once in a while the papers wrote about horse auctions at which foreigners laid out thousands of dollars for thoroughbreds. Sometimes we read about auctions arranged by large Western art dealers.

In the past few years, however, auctions have become routine in the Soviet Union. They are held at the Artists Union, at the Soviet Culture Foundation, and at the Children's Fund. When the Moscow Restaurant Board announced an auction, I thought that sounded interesting. The auction was a charity benefit, and all the proceeds went to a children's home—along with a cake weighing 15 kilograms.

One of the halls of the Youth Palace rented for the purpose had a display of countless "objects of culinary art"—I can find no other description for the exhibits. They included a 1.5-meter cake, a "Ryumin pie," and an assortment of pirozhki (small pies)



filled with mushroom, rice, and meat and contributed by the Leningradsky Restaurant.

Many Moscow restaurants took part in preparing the gourmet festival, so the auction had the atmosphere of a professional contest. The Aragvi Restaurant contributed a beautiful "Vege-



*Stuffed suckling pig
was one of the
auctioned items.*



Jellied tongue is a delicious specialty of Russian cuisine. Facing page: A whole stuffed sturgeon is another traditional dish. Inset: Hors d'oeuvres à la russe.





The auction's entertainments included a stage show and a fashion show (above) and, of course, the display of culinary art.



table Bouquet," which sold for 80 rubles for a wedding party. Visitors will also remember the meter-long jellied sturgeon on a huge oval dish.

The auction was the idea of Boris Stasyuk, manager of the restaurant board. Charity was not his only aim; he knew it was good advertising—the board is very short of young cooks. Unfortunately, young people believe there is no prestige in being a cook.

"We sold recipes for cakes, fish, and meat dishes for next to nothing," said Stasyuk. "The visitors were entertained by a stage show and a fashion show."

Stasyuk spoke with pleasure about the innovations he was able to introduce in the six months that he has been working at his new job.

"We have opened two restaurants that operate until six in the morning. The Marika Restaurant has a floor show starring popular performers. Ptitsa has an exhibition and sale of paintings, and guests hear old Russian love songs, sung to the accompaniment of an acoustic guitar. Sixteen other restaurants have been leased and are now independent.

"The earnings of the people working at the restaurants depend wholly on the workers themselves. All the other enterprises of the board will eventually start operating on a lease contract basis."

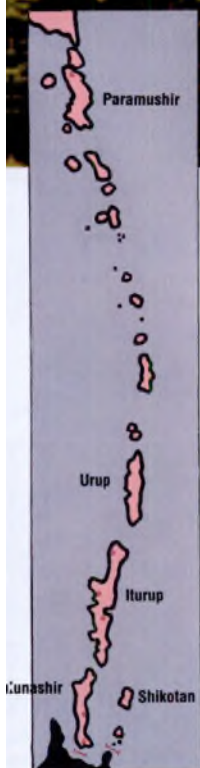
The auction, emceed by director Semyon Andrachnikov, had a holiday atmosphere. Andrachnikov handled the audience expertly, offering one culinary masterpiece after another for sale. He introduced songs and music at just the right moments.

Excitement mounted, and by the time the gavel went down the third time—"Going, going, gone!"—original prices were 10 or even 20 times higher than at the start. Two ducks stuffed with tongue, ham, and mushrooms—produced by the cooks at the popular restaurant Slavyansky Bazar—sent people into raptures. The bidding for them lasted a full 10 minutes. In the end the winner paid the fantastic price of 220 rubles.

The auction continued for five hours, and 5,000 rubles went into the children's home bank account. The youngsters at the children's home consumed the 15-kilogram cake that very evening. ■

ISLANDS IN THE STREAM

By Revokat Kozmin
Photographs by Vyacheslav Kiselyov



Shikotan, Kunashir, and the 54 other islands in the Kuril Archipelago occupy an area of 15,600 square kilometers. The chain is part of Sakhalin Region of the Russian Federation. Sakhalin is the only region in the Soviet Union that is entirely situated on islands, and this unusual geographic position makes its development interesting. The population of the Kuril Islands is mostly Russian, though other indigenous nationalities—Koreans, Orochi, Nanains, and Olcha—also live there. Above: “The end of the world”—Shikotan Island, one of the Kurils.

Far to the east of Moscow, in the easternmost part of the USSR, lie the Kuril Islands. Discovered by Russian pioneers more than two centuries ago, the Kurils most probably have changed little since then. Vapor clouds rise above the hot springs, as they have done for centuries, and the warm earth is covered with lush and luxurious vegetation.

Catching and processing fish and sea products are the main occupations of the islanders. The Far East is the chief seafood supplier for the USSR, and the Kuril Islands make a significant contribution. Until recently fish was the main food of the islanders; the other components of their diet were ►



Svetlana Zakomolkina is first secretary of the Kuril district party committee. Above: Apartments for fishers and their families on Shikotan.



dried or canned. Today homemakers on Shikotan, Kunashir, Urup, and Paramushir can buy fresh meat, milk, vegetables, and fruit in local stores.

Farming is one of the priorities on the islands, though it has many problems and entails many difficulties. Very little land is available for crop and fodder farming on the islands. Nevertheless, 16 state farms produce a large variety of agricultural products. For example, local production of potatoes fulfills the population's needs; a

ceiling will be imposed on the present level of egg production because supply already exceeds demand. Many fresh vegetables are grown in local greenhouses. Most of the meat continues to be brought from the mainland; local production accounted for only 29.6 kilograms per inhabitant last year. Per capita meat consumption on the islands is 75 to 80 kilograms a year.

The flora of the Kuril Islands is very unusual. In the summer on Kunashir, for example, a very rare *Fori rhodo-*

dendron with magnificent flowers grows among the cedars. Many other plants grow only on the Kurils. The local 500-year-old yews are natural relics.

To preserve this unique heritage, the Kuril Nature Preserve was set up five years ago. It comprises more than 65,000 hectares in the northern and southern parts of Kunashir, and also the Islands of Demina and Oskolki, of the Lesser Kuril Chain.

"Twenty animal species and almost 30 plant species found in the preserve are in the Red Data Book of the USSR," says Igor Lvov, director of the preserve. "So we believe our mission is to preserve the animal and plant world, to rehabilitate and study natural communities, and to make recommendations on the management of the Kurils' natural resources."

In addition to the nature preserve, a wildlife preserve, *Mal'ye Kurily*, has been established on the islands of Shikotan, Zeleny, Yury, and others, together with the adjoining reefs and rocks—altogether an area of 45,000 hectares. Rare, vanishing, and valuable birds and mammals are preserved and bred here.

"Among the birds, the Japanese cranes are most interesting," Lvov goes on. "Their population now numbers about a thousand, with almost 200 of them nesting on the Kuril Islands. This species is endangered and is extremely sensitive to any human activities. The establishment of the island preserve will help study and gradually restore the population of this rare and beautiful bird."

Today, thanks to the efforts of scientists and the support of local authorities, most people living on Kunashir and other islands willingly help the staff of the preserve. True, some people complain that hunting is now out of the question. But children and young people are pleased. They enjoy making excursions around the island and exploring its natural beauty. Nature protection on the Kurils has already borne fruit. Last year, for example, licences were issued for shooting sable, whose numbers have doubled in the past few years.

So what, geologically, are the islands and their numerous "wonders"—thermal waters, geysers, and volcanoes? Answers to these questions ►



Waves of the Pacific Ocean
crash against the rocks on
Kunashir Island.

Fishing season keeps the workers busy. Saura are a major part of the catch.





Large stock-breeding farms are located near a fishing village. The islands are self-sufficient in dairy products.

are currently being sought by a seismological expedition working on the Kuril Islands. These geologists came from the Institute of Marine Geology and Geophysics of the Far Eastern Science Center of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

"In their work geologists deal with tremendous time spans—ranging from tens to hundreds of millions of years," says expedition leader Timofei Zlobin. "In this sense they have unique opportunities in the Kuril chain, which can be compared to a 'time machine.' The Kurils, which are a very young geologic structure, are a reflection, as it were, of prehistoric geological structures. The expedition has managed to prove that the Kuril chain is of continental, rather than oceanic, origin."

Many marvels of the islands are the result of volcanoes, which heat up the subsurface strata. A remarkable "bath" is said to exist on Shikotan Island where two waterfalls, one cold, the other hot, plunge down from a height of five meters into a large stone bowl. On top of the rock is a kind of valve—a stone that can be shifted to regulate the temperature of the water.

Some of the Kuril Islands are almost unknown—Ushishir, for example. "Ushishir is a volcano crater," says geologist Leonid Panasyuk. "It is filled

with water, which rushed into it through its walls. To reach the lagoon, one must negotiate steep rocks that are covered with algae at the bottom. The crater walls rise gently from the water. Hot sulfur streams flow into the lagoon. Inside, it is calm and quiet, with no breeze, while outside the crater walls the wind howls and the ocean roars."

The ocean's fickle temper is monitored on the island of Iturup. We know that strong underwater earthquakes or volcanic eruptions generate gigantic waves—tidal waves—on the ocean surface. Such a wave moves at a speed of between 400 and 700 kilometers an hour. If these gigantic waves break against a low coast, they can roll far up the shore, sweeping away everything in their wake. In some cases these waves have leveled whole cities. To warn residents and captains of vessels off the coast, there are special stations on the Kurils, the largest of them on Iturup. Station staff members are on round-the-clock duty to protect the people on the Kurils and Kamchatka from being caught unaware by a tidal wave.

Sailing off the Kuril coasts is particularly impressive. Wild, high, overhung with rocks, and wrapped in fog—this is the view of the islands ►



Children stay in day-care centers while their parents are at work.

from the water. Shore rocks provide nesting sites for a host of guillemots, cormorants, and sea gulls. The islands are surrounded by a wide ribbon of algae. Fish and sea animals abound in the ocean. The "whale road" passes near the Kurils. In summer sperm whales travel northeast, where there is plenty of squid and plankton, their staple food.

Ebeko Volcano, 1,138 meters high, on Paramushir, is clearly visible from the water. One of its craters contains a lake with water that is warm, even hot in some places. Gases rising up from the interior heat the water and add minerals to its content. The water has a very acidic lemon taste.

To the west of Paramushir, Atlasova Volcano, at 2,330 meters the highest peak of the Kuril Archipelago, is clearly visible. Local legend says that once upon a time this volcano stood near Kuril Lake in the south of Kamchatka. Because Atlasova was taller than the other mountains, they always quarreled with it and envied its height. Atlasova had to move away and stand alone in the sea. But, to leave some memory, it left its heart in the lake. Since then the heart-shaped stone has been visible in the middle of Kuril Lake. The route Atlasova took to the ocean has become a bed for the Ozernaya River. When the mountain rose to move, the water rushed after it and made its way to the sea. ■





The Kurils have rich flora and fauna, and some of these are now protected in a nature preserve. It comprises more than 65,000 hectares in the northern and southern parts of Kunashir, and also the Islands of Demina and Oskolki, of the Lesser Kuril Chain. Twenty animal species and almost 30 plant species found in the preserve are in the Red Data Book of the USSR. Left: Party leaders meet with local workers to keep in touch with current problems.

Are Soviet Citizens Afraid of Their State?

By Alexander Ignatov
Novosti Political Commentator

If someone had asked me a few years ago, "Are Soviet citizens afraid of their state?" my answer would have been Yes rather than No, though that affirmative would have been different from the affirmative of 40 years ago.

Unfortunately, social fear dies hard. Although the policy of *perestroika* has undoubtedly emboldened people, the anticipation of repression seems to be one of the main obstacles to faster progress in this country. The era of Stalin terror ended in the mid-1950s, when all who survived labor camps were released, but the memories of that time are still fresh in people's minds. No wonder many people do not want to take risks or become involved, are unable to evaluate a situation critically or realistically, constantly wait for directions "from above," irrationally revere the authorities, and are suspicious of any independent-minded person or unorthodox action.

True, such attitudes are typical of the older generation, though age is not the main thing dividing the forces that support *perestroika* and those that resist it.

For all the differences or nuances, the general trend is the important thing, and there is no denying the fact that fear of the authorities is gradually receding. The alienation between ordinary people and the leadership, which must not be tolerated in a socialist society, is diminishing.

What makes me so sure?

It is true that public criticism of the authorities has reached unprecedented proportions. It is also true that people no longer take on trust everything their leaders say, but, as our colleagues abroad often say, democratization has not gone far enough to change the situation, in which the relationship between ordinary citizens and government agencies, especially the KGB, is like the relationship between a rabbit and a snake.

Two processes are currently under way in Soviet society: A more critical attitude toward the authorities is accompanied by increased political

activity on the part of the population. Several factors are contributing to these processes: the discussion of Soviet history and the reassessment of many historical events; the creation of many independent organizations; and the nomination of alternative candidates in the current campaign for election to the Congress of People's Deputies. According to the state electoral commission, five candidates, on the average, have been nominated for one seat in territorial constituencies. These processes have created new leaders. The efforts to make the Soviet Union a socialist state ruled by laws help to raise people's cultural level and moral standards and to foster their sense of justice.

Little by little the awe-inspiring initials KGB are losing their grip on people. The largest-selling Soviet weekly, *Argumenty i fakti*—circulation of 20 million—runs a column entitled "KGB Reports." The latest popular television program, "Look," interviewed Alexander Pimenov, a physicist and mathematician from Syktyvkar, the capital of the Komi Autonomous Republic. Pimenov was jailed in the seventies. In the interview the former "dissident" called for "normalization of the role of the KGB through separation of ideology from security." Incidentally, Pimenov has been nominated as a candidate for election to the new Soviet parliament, the Congress of People's Deputies.

Some time ago the Soviet people were surprised to learn that a group of people from Leningrad, Novgorod, and Vishny Volochek had gone on foot to Moscow to express their concerns to the Kremlin leaders. The march was organized by Sergei Polyakov, one of the leaders of a Leningrad youth theater. The march was a symbolic reminder of the well-known instances when peasants walked all the way to the Kremlin to see Lenin. This time the marchers were received by Mikhail Gorbachev's first deputy in the Supreme Soviet, Anatoli Lukyanov. This action, unprecedented for many years, showed that credibility in the leadership is growing, though we know that we still have a long way to go to achieve real democracy.



BELIEVE IT OR NOT

Svetlana Tim has a phenomenal memory and ability to perform mathematical operations. In her stage show she memorizes up to a hundred figures and the names and birth dates of many people in the audience. Tim also walks on needles and runs a lighted torch along her naked arm.

"How do you do it?" journalists asked her.

"I just tell myself it won't hurt," she answered.



JAZZ Tickets were sold out within 24 hours for a two-week run of *Sophisticated Ladies*, with music by Duke Ellington, the genius of jazz. The show, born on Broadway, was the first such Soviet-American coproduction. The orchestra included both American and Soviet jazz musicians. Costumes were created by the noted Soviet fashion designer Vyacheslav Zaitsev. After its debut in Moscow, the production went on a tour of Europe, Asia, and Latin America.



GLASS

Auctions are no longer news for Muscovites, but the auction organized by the Soviet Culture Foundation was unusual in many respects. The articles came from Moscow, Leningrad, Lvov, and Kalinin, and they were on exhibit in Moscow before the event. Decorative glass of different styles and schools was displayed side by side with glass utensils.





Hairdressing competitions are a big help for women in search of modern hairdos. One such competition was held recently in Moscow's giant Sports Palace in Luzhniki. The participants had just 35 minutes to create a festive hairdo. The next challenge was to turn it into an everyday hair style in only 10 minutes.



FASHIONS

Another competition, among student fashion houses, was held in Ivanovo, Central Russia. At first the industry was very apprehensive, but the ice of hostility was broken when the chief engineer of the Ivanovo Clothing Association, Anna Saratova, grudgingly admitted that student fashion houses better understand young people and their fashions are cheaper.



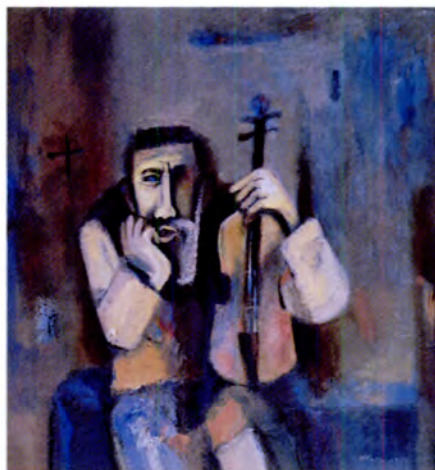
THE WORLD OF **IOSIF OSTROVSKY**

Odesa artist Iosif Ostrovsky has spent many years working on Jewish folklore motifs. "Sometimes I think I am deliberately limiting my audience. But then I tell myself that eternal themes are of general concern. The language of art, of feeling, knows no borders. The more deeply you penetrate the soul of your own nation, the more understandable your art becomes to other nations."

Ostrovsky has hundreds of paintings in his studio. They are small in size, but great in meaning. Light is the dominant element in his works.

The artist's studio always has many visitors, notable artists, writers, and painters among them. They are seeking communion with the host and his creations, which unite wisdom and simplicity.

ART



Paintings of Iosif Ostrovsky,
clockwise from top right: Meeting,
Artist with a Picture, Violinist,
Small Goat.



Teachers and students of the Experimental Children's Architectural Studio (ECAS). Principal Vladislav Kirpichev is at left in the center row.



Architects Under Fifteen

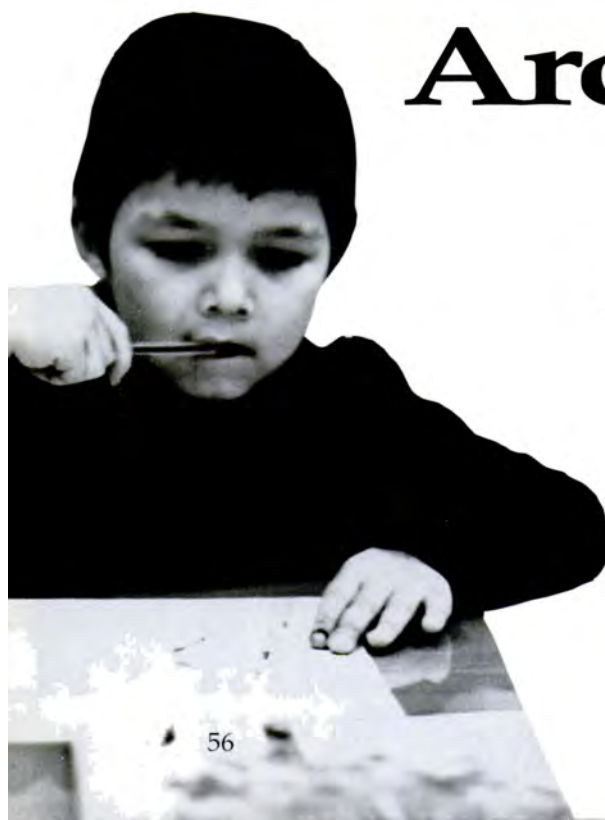
By Andrei Rodionov
Photographs by Igor Palmin

The Experimental Children's Architectural Studio (ECAS) in Moscow recently celebrated its tenth anniversary. The studio is an unusual artistic and educational institution, and its students produce high-quality work. In 1987-88 ECAS exhibited some

student projects in Washington, Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Diego, and other U.S. cities.

The children go to ECAS after they finish their classes for the day in ordinary schools. They were certainly very lucky when Vladislav Kirpichev, founder and manager of the studio, quit his job as an architect and devoted all his energies, ambition, and organizing abilities to the studio. Kirpichev has won numerous international competitions; he is an indefatigable generator of ideas and an imaginative stylist; he has a keen feeling for composition and "hands of gold"; and, last but not least, he is a visionary who simply loves children.

Kirpichev himself developed the teaching methods that have had such amazing results. The children's drawings show a complex developmental





A Tower, by Anton Minenkov, age 16.
Facing page, bottom: Olzhas Kuzembayev, age 6.

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Come along on these trips and enjoy a dazzling array of unforgettable experiences: grand evenings at the opera or the ballet; superb cuisine; great historical places; the exotic mosques and minarets of Central Asia; spectacular nature; palatial museums. Wherever you travel in the Soviet Union, you will find friendliness and warmth, hospitality and welcome.

Among the exclusive tour features are such treats as an excursion to Pushkin, a visit to **SOVIET LIFE** offices and to a Young Pioneer Palace, a gala dinner and, for those participating in the Tbilisi tour, a typical Georgian lunch at a traditional ethnic restaurant.

Since last year's tours were sold out very shortly after they were advertised, we recommend that you reserve early.

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Stairway to the STARS

Continued from page 13

the stability of such a ring with the help of centrifugal force, the speed of its rotation would have to be about 10 times lower than the escape velocity, and its mass would be around 100,000 tons. The strain on the structure of this space bridge would be substantially greater than that imposed by the wheel, which means that stronger materials would be needed for its construction, though not such expensive materials as the space lift would require. The principle of the space bridge is very promising. Realization of such an idea might open a new era in terrestrial engineering, an era of dynamic structures such as the artist Vladimir Tatlin visualized in the early 1900s.

Let's digress into history. After the famous flight to the Moon of Apollo 11, scientists recalled the work of Russian rocket-engineering pioneer Yuri Kondratyuk. In the 1920s Kondratyuk suggested a series of original solutions to problems of space exploration. He proposed a lunar expedition that in many respects anticipated the method used by the Americans in the 1960s. To get support for similar projects, Kondratyuk set up an inventors' cooperative, whose revenues were to be used exclusively to finance rocket engineering and space exploration. But Kondratyuk's timing was not propitious—Lenin's New Economic Policy was already being curtailed, and production cooperatives were being closed down, so Kondratyuk never got a permit to proceed with his project.

Kondratyuk's dream was finally realized 60 years later in the form of the Star World Cooperative organized in Gomel by Lunitsky. In addition, in April 1988 Gomel was the site of a scientific and technical conference, "Rocketless Industrialization of Space: Problems, Ideas, Projects." More than 30 reports were discussed at this symposium. Ideas adopted there are being implemented by teams headed by Lunitsky and Maiboroda as well as by many other research and design groups affiliated with the USSR Federation of Cosmonautics and the newly established National Youth Aerospace Society. ■

1988 ECONOMIC STATISTICS

Last year the USSR experienced social and economic changes for the better: Industry switched to self-financing, producer autonomy was enhanced, and improvements occurred in the domestic situation in general. Our economic growth fell below projections, however, because the economic reform had not yet gone into top gear and the financial situation remained complicated, said Nikolai Belov, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics. National income grew by 4.4 per cent, far more than the figures for the preceding years of the decade. Gross national product also grew by five per cent. These data confirm that the economy is picking up speed.

The economy is moving toward a situation in which management will have new leverage, such as lease arrangements and cooperative schemes. The inputs of utilities and natural resources per unit of output are now smaller. We are making better use of our assets. Last year the entire increment in national income came from productivity. The economy has turned toward social targets, giving priority to consumer goods. Last year wages increased, as did trade.

Belov responded to some questions on economic growth.

Q: What are the major issues?

A: The main problem is money chasing goods. Production of consumer goods is not increasing fast enough. The structural reform should be faster with regard to consumer goods.

Last year wages increased by seven per cent, outdistancing goods and services. This intensified shortages, although domestic trade increased by 25 billion rubles.

Q: The past year was not favorable for agriculture. Farm produce increased by only 0.7 per cent. Weather was bad. However, we

don't blame weather for our setbacks any longer. We can't change the climate, so we must be efficient in any weather. What's behind agriculture's poor record?

A: I agree; we should not blame all our misfortunes on the weather. But for a long time in the past, bad weather was responsible for dramatic decreases in farm produce. We are becoming less dependent on the whims of the elements. Agriculture and related industries should be more innovative with work and pay plans, such as leasing and cooperative schemes and incentives. Also, we are still short of facilities to process, store, and transport farm produce.

Q: Earnings increased by 3.5 per cent per person last year. Some consumer prices also went up. What about people on fixed incomes? Were they the losers?

A: Many groups, especially low-income groups, saw their earnings increase. Pensioners and others on fixed incomes also feel their situation is improving. The wages of many working pensioners have increased, and many people retain their pensions if they continue with gainful employment. Senior retirees have had their pensions increased. Those with fixed incomes are most vulnerable to price hikes. Their incomes should be more closely indexed to prices.

Q: What about foreign trade?

A: Exports increased in volume by 4 per cent, but decreased in value by 1.9 per cent, to 67 billion rubles. Imports increased in value by 6.5 per cent, to 65 billion rubles. Joint ventures are proliferating—they numbered 191 by the end of the year—and foreign trade keeps developing. As of December 1988 all producers were allowed to transact external business directly, without government intermediaries. This will, I'm certain, give a boost to our external economic record this year.



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Stage Dialogue

Photographs by Alexei Boitsov

Despite differences in style, Soviet and American actors have many techniques in common.

Last February the Yermolova Theater in Moscow staged Clifford Odets' play *Awake and Sing*. The play's director, Michael Miner, and prop master, Nina Ramey, are both Americans. The Yermolova production was entitled *Bronx, New York*. The play is

as "theater's on the decline," or "theater's flourishing." The world of theater has its ups and downs, just like anything, and many of the downs are the way for brilliant ups. The theater is thinking over the real tasks and opportunities. The new openness, the truth to which we have all at last gained access. We are learning to live as the theater tells us. That takes time. As to the essential tasks of the stage, drama has to deal with the essential and painful issues in order to deserve the name of theater. It shouldn't stoop to mere entertainment.

That's right. We ought to come from the stage about serious things that really matter. Entertainment comes next. You can always do it with no wisdom in it but with a creative form. I enjoy such a form in the audience, but as

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Yermolova Theater and



BACK TO THEIR ISLAND HOME

Hiiumaa is a tiny Estonian island in the Baltic Sea. Its population has been increasing rapidly because many of the island's former inhabitants are coming back home. Find out why these islanders left and why they are now returning in the May issue of SOVIET LIFE.



IS ON ENVIRONMENT

burning topic in every the Soviet Union has environmental problems issue will feature in the USSR. Soviet Union environment both have total



A Wall of a House, by Maxim Baryshnikov, age 16. See the story on the Experimental Children's Architectural Studio on page 56.

#5

Soviet Life

ECOLOGY UPDATE

May 1989 • \$2.25



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The Soviet public has become much more conscious of environmental issues in the past few years. Here, Muscovites protest the planned construction of a zoo in Bitsa Park.

EDITOR'S NOTES

Recent years have seen enormous changes in this country, including changes in our city life. In Pushkin Square, Moscow's "Hyde Park," people gather to debate social and political issues. Nobody pays any attention to the foreign correspondents who go there to take the pulse of the nation—the days of spy mania are gone. Spontaneous popular rallies and demonstrations, which were unthinkable not long ago, no longer surprise anybody.

During this spring's elections to the Congress of People's Deputies—the first contested elections here in many decades—Moscow was a whirlwind of activity. Election posters presented the candidates and their platforms. Here and there supporters could be seen busily canvassing, arguing vigorously with their rivals. At last, March 26, polling day, came. It is a day that will go down in history as a milestone in the political and public life of a country advancing along the road of *perestroika*.

The results of the elections were sometimes quite unexpected. In a number of cities, party and government officials were defeated by less famous rivals. Many Western newspapers described the situation as a serious blow to the party's prestige. I think that that conclusion was premature. As Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out, many of the losing candidates had changed too slowly and failed to broaden their contacts with the working people. Many of the party officials who had earned the respect of the people emerged victorious.

The vote of no confidence was passed not on the Communist Party, wrote the *New York Times*, but on those of its members who, in the people's eyes, opposed economic and political renewal.

In our next issues we will highlight the work of the Congress of People's Deputies in carrying out its plans. Judging from your letters, this side of our life is very interesting to you.

Robert Tsfasman

Soviet Life

May 1989, No. 5 (392)

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Front Cover: A peaceful scene in the gigantic Central Siberian Preserve. Preserves in the Soviet Union are not primarily for the purpose of recreation but for environmental protection. Photograph by Vyacheslav Bobkov.



Material for this issue
courtesy of
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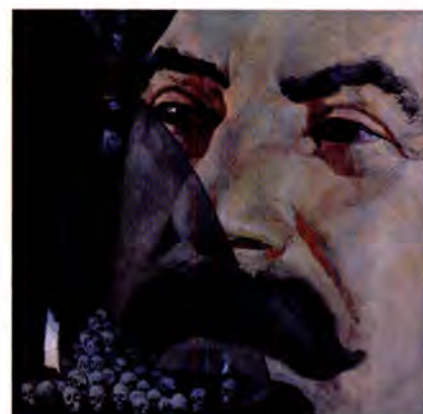


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THE HUMAN EXPERIENCE: A LITERARY BRIDGE FOR PEACE

By Anthony Manousos



Janet Riley, poet Stanley Kunitz, adviser to the project, and Anthony Manousos.

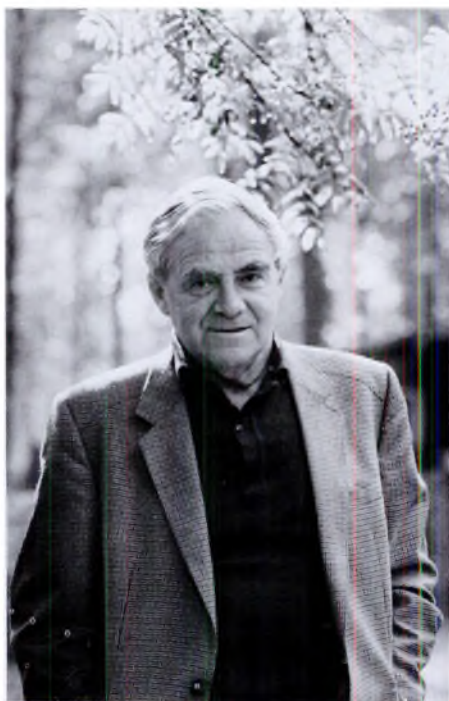
In January 1986, in the midst of a bitterly cold Russian winter, Janet Riley and I arrived in Moscow with a dream. We wanted to produce an anthology of Soviet and American fiction and poetry that would be jointly edited and then published in both countries. We hoped that such a collaborative effort would improve understanding and build trust between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Many people were skeptical about whether such a project could ever be realized—Soviets and Americans had never cooperated on such a literary venture before, and relations between the superpowers were not exactly cordial at that time—but because Janet and I are Quakers, we were willing to “follow our leadings” for the sake of peace.

I should add that Janet and I are not experts on the Soviet Union. Janet

is a former elementary school teacher, and I am an English professor. Like many citizen diplomats of the 1980s, we are “inspired amateurs” willing to work for what we believe in.

Fortunately, we did not have to work alone: We had the support of the Quaker U.S./USSR Committee, a tiny but dedicated group formed to foster “spiritual linkage” between Soviet and American citizens. For several years this group had discussed



ways of overcoming the fears and stereotypes that had "poisoned the atmosphere" between our countries. Finally, in 1984, two members of our committee, Janet Riley and Jay Worral, went to the Information Department of the Soviet Embassy, in Washington, D.C., to talk about projects that would promote better understanding between the American and Soviet people. "We met a young attaché who was extremely friendly and receptive to our concern," recalls Janet. "After some brainstorming, we came up with the idea for a collaborative book of stories and poetry focusing on everyday life in both countries." The idea appealed to the committee and received enthusiastic support from many American writers as well as from Oleg Benyukh, then editor of *SOVIET LIFE*. With his blessing, and with the financial support of Quaker sponsors, we went to Moscow to pursue our dream.

There we met George Andzhaparidze, a Soviet publisher with a vision similar to ours. He responded warmly to the idea of a "literary bridge" between Americans and Soviets and offered his support. When Tatyana Kudryavtseva, a leading Soviet translator of American fiction, heard about the project, she eagerly joined in.

This group formed the nucleus of

an editorial board consisting of Soviets and Americans that spent the next two years reading and selecting manuscripts. The process was long, sometimes frustrating, and often exhilarating. Meetings were held in the United States and in the Soviet Union; and questions of literary taste and judgment, as well as the practicalities of publication, were discussed with frankness, openness, and good humor. The editorial board made its decisions by consensus. Those involved in this fascinating and revealing process came to know and appreciate one another better as human beings.

The result is a book called *The Human Experience: Contemporary Soviet*



and American Writings, due to be published this spring by Alfred A. Knopf in the United States and by Khudozhestvennaya Literatura in the USSR. It consists of stories and poems about experiences such as first love, birth, death, growing old, the problems and joys of parenthood—experiences that Americans and Soviets and all people have in common.

The Human Experience contains works by some of the best Soviet and American writers, including William Styron, Daniil Granin, John Updike, Valentin Rasputin, Joyce Carol Oates, Andrei Voznesensky, Alice Walker, Yevgeni Yevtushenko, John Sayles, ▶



*Top left: Daniil Granin.
Center: Anatoli Kim. Top
right: Andrei Voznesensky.
Bottom: Georgi Semyonov.*



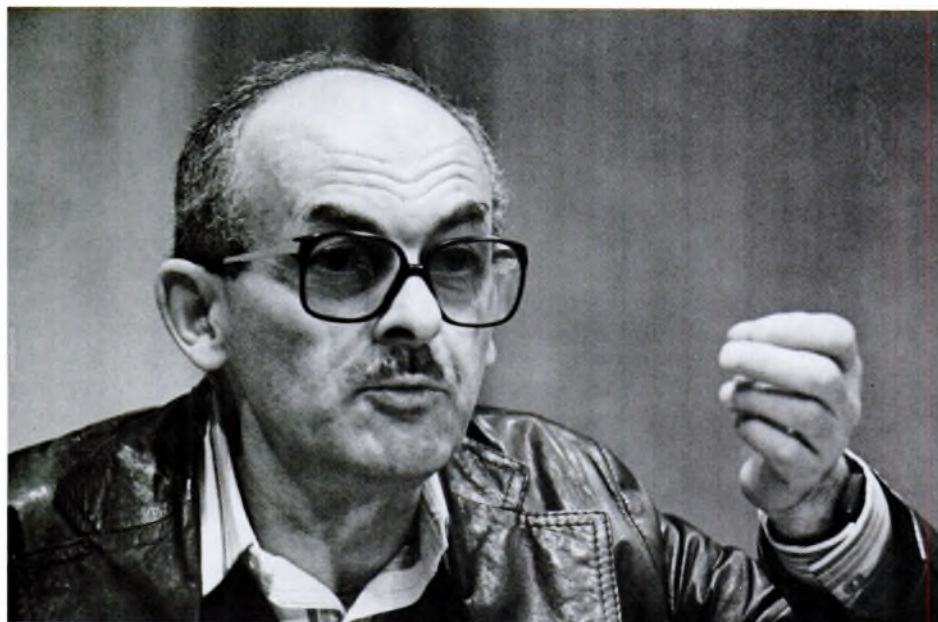
Bulat Okudzhava, Garrison Keillor, Tatyana Tolstaya, Robert Penn Warren, Anatoli Kim, and Adrienne Rich. The translation of the Soviet material was supervised by Leo Gruliow, who founded the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, served for many years as Moscow correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, and translated numerous major Soviet writers.

This book will be an eye opener for Americans who think that mainstream Soviet writing is, for the most part, dull and full of propaganda. Bulat Okudzhava's story, "Girl of My Dreams," describes a young man whose mother has just returned from a Stalinist prison camp. Arnold Khashanov's story, "Hypnosis," portrays an overworked doctor in an alcohol-rehabilitation clinic, who must decide whether or not to use his influence to get his daughter into medical school—a situation that many middle-class Americans will be able to relate to. "Rest Stop in August," by Anatoli Kim, sympathetically depicts a pacifist prison guard who is court-martialed for refusing to shoot an escaping prisoner. Anatoli Shavkuta's satiric sketch, "Why Does a Man Need a Crystal Toilet Bowl?" concerns Georgian black marketeers who have amassed so many ill-gotten rubles that they cannot be counted—they must be weighed! There are also stories about a poor Siberian student and his French teacher, an old peas-



Vasili Belov.

Bulat Okudzhava.



ant woman and her ex-convict son, a boy in love with the circus and a hard-to-get gymnast, a woman writer in love with her eccentric husband, and a middle-aged man musing in a graveyard about those who died in war. The stories by American authors reflect an equally diverse range of human experiences.

In May 1989 American and Soviet writers whose work appears in *The Human Experience* will be invited to a conference at the Florida Avenue Friends (Quaker) Meetinghouse in Washington, D.C. There they will discuss their own works as well as literary and spiritual conditions in both countries. Some people are already calling this gathering "a literary summit conference."

In May 1987, at this same meetinghouse, Pulitzer Prize-winning poet Stanley Kunitz gave a benefit poetry reading on behalf of our project, where he observed: "One of the discoveries that I've made in the course of my life is that there is a deep and touching solidarity and friendship among all writers and artists on this planet. Poets, in particular, constitute an international community of souls. I

know that wherever I travel, whenever I'm among poets, I will be in the company of friends. This gives me hope because they are the ones who are instruments for fashioning greater harmony among people."

Kunitz has translated into English such major Soviet poets as Anna Akhmatova, Yevgeni Yevtushenko, and Andrei Voznesensky. Kunitz also served as poetry consultant for our book and spoke eloquently about the importance of cultural exchanges:

"All literature is becoming one. That's one of the most promising signs in a world where promising signs are infrequent. . . . My own feeling is that the art of translation is one of the great bonding elements in our culture. To make available the literature of all cultures, including those written in minor and obscure languages, is to convert all literature into world literature."

This commitment to world literature is also reflected in the career of Tatyana Kudryavtseva, who has both translated and befriended major American authors such as Updike, Styron, and Bel Kaufman.

When asked about the project, Kudryavtseva observed: "I have worked all my life with American lit-



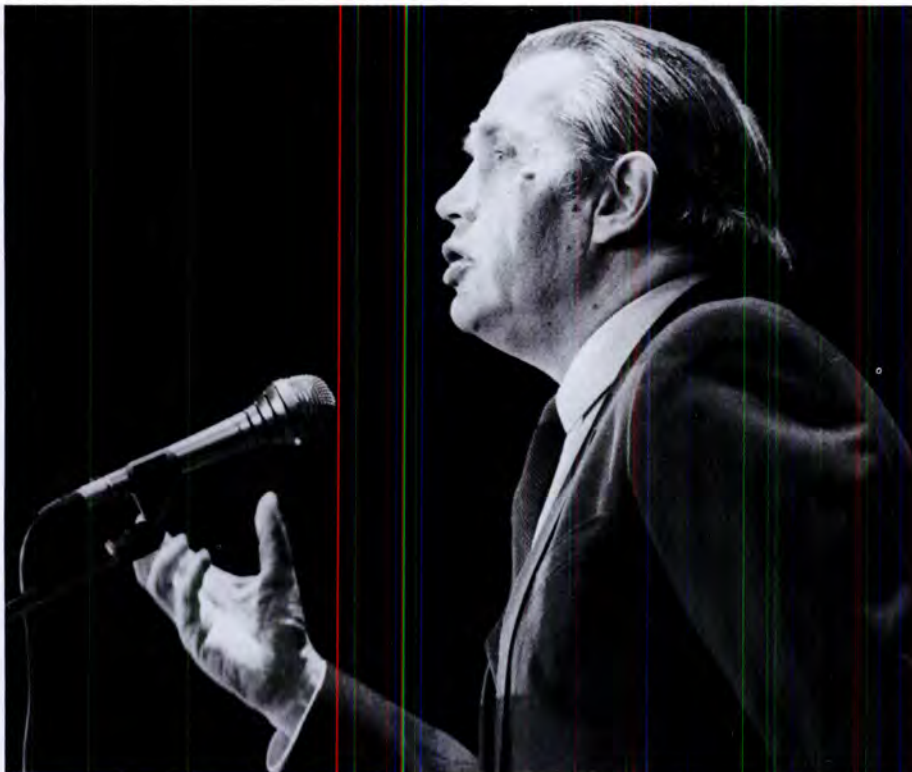
Yunna Morits.

erature. I also happen to like America and the American people very much. For many years I had been thinking about a joint literary project—one, and I was very excited. Tony and Janet came to share their idea with me, and that this book can be a bridge between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. We are a third world country, and we are a third world country who can love and shed tears and wars, as we are. This book, like the other bridges, could be another joint project.

Now that the bridge has been completed, plans are being made for a second book, a collection of poems by major poets of both countries. It is not easy to accomplish—never is, especially over the waters—but we have the help of American and Soviet writers who enjoy working together, who can understand and appreciate each other, and we feel confident moving forward, wherever the road leads us.

Anyone who would like to purchase a copy of The Human Experience or make a contribution to the U.S./USSR Committee's ethnic book project, should write to Janet Riley, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102. The book's cost is \$23.00, including postage and handling.

Robert Rozhdestvensky.



MUSCOVITES SPEAK THEIR MIND

By Vladimir Belyakov

Photographs by Oleg Lastochkin

Do you want to know:

—what Muscovites think about the way Gorbachev is handling his job?

—whether most Muscovites think of Americans favorably or unfavorably?

A recent opinion poll, dubbed Project Understanding, answers these questions and more.

Project Understanding was conducted simultaneously in Boston, Detroit, New York, San Francisco, and Moscow (Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union, not Moscow, Tennessee, Arkansas, or Pennsylvania). The American firms Marttila & Kiley, in Boston, and Market Opinion Research, in Detroit, worked in cooperation with scientists from the Institute of Sociology of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The pollsters contacted 1,006 Muscovites by telephone and gave them a series of 117 questions. The questions ranged from those of global interest ("Do you think the Soviet Union and the United States are entering a new era of peace and cooperation?") to the very personal ("Have you ever had a member of your immediate family or a friend who drank too much?").

The pollsters had all of the listed telephone numbers in Moscow at their disposal. Each number was selected by an impartial computer, and the interview began: "What are the two biggest problems you face in your day-to-day life in Moscow? Are you satisfied with the quality of your house or apartment?"—and so on.

Not all of the people called were willing to participate in the poll, even though no one had to give his or her name. But such people made up only five per cent of the intended respondents. John Marttila, one of the authors of Project Understanding, declared the Moscow polling a great success.

One of the many objectives of the poll was to establish the attitude of the respondents toward 10 political and religious leaders of the world, including Ronald Reagan, George Bush, Margaret Thatcher, François Mitterrand, Mikhail Gorbachev, and Pope John Paul II. Opinions were measured using a four-point scale, from very favorable to very unfavorable. The Muscovites' and the Americans' opinions of Gorbachev were quite similar—they called him the world's top political leader.

More than 90 per cent of the respondents in Moscow gave a favorable rating, of which 49 per cent were "very favorable" (women were the indisputable leaders in this group) and 42 per cent "favorable" (pre-



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...USSR Academy
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...John Marttila.

dominantly men and young people under 30 years of age). Seven per cent were undecided on this question, and only two per cent reported unfavorable opinions. Gorbachev's popularity in Moscow is attributable to his indefatigable struggle for *perestroika* and his honesty, openness, and courage.

Not only Muscovites but many Americans approve of Gorbachev's policy. According to the poll, the Soviet leader is especially popular in San Francisco and Boston, where 83 per cent of the respondents expressed positive opinions of him. Gorbachev is a little less popular in New York and Detroit, where he was given a favorable rating by 75 and 72 per cent of the respondents, respectively. Americans positively assess Gorbachev's measures toward making the Soviet Union a more open society and his proposals for easing international tensions.

Determining attitudes toward *perestroika* was one of the key goals of Project Understanding. The question "Are you in favor of *perestroika*?" was answered in the affirmative by an overwhelming majority—93 per cent—of the respondents in Moscow, but only 60 per cent of them accept *perestroika* without any reservations.

Most of the respondents who voiced anti-*perestroika* sentiments (two per cent) were people under 30 years of age, who were born during the Khrushchev "thaw" and matured during Brezhnev's era of public apathy and economic stagnation. This age group included the largest number of undecided and hesitant people and skeptics who can only accept *perestroika* with numerous reservations and on a number of conditions. Well, this is the price we all have to pay for our past mistakes. Three years is too short a time to change the attitudes of people whose hearts and minds have been twisted for decades.

From an occupational point of view, *perestroika* is supported most of all by blue-collar workers (its "chief moving force"), and least of all by white-collar workers. The latter group includes managers at various levels—bureaucrats who, out of fear of losing their positions of authority, are trying to slow down the reforms.

The most surprising thing is that it

is precisely this category of citizen that has been affected least of all over the three years of *perestroika*: Only 14 per cent of the polled managers complained of a drop in earnings as a result of *perestroika*, compared to 18 per cent of the blue-collar workers.

Twenty per cent of the white-collar respondents (as compared to 15 per cent of the blue-collar respondents) fear that during the next three years of *perestroika* their earnings will decrease appreciably, which gives them a feeling of uncertainty. This indicates that the transition from management by injunction to economic methods is a difficult and painful process and that, all things considered, the situation may be aggravated before real improvements do begin.

Soviet citizens are less critical of their government than Americans are. At least 75 per cent of the respondents in Moscow said that they trust their government and its decisions "always" or "most of the time." Another 15 per cent said that they trust the government usually, though not in everything. Only two per cent said they believed that the government's judgment is never correct.

Several recent trends may account for the Soviet people's positive attitude toward their government. The people began to regain their trust in the government after Nikolai Ryzhkov was appointed Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Ryzhkov's prestige has been growing since his cabinet began making scientifically based decisions, lending an attentive ear to public opinion. The Council of Ministers has opened a special Information Department, which sponsors press conferences (an altogether new development on the Soviet political scene) and studies public opinion. The Council of Ministers has launched a special bulletin, *Pravitelstvenny vestnik* (*Government Herald*), in which all of the council's activities are made public.

The Soviet public gave a collective sigh of relief when the government decided to cancel plans to rechannel northern-flowing Siberian rivers southward to Central Asia and several other "projects of the century." Many people believe that projects like these appeared in the Brezhnev era because

public officials did not care much about what the average person thought. In spite of widespread public protest, "stupendous" projects conceived by ambitious bureaucrats actually destroyed the Aral Sea, brought the Volga River and the Caspian Sea to the verge of ecological catastrophe, flooded millions of hectares of rich soil and forestland in order to build giant electric power plants, and turned arable land into salt marshes or deserts.

Fortunately, the government has begun to curb the insatiable appetites of the leaders of various departments and has called upon the public at large to take the initiative in the battle to protect the environment. Preliminary public discussions of important economic and social projects are becoming a regular practice in this country.

These developments may explain in part why 46 per cent of the respondents in Moscow disagreed with the statement, "The average person doesn't have any say about what the government does." On the other hand, there were still many respondents (43 per cent) who agreed with the statement.

Judging by the results of the poll, Muscovites are, for the most part, very friendly toward Americans. Seventy-nine per cent expressed a "favorable" or "very favorable" opinion of Americans, and only one per cent of the opinions were "unfavorable."

What is more surprising, 52 per cent classified Soviet-American relations as "friendly," and nine per cent called the United States a "close ally"; only one per cent saw the U.S. as an "enemy."

Ninety-six per cent of the polled Muscovites saw Soviet-American relations as noticeably warmer than in the past. Their attitudes toward the United States are undergoing a change as well. After years of hearing stories about jobless, homeless, and lawless Americans, the Soviet people are rediscovering the United States.

These new, positive attitudes were reflected especially clearly in another poll, which was conducted by *Time* magazine and the newspaper *Literaturnaya gazeta*.

Continued on page 36

GLASNOST

THE
SOVIET
PRESS
AT WORK

TRENDS IN CRIME



For the first time in many years *Izvestia* has published crime data. The source is the Main Information Center at the USSR Ministry of Interior.

TABLE OF CRIME GROWTH RATES

Type of Crime	Number of Crimes		Growth Rate
	1987	1988	
Premeditated murder (including attempts)	14,651	16,710	+14.1
Rape (including attempts)	16,765	17,658	+ 5.3
Intentional infliction of serious bodily injury	28,250	37,191	+31.6
Armed robbery (involving state-owned, public, or personal property)	9,047	12,916	+42.8
Burglary (involving state-owned, public, or personal property)	46,485	67,114	+44.4
Theft of state-owned or public property	132,377	165,283	+24.9
Theft of personal property	401,599	548,524	+36.6
Embezzlement of state-owned or public property by way of misappropriation, squandering, abuse of office	96,986	87,450	- 9.8
Breach of traffic and transit regulations	18,469	22,492	+21.8

Down with Sex!



"How can I get my husband to give up the habit?" wrote a desperate young teacher to the newspaper *Komsomolskaya pravda*. It seems her husband has developed an interest in aerobics, that is, in "watching the almost naked, shameless hussies posing for the camera. . . ." The wife is sure these women have seduced her husband!

The newspaper also received an approving letter from the Rostov Regional Education Department about a biology teacher who had excised the section on reproduction from a new textbook with a razor: "We believe that the new manner of presenting the material and

the illustrations in this section will encourage an excessive interest on the part of the students."

Komsomolskaya pravda analyst Nikolai Varsegov wrote, "We have been able to reduce the birth rate nationwide. And yet the statistics in that area remain alarmingly high. What does this indicate? Probably the ugly fact that virtually every Soviet family—I hate to say it, but I must—indulges in the wrongs that many of our schools are so courageously campaigning against. I think it will be a long time before we manage to put the lid on such horrible social evils as sex, if we don't join forces and do something about it."



Amazing Processes . . .

"Amazing processes are under way in this country, both in life and in art." This opinion was expressed by the popular actor of stage and screen Mikhail Kozakov.

"I am happy that at last we have genuine freedom of creativity," he said in an interview with a Novosti correspondent. "It is wonderful that today one can direct, write, and perform things that used to be too dangerous to mention in public. But a serious artist needs time to comprehend what is happening around him or her. Literature is marching ahead of cinema and theater because many excellent works that spent a long time gathering dust have finally been published. Journalism is leading the way because it is in a position to respond promptly to current events."

The grandfather of the Soviet icebreaker fleet, the *Leonid Krasin*, had a long term of service in the Arctic. When it became obsolete, it was used as a floating power base for other ships. Early this year the USSR Ministry of Geology went over to self-financing and decided that it was unprofitable to maintain the large old vessel. The deputy minister gave the order to turn it over to a Leningrad cooper-

ative, which is planning to modernize the interior, anchor the ship on the Neva River and run a hotel, a bar, and a restaurant onboard.

But other proposals for the old ship have also been forthcoming. Oceanologists want it converted to a research station. The fate of the icebreaker is still to be decided. Meanwhile, the ship is adrift in a sea of correspondence among government agencies.

FATE OF AN ICEBREAKER



THE SHAME OF KUROPATY

More than six months ago the name "Kuropaty" exploded in the Soviet media like a bomb. Since then our attention has been riveted on that piece of forest at the eastern edge of Minsk, Byelorussia, where, five decades ago, shots shattered the silence every day, and human lives expired, one after another.

The Byelorussian Council of Ministers has decided to establish a monument to the victims of Kuropaty.

Who stood on the edge of those mass graves and who

fired the shots that killed the unknown victims?

Answers to these and other questions are being sought by leading investigators in the Byelorussian public procurator's office, KGB officials, archivists, and historians. Eight graves have been opened up, about 140 examinations performed, and 200 witnesses questioned.

The investigation has established that there may be as many as 510 graves on an area of 30 hectares. Bullet holes were discovered in 227 skulls.

Fifty-five witnesses, residents of the neighboring villages, testified that the shootings had started in 1937 and lasted till the summer of 1941.

The commission concludes: From 1937 through 1941, mass shootings of Soviet citizens were conducted in the Kuropaty Forest by the NKVD, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. The conclusion may be drawn that the graves contain the remains of at least 30,000 people.

Courtesy of the newspaper *Trud*


The indigenous fishing population of Hiiumaa left the island in large numbers during the years of stagnation. Now the islanders are coming back, and many mainland natives are joining them.



THE ISLANDERS COME HOME TO THE SEA

By Nina Grozova
Photographs by Alexander
Zemlyanichenko



A low-angle, close-up photograph of a man, Edmi Haav, looking upwards. He is wearing a white hard hat with the word "SAFARI" in orange letters and a heavy, orange rubber raincoat. His hands are visible, pulling a thick, dark, braided rope. The background shows a yellow metal structure of a boat and a clear blue sky.

Edmi Haav has been fishing for two decades now. Although he has been to many countries, Hiiumaa is still the most beautiful place on earth to him.

*Facing page, center:
An old map of Hiiumaa.
Below: Kõpu Lighthouse.*



*Fishing vessels
at moorings.
Right: Klarika
Tikerpuu, a
graduate of a
local secondary
school, has
decided to stay
on her native
island.*

Hiumaa is a small island in the Baltic Sea, with a population of 10,000. The smallest administrative region in the republic of Estonia, the island is a world unto itself. But its inhabitants don't feel cut off from the rest of the country: Half an hour's flight from Kärdla, the island's main city, is Tallinn, capital of Estonia.

"The world has three great maritime powers: Saaremaa, Hiumaa,

and, perhaps, Great Britain," say the islanders, a witty lot. Saaremaa is Estonia's largest island and Hiumaa, the second largest. Both have been populated for centuries by fishing communities.

We visited Hiiu Kalur, the island's largest fishing collective. Its yearly profits well exceed three million rubles, of which open-sea fishing accounts for 80 per cent.

Not too long ago, the number of Hiumaa families whose generations-



Clockwise from left: Hillar Eller, First Secretary of the district party committee. Wheat. Islanders have predicted the weather from sunsets for many generations.

old occupation was fishing had steadily been dwindling. Only a few were left in the Hiiu Kalur fishing fleet. There are several reasons for this. For the past few decades the price of fish was kept at an unjustifiably low level, and even the fishers who worked in the frozen sea during the winter earned little. People who were not working on Hiiu Kalur were allowed to fish only with a pole. They saw it as a vicious mockery to be prohibited the use of nets.

The seaside people left their villages one after another. The older islanders remembered a local legend: Centuries ago, Hiiumaa was visited by a terrible plague, in which nearly all of its inhabitants perished. The sole survivors were a woman and a man, who repopulated the island. "Are we seeing history repeating itself?" the older islanders worried.

The Hiiumaa natives who moved to big cities in the 1960s and 1970s ►



Johanek Kokla, above, director of the collective farm museum, is a living repository of the island's lore and of its many traditions. The making of fishing nets is an occupation both time-honored and thriving on the island.

weren't happy either. The bustle, polluted air, and lack of communication oppressed them, and they began to long for the simple human relations and clean air of home.

But the prodigal islanders had more reason than ever to return to their villages when, a few years ago, life started to change for the better on Hiiumaa.

The over-all improvement in the quality of life on the island has been the result of many specific changes. Open-sea and coastal fishing are now easier, with many unjustified restrictions gone. Winter wages are 25 per cent higher.

This year will be the first that the islanders, like amateur fishers everywhere else in Estonia, will be able to buy licenses to fish with nets. The licenses are available for the modest fee of 10 rubles a year, with



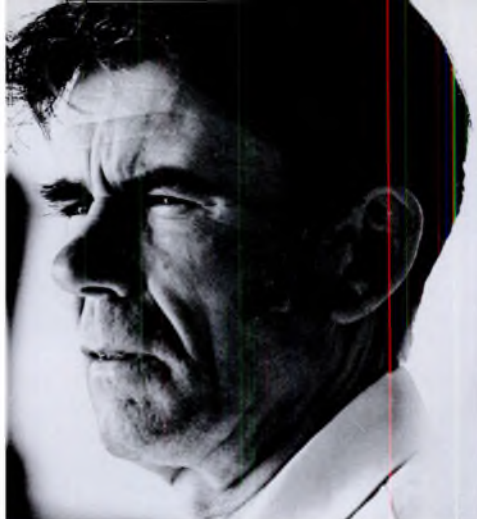
only one restriction: Nets of more than 40 meters in length may not be used. The experts have deemed that such restricted fishing does not endanger marine fauna. Nearly 500 people now own these licenses, which enable them not only to provide their own families with fish but also to sell part of their catch to shops at cooperative prices.

The community is taking pains to educate a new generation of fishers. A boating club and several clubs for

young fishers were started a few years ago. Hiiu Kalur regularly sends groups of young people to study at Tallinn's nautical school and gives them scholarships.

In addition to the former residents who have been coming back, new settlers have been flooding into Hiiumaa. This is largely due to the local agricultural incomes, which are Estonia's highest.

The population influx is exceeding all predictions and even has to be



Last year alone, 232 new residents moved to Hiiumaa—a considerable number for such a tiny island.

restricted. The authorities have had to deny many requests from people from the mainland who want to work on Hiiumaa. If this were not done, the island would develop a housing problem in no time. Last year alone, 232 new residents moved to Hiiumaa—a considerable number for such a tiny island. Not only new dwellings but also schools, day-care centers, and stores need to be built to accommodate the newcomers. But the island now has a construction firm of its own, so there is no doubt that it will be able to cope with all these new challenges.

There is more. A technical school for 100 students has also recently been established. The island officials crossed swords over this project with republic authorities, who thought it inefficient to open such a small educational facility. But it was worth the effort. Now many young people don't have to leave home to get an education. But 30 per cent of the local secondary school graduates still go on to universities on the mainland for degrees in specialties that the community needs.

"The last thing we want to do is



Far left: Arvo Talts, the ferryman. Center: The new generation: Martina Birio and Andrias Tammevesky. Above: Fishers at leisure.

cut ourselves off from the rest of the country. Young specialists are always welcome from the mainland, even though we have to provide them with housing. Most new settlers are even greater Hiiumaa patriots than the old residents. And they're more inclined to attack the problems that we've gotten used to

"The last thing we want to do is cut ourselves off from the rest of the country."

putting up with: A new broom sweeps clean," says Hillar Eller, First Secretary of the district party committee.

Eller postponed our interview for two hours to meet with Ain Tahiste, a local activist of Estonia's Popular Front for *Perestroika*. Afterward, Eller gave us a summary of their

conversation, which had concerned many urgent matters. The Hiiumaa managers and community activists are working to change the island economy to full profit-and-loss accounting methods; to make the Soviets true democratic bodies exercising self-government; and last but not least, to start Estonian language courses for non-Estonians, who account for five per cent of the local population (many people eager to learn Estonian can't cope with the difficult language on their own).

These aren't the only problems. The need to protect the natural environment is becoming more and more urgent, with thousands of hikers and sightseers flocking to the island every summer. The population increases threefold in the summertime, and the visitors are not always careful to leave the island as they found it.

Hiiumaa is developing apace. Perhaps the only thing that remains unchanged is the Kõpu Lighthouse, which was built more than 400 years ago. Fishing crews at sea find their bearings by its light, like many generations of their ancestors before them. ■

KHAKASSIA

Birthplace of the American Indian?

By Mikhail Sarazhakov
Photographs by Pyotr Zubkov

The ancient tribes that lived on the Khakass steppe were "an enlightened people," artisans and warriors. Now there is evidence to suggest that it was these people who crossed the Bering Strait to settle in America.



Hattie Kaufman, an American Indian and correspondent for "Good Morning, America," visits a Khakass burial mound.

Several thousand years ago many tribes lived on the Khakass steppe in southern Siberia, along the banks of the full-flowing Yenisei River and its tributary the Abakan. Today Khakassia is an autonomous region in Krasnoyarsk Territory. It is a place that still bears traces of the early spread of civilization in Asia.

The ethnic composition of Khakassia's indigenous population was determined long ago by warfare and intermarriage among tribes. These ancient tribes left their mark on the Khakass countryside as well. Writer Sergei Yelpatyevsky, exiled by the czarist government to Eastern Siberia late in the nineteenth century, wrote:

Thousands of burial grounds stretch for hundreds of versts from the Sayan Mountains, which surround the vast steppe in a semicircle, to the dark forests in the North.

In the eighteenth century Europe

became interested in these burial mounds. Those that had not been looted by long-ago plunderers were real treasure-troves, full of gold and silver artifacts and fine jewelry made by ancient masters. Abbé Bagli, a French archeologist, thought that these objects must have been produced by "an enlightened people." He went so far as to suggest that the burial mounds belonged to the fabled civilization of Atlantis.

The Khakass also figured in the works by the legendary Nizami, who was called the "Homer of the East." In his poem *Iskandar-namah* the great poet described "a northern state of Khakass with beautiful cities, philosophers, doctors, and irrigators."

The capital of Khakassia is Abakan. Twenty minutes outside the city, we reached the excavation site of a medieval castle. Yakov Sunchugashev, a Khakass historian, showed us around the castle, which is made of adobe.

"The walls of the castle form an octagon," said Sunchugashev, "and

remind one of a Khakass yurt. Many buildings have two stories, and some have complex vaults and arches. If we looked at the castle from the air, we would see the traces of ancient irrigation systems. All this proves that the Khakass were highly skilled engineers and architects.

"This is one of the feudal castles of a rather developed Khakass state that emerged in the sixth century, when the chiefs of many related tribes concluded peace," Sunchugashev continued. "That was when the name 'Khakass' first appeared in written sources. The Khakass state had a strong army because it had to repel the numerous attacks of its belligerent neighbors. In 759 the Khakass state was conquered by the Uighurs, a people related to the modern Kazakhs and Kirghiz. But in the middle of the ninth century the Khakass defeated their enemies and established the most powerful state in Siberia. Besides stockbreeding and primitive agriculture, the ancient Khakass engaged in metallurgy and trade



Left: This Khakass barrow is 5,000 years old. Above: Hattie Kaufman at a Khakass feast.

with China and with Central Asia.

Nizami wrote his *Iskandar-namah* on the eve of Genghis Khan's invasion of Khakassia. Khakass epic poetry includes many legends about the heroic struggle against the invaders. But the forces were too unbalanced; the Khakass were conquered and for centuries thereafter were unable to form a united state.

In 1664 the Khakass sent a message to Russian Czar Alexei Mikhailovich, asking him for protection "in order to live under the great Czar's rule in safety." Years went by, and Peter the Great, Alexei's son and an ardent reformer, signed a decree ordering the construction of a stronghold at the mouth of the Abakan River. Russian Cossacks ensured the protection of Khakassia's southern borders. That is how Khakassia peacefully joined Russia. It was a progressive act that saved the Khakass from extermination.

In Abakan we talked to Leonid Kyzlasov, Doctor of Science (History) and the author of the book *Ancient*

Khakassia. Dr. Kyzlasov told us about what archeologists have been able to determine from Khakass artifacts.

"Originally, stone images covered by enigmatic signs and symbols were put up on high riverbanks and mountain peaks," he said. "Such places were considered sacred. The generations that followed believed those images to be 'gifts from the sky.' The idols were sites for sacrifices, prayers, and ritual dances. The ancient Khakass, my ancestors, were sun worshipers; the symbol of the sun can be seen on almost every idol. According to the latest research, the Khakass stone images were made 2,000 years before the famous stone idols on Easter Island."

These idols are direct predecessors of the totems made by American Indians of the Northwest coast. This is what prompted the hypothesis that the American Indians may be of Asian (Khakass) origin.

But how would it have been possible for the ancient Khakass to have

reached America all the way from Central Asia?

On a clear day the Diomed Islands and Cape Prince of Wales in Alaska can be seen from the Soviet shore of the Bering Strait. The sea is icebound here 10 months a year, so a crossing would have been quite feasible. But Dr. Kyzlasov believes that the crossing could also have taken place in the summer, because the Bering Strait did not exist at that time.

There is other evidence besides the similarity of totems to support the hypothesis that the American Indians originally came from Asia. The Khakass' and Northwestern American Indians' drawings on stone images have much in common—for instance, the head of a man with an eagle's beak frequently appear in both. Modern Khakass and some American Indians resemble each other physically. In addition, American Indians who have visited Abakan have found many common features in songs, decorations, and household utensils.

GLASNOST

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RUSSIAN ENCYCLOPEDIA

The Soviet Culture Foundation has appointed a council to publish a Russian encyclopedia. Sergei Ilyinsky, the executive secretary of the council, says the project should be completed by the year 2000. The encyclopedia will cover centuries of the history of a nation and its cultural, scientific, technological, and economic activities, and will include the biographies of thousands of outstanding figures.

The work is being carried out by a staff of about 100 people. The council plans first to publish separate books that will later be incorporated into the encyclopedia. Almost ready for publication are papers on the history of Russian philosophy and works on Russian saints and crafts. Serial publication will help the project to pay for itself.

Courtesy of the newspaper
Pravda



THROUGH AN AMERICAN LENS



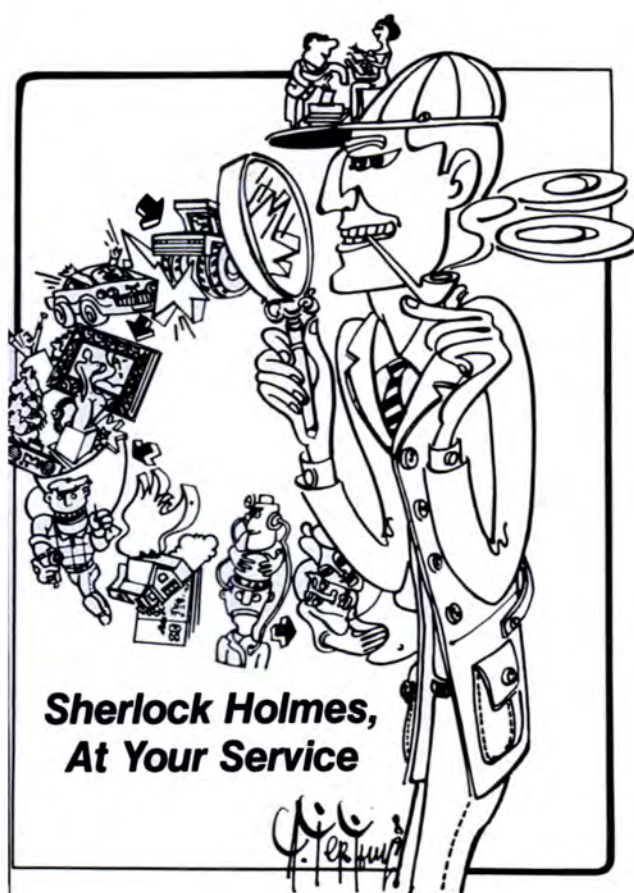
Above: A scene from Bikel's documentary film. The placards read, "Get the bureaucrats out of government" and "Develop the socialist cooperative movement."



Offra Bikel, a producer of documentaries at PBS TV in New York, visited the USSR last November. Incidentally, her 1984 film about Russian émigrés in New York was broadcast twice on Soviet television.

This time her goal was to shoot a documentary about the progress of Soviet *perestroika*, new developments resulting from *glasnost* and increased democratization, and the current political reform.

Some scenes were shot in the ancient Russian town of Yaroslavl on the Upper Volga River, where the Americans met with local officials, with workers at the local automobile factory, and with rural people. The film crew also took part in the October 1917 Revolution parade and festivities. The film they made will be televised in the United States in May.



Private citizens now have access to services that used to be available only to state agencies, reports the newspaper *Trud*. The Department of Justice at the Leningrad City Soviet has created a cooperative, the Leningrad Legal Center. People may request an assessment of antiques or of artworks. The co-op will assess losses resulting from an automobile accident and help get reimbursement without going to court. The co-op's "Sherlock Holmes" can be called upon if someone thinks his or her apartment has been broken into.

"The center now has the expertise to conduct appraisals that have never been done in Leningrad," says noted lawyer and writer Mikhail Lubarsky.

What's New in Soviet Film?

Scenes from *The Commissar* and *Little Vera* (bottom).



Novosti film critic Boris Berman thinks the Soviet film industry is much healthier than it used to be. Censorship is a thing of the past, and films suffer practically no bureaucratic editing.

Berman singled out *The Commissar*, by Alexander Askoldov, which takes place during the Civil War. The commissar of a Red Army regiment, Klavdia Vavilova, is in labor. She entrusts herself to the family of a poor tin-smith, a Jew, who regard her presence as a hardship imposed by the new power, which they do not understand. But the humanness of these people—the noisy Jewish family and the silent Vavilova—draws them together in mutual empathy, if not love. The film becomes a tale of the difficult birth of community in the face of social contradictions and national clichés. For 20 long years the film was kept in cold storage by cautious bureaucrats. Today it is representing Soviet cinema at international film festivals and has won awards in West Berlin, San Francisco, Locarno, and Lisbon.

When *The Commissar* was being filmed, the makers of *Little Vera* (story by Maria Khmelik, directed by Vasili Pichul) were still children. Today, their film stands proudly on its own. *Little Vera* is a bold analysis of the discord that frequently arises between traditional parents and rebellious children.

1/1989

М. ДУДИН
Взросел с пеленок.
Цикл статей о детстве

Н. МЕТТЕР
Пыль улиц.
Повесть

Нева

В. КОНЕЦОВ
Переход без праздника

Д. ДЮМОРЬЕ
Птицы

Политический клуб
«АЛЬТЕРНАТИВА»
С. АНДРЕЕВ
Структура власти
и задачи общества

BANS REMOVED

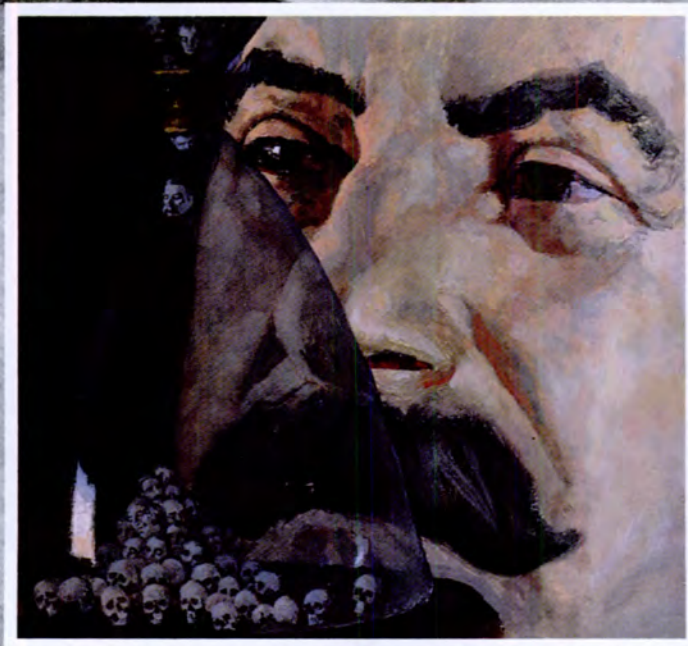
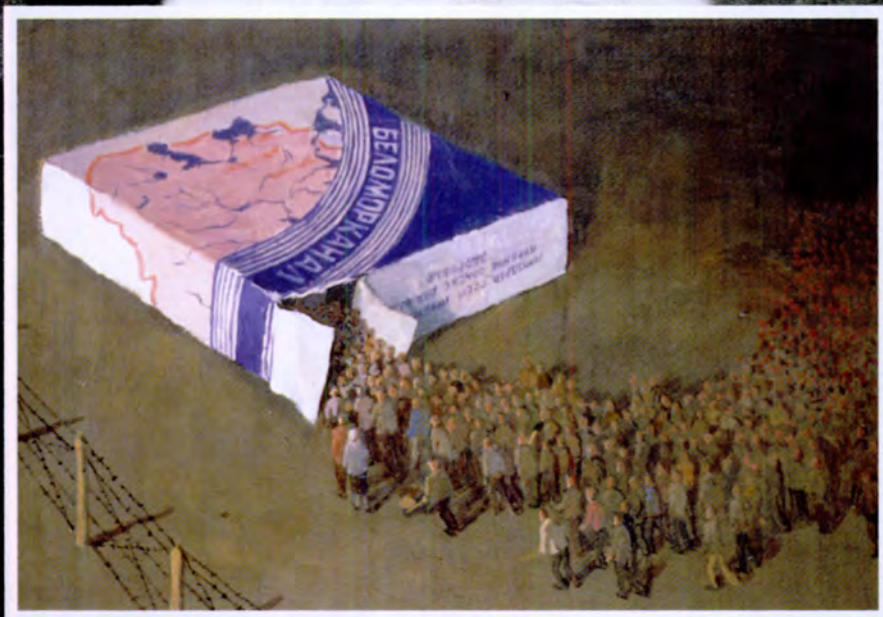
Over the past two years the Leningrad literary monthly *Neva* has increased its circulation by 250 per cent, to more than 660,000. What are the reasons for this upsurge in popularity? According to editor Boris Nikolsky, it is a sign of the journal's public activity. The crucial moment came when, in 1987, it published the now famous *White Clothes*, by Vladimir Dudintsev. Now that the author has won the 1988 State Prize, it seems incomprehensible that the novel encountered so many obstacles to publication. But it was not until *Neva's* editors appealed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that the novel was published in full.

The journal has published Anna Akhmatova's *Requiem* and Lydia Chukovskaya's *Sofia Petrovna*. Chukovskaya's book, which was written in 1939, was probably the first prose work to tell of the monstrous crimes of 1937. *Neva* has also published Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*, a beautiful and tragic novel, an event in literary and public life. Koestler's name was banned in the Soviet Union not so long ago.

LETTING HISTORY JUDGE

By Olga Nemirovskaya
Photographs by Alexander Kurbatov and Dmitri Debabov

Held in the cultural center of a Moscow light bulb factory, this exhibition in honor of Stalin's victims had significance that resonated throughout the Soviet Union.



The halls were packed but silent, each visitor absorbed in his or her own thoughts. The man sitting in the chair is once-popular composer Alexander Varlamov, a man who has gone through the trials of camp and prison life. Left: Hourglass. Pyotr Belov. 1987. Top: Byelomorkanal. Pyotr Belov. 1985. (Byelomorkanal is a canal that was built by prisoners under terribly harsh conditions. It is also the name of a brand of papirosa cigarettes.)

The Soviet people had waited long for that day. Many bitter truths had been written about Stalinist atrocities in the press and spoken from the rostrums of party congresses. But, we asked, will we ever be able to bring flowers to the victims' graves? Will the ordinary person ever be allowed to do his or her part to bring back truth and justice?

That day came at last with the opening of Memory Week at the cultural center of Moscow's light bulb factory. The event gave people a chance publicly to honor the victims of Stalinist repressions.

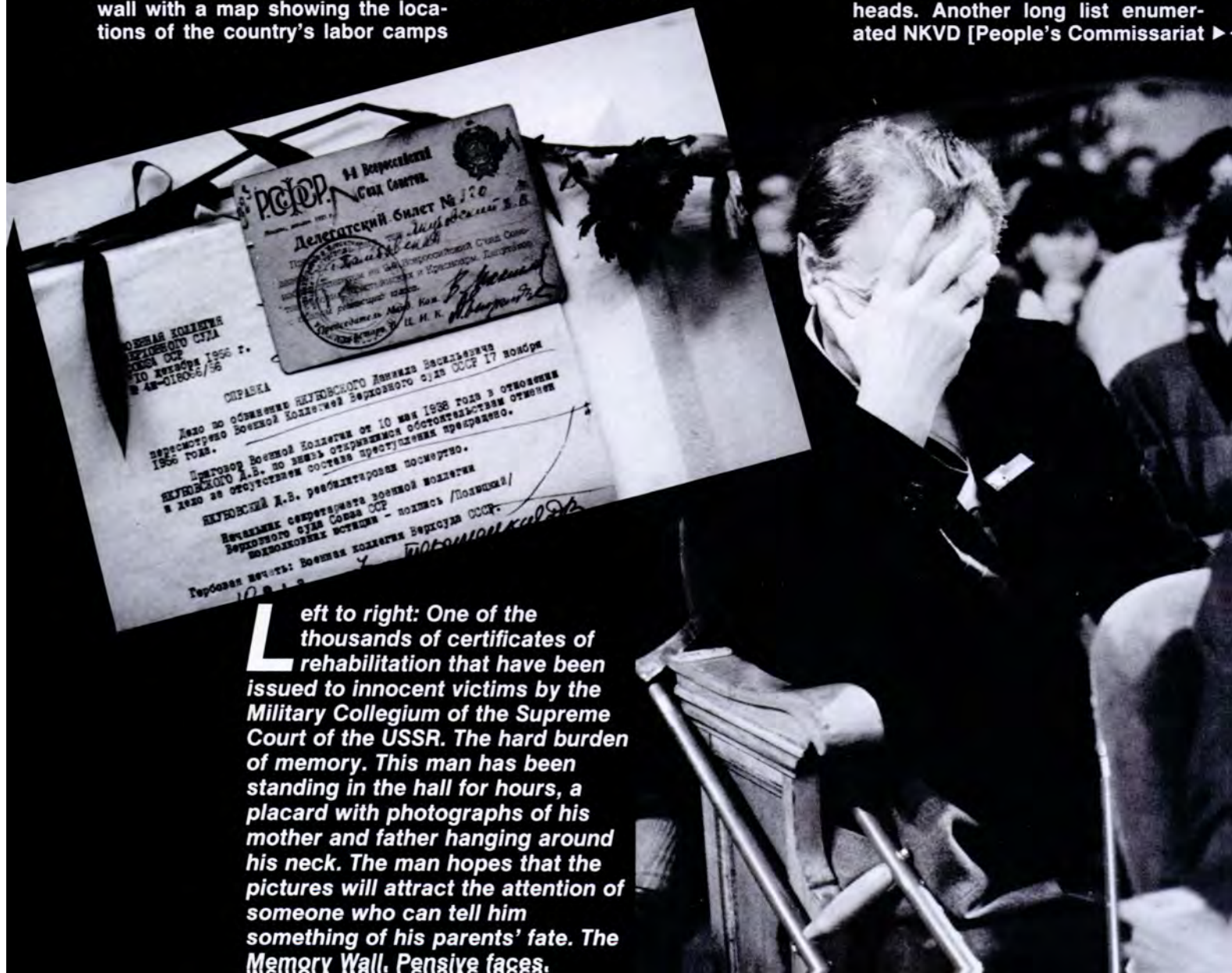
In one of the halls a wheelbarrow stood at the foot of a bare brick wall with a map showing the locations of the country's labor camps

on it—a symbol of convicts' suffering. Many visitors came to the structure with flowers, to pay their respects. Not only the victims' loved ones came. There were many young people looking for the truth as well.

Everyone who came to the exhibition stood long and silently before the Mourning Wall, where photographs, biographical sketches, and rehabilitation certificates of the victims, as well as old newspaper clippings, were arranged on white sackcloth. The photographs were the first thing one noticed. What kind, intelligent faces! Stalin's underlings certainly knew their business—they killed the cream of the nation.

Every hour brought more flowers. The halls of the cultural center were packed, but a reverent stillness reigned everywhere. Silent lines formed in front of every table at the information center. Widows, sons and daughters, grandchildren, and friends brought information on more and more victims. Few of the visitors displayed their grief openly. Years of fear and privation had taught them to guard their emotions.

Several stands displayed lists of victims, with 27,000 names in all. And there was also another list—one that had never been made public before. This contained the names of officials of the secret police, generals, and department heads. Another long list enumerated NKVD [People's Commissariat



Left to right: One of the thousands of certificates of rehabilitation that have been issued to innocent victims by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR. The hard burden of memory. This man has been standing in the hall for hours, a placard with photographs of his mother and father hanging around his neck. The man hopes that the pictures will attract the attention of someone who can tell him something of his parents' fate. The Memory Wall. Pensive faces.



ИМЯТЬ, А преследуют



of Internal Affairs] men who were awarded medals in the fateful year of 1937. Torturers and executioners received the highest Soviet awards, the Order of Lenin, the Order of the Red Star, and the Order of the Red Banner, for "outstanding service in fighting enemies of the people" and for "heroic work on government assignments."

The exhibition had a documentary atmosphere. Snapshots from the 1930s and 1940s were displayed everywhere. There were bird's-eye views of holiday demonstrations on Red Square and closeups of demonstrators radiating confidence and dynamism. The leaders betrayed a nation full of faith and enthusiasm, and they trampled its ideals underfoot. Much is being said about the starry-eyed idealism for which the Soviet people paid such a heavy price. We have to distinguish reality behind the pretty shop windows. Such is the lesson that our past has shown us, and we must learn it—better late than never.

This factory cultural center event resounded nationwide to start a strict reappraisal of Stalinism in our society. Stalinism has come to be seen as warfare against our nation, against the farmers, industrial workers, scholars, actors, artists, and, last but not least, the old Communists, Lenin's comrades in arms. We need to pass a merciless verdict on lawless terrorism. Otherwise we will never understand the phenomenon of the serf mentality, with its abject fear and willingness to betray. And we must understand this mentality in order never to give in to it again. With Stalin's aura

fading, justice, humanity, and legality are fighting their way back to the forefront.

We have enough blood-curdling evidence on which to base our verdict. We are all the victims of Stalinism, both former prisoners and people who have never been arrested. We will be unable to change Soviet ethics and revive our economy until we get Stalinism out of our system. Memory Week represented the beginning of a national drive to purge our community of the dire vestiges of the past.

Memorial Looks at the Past And the Future

Memorial, a national historical research and educational society, held its inauguration conference in Moscow in January 1989. The more than 500 delegates, from all parts of the Soviet Union, adopted a charter at the conference.

SOVIET LIFE interviewed Yuri Afanasyev, a prominent Soviet historian and cochairman of Memorial, on the goals and problems of this new public movement.

"We must revive the social consciousness of the community in order to cast off the evil spell of Stalinism," he said. "But a socially active community will never emerge unless cooperation among people with different views replaces the make-believe unity we had."

"To present the past to our nation as it really was is Memorial's principal duty. But since the past casts such a long shadow on the present, Memorial is also a political movement."

"The object of our study is not only history, but the individual within history. But history is more than a political retrospect. Since culture is a vital part of the social environment, Memorial is also a cultural movement."

"As we denounce terror and arbitrary action, we give the public an idea of legality. So Memorial is a juridical movement too."

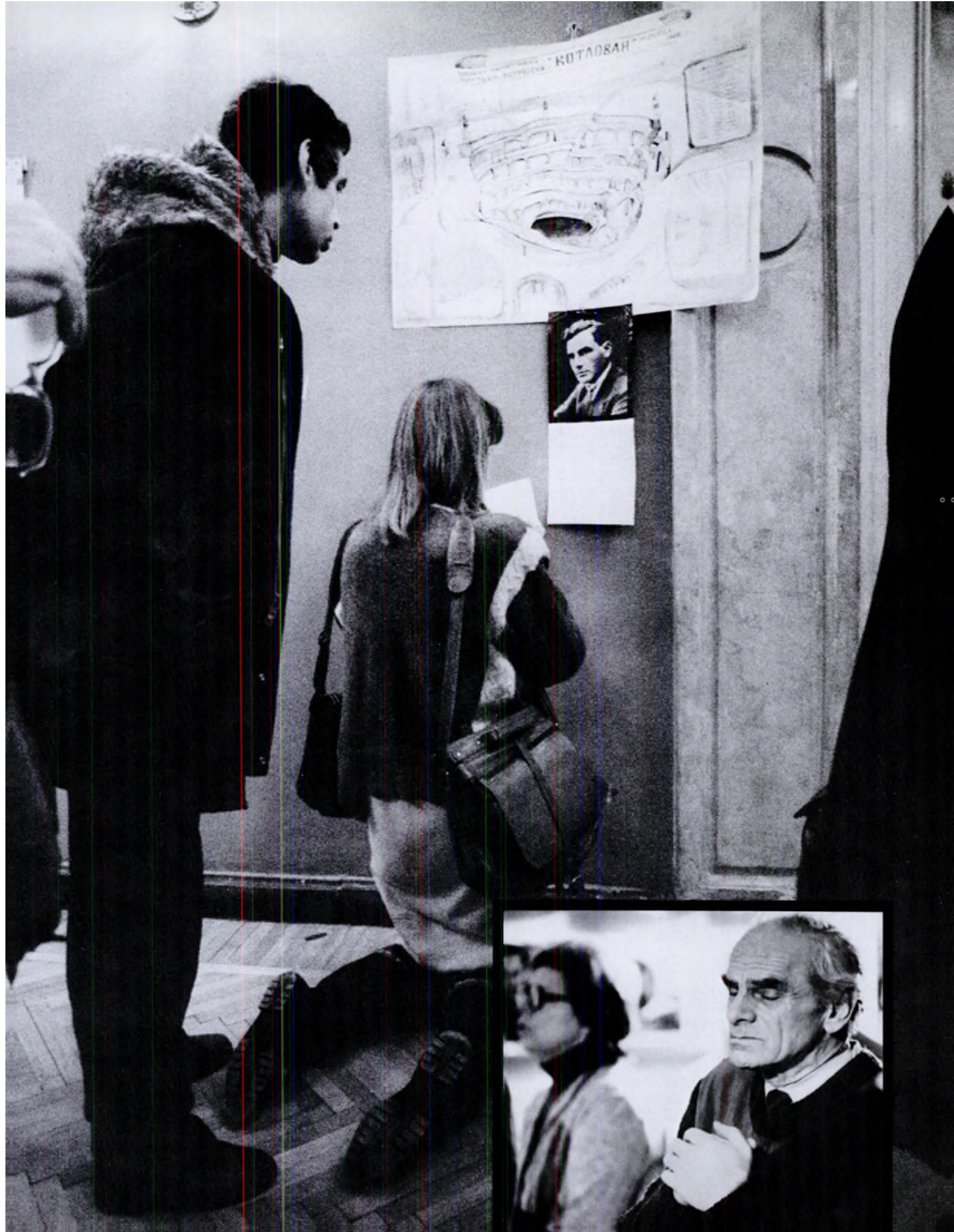
"To put all this in a nutshell, Memorial was set up to give a historical dimension to the average person's idea of life. As we appeal to the nation's memory, we want to take due account of everyone's personal experience. Every human fate represents precious historical evidence."

"We get information from all over the country about reactionaries who oppose the Memorial movement. These people are afraid of democracy, and democratic progress jars on their nerves."

"We are not alone in our plight. Other public organizations are coming up against similar obstacles. In fact, the whole country is facing the same barriers as it progresses toward *glasnost*, genuine democracy, and restructured social

Left to right: Tears. Sharing painful memories. The young also pay their respects. Journalist Igor Mezheriger's father was slandered, arrested, and shot in a Moscow prison.





relations—the ideals that were proclaimed by the Nineteenth Party Conference.

“Besides opposition from the outside, Memorial also has problems rooted in its tasks and principles. A social movement works for the revival of society as long as it revolves around the individual. As soon as extra-personal values gain the ascendancy, the movement is doomed to degenerate. Culture becomes a fetish, patriotism slides into chauvinism, and healthy politics turn into selfish policy mongering.

“Memorial has only one way to counteract that danger: by remaining always an ethical movement first and foremost. To monopolize ethics is the last thing Memorial wants. But ethical revival in a community is ruled out unless the good gains pride of place in every heart and mind. The shortest way to reach the heart and move it to repentance is through knowledge and understanding. Such is the way of Memorial and of the Soviet community as a whole.”

Stalin on Trial?

Some speakers at the Memorial inauguration conference declared

that it was high time for Stalin to stand posthumous trial, for a final verdict on Stalinism. This is what one of the conferees, Zhanna Zinchenko, had to say:

“It is painful to read about the crimes of Stalin and his associates, and of the party and government leaders he appointed. As you read about the innocent victims, you feel not only pain but shame because the atrocities took place in our socialist country and were committed in the name of communism, on behalf of our Communist Party and our nation—a nation that allowed an atmosphere of

Below, left and right: The Orthodox Church held a memorial service in honor of the victims of Stalinist atrocities. The service was held in the Kalitnikovskoye Cemetery in Moscow. Believers and nonbelievers gathered to pay their respects.

total suspicion to be created everywhere, a nation that tolerated informers. Fierce speakers at rallies demanded capital punishment for the enemies of the people, enemies who only the day before had been neighbors, colleagues, friends, and even relatives. Stalinism has its partisans even today. This is shameful.

“Only the truth can keep the barbed wire away from our country. But even the truth alone is no guarantee against a revival of the old ways. Words have to go hand in hand with deeds if we don’t want to see our dire past reenacted. The upper echelons must have their say here, and we need the appropriate legislation.

“Stalin and his gang are still members of our Communist Party. Can we tolerate this? The honest party and government leaders must be separated from the criminals who staged mass reprisals. We must do this with as much publicity as possible and posthumously expel Stalin and his stooges from the party. When will we hear that they have been judged? When will we remove their graves from Red Square?” ■



Pavel Florensky: A PHILOSOPHER'S TRAGEDY

Philosopher and theologian, art theorist and mathematician, engineer and inventor, Pavel Florensky explored the most diverse fields of human culture and enriched them with new discoveries.

During the last 20 years or so, more and more new works by Pavel Florensky have been posthumously published all over the world.

This article was written by Florensky's grandsons Hegumen Andronik (Trubachev) and Pavel Florensky. The authors have continued their grandfather's work, in theology and geology/mineralogy, respectively.

Our grandfather, Pavel Florensky, was born on January 9, 1882, into a family of scientists whose origins were of the lower clergy. "The Florenskys were always innovators, originators of whole movements and directions," he wrote in a letter in 1935.

It was clear from the beginning that Florensky would not fail to live up to family tradition. Reminiscing about his student years, he wrote: "My passion for knowledge consumed all my time and occupied all my attention." He concentrated on physics and observations of nature. When, in the summer of 1899, Florensky was finishing the gymnasium, he went through a spiritual upheaval. What he perceived as the limited and relative nature of physical knowledge first made him give thought to the issue of an Absolute and Indivisible Truth.

After this turnaround Florensky's first impulse was to join the common people and live their life. This was partly due to the influence of Leo Tolstoy's writings; the young man even wrote a letter to Tolstoy at that time. Florensky's parents, however, insisted that he get an education, and in 1900 he entered the department of physics and mathematics at Moscow University. He planned to make his Candidate of Science thesis part of a larger work synthesizing mathematics and philosophy.

Besides studying mathematics, Florensky attended lectures at the department of history and philology and studied art history on his own. It was probably at that time that his philosophy began to take shape—a philosophy permeated with a criticism of positivism, rationalism, and Kantianism from a position of objective idealism. He later wrote: "My studies of mathematics and physics have led me to recognize the formal possibility of a theoretical basis for a religious Weltanschauung common to all of humankind. I have become convinced that, historically and philosophically, it is possible to speak about religion, not religions, and it is an indispensable attribute of humanity, even though it assumes countless forms."

After graduating in 1904, Florensky entered the Moscow Theological

Academy in the desire, as he put it in one of his letters, "to achieve a synthesis of the ecclesiastical and lay cultures, to unite with the Church fully but without any compromises, to genuinely assimilate the entire positive body of the Church's teachings and the scientific and philosophical mentality together with art."

During those years his chief aspiration was to realize spirituality through life, not through abstract philosophizing. His candidate's thesis, "On Religious Truth" (1908), and the book *The Pillar and Establishment of the Truth* (1914) were devoted to the ways of initiation into the Russian Orthodox Church. Florensky summed up the main point of the book as "[a] living religious experience as the only legitimate means of learning dogma."

After finishing the academy in 1908, Florensky was assigned to teach at its department of history of philosophy, where he remained until 1919. From 1912 to 1917 Florensky headed the *Theological Herald* journal; during that period he cultivated a circle of friends that largely shaped the atmosphere of Russian culture in the early twentieth century.

The Revolution did not come as a surprise to Florensky. Indeed, he had written a great deal about an upcoming profound crisis of bourgeois civilization and often spoke about the im-

pending collapse of the accustomed foundations of life. But, as Sergei Bulgakov, a Russian philosopher who lived in self-imposed exile in Paris from 1923 onward, was to write, "While the country raved about a revolution, and clerico-political organizations sprang up one after another . . . Father Pavel remained aloof."

Certainly, we cannot represent Florensky as a person who was so naive as to fail to realize what hardships he would have to go through in Russia's remodeled society. Why then did he not emigrate, as many of the Russian intelligentsia did? Bulgakov answered this question best, as a man who had himself tasted the bitter cup of exile: "It seems natural that [Father Pavel] refused to go abroad, where he certainly could have expected a brilliant career as a scholar and probably also the world fame that passed him by. He must have known what was in store for him. He could not help knowing it; unambiguous premonitions of his country's destiny could be seen everywhere. Life offered him a choice between the Solovetsky Islands [where Florensky died in a political prison that had once been the Solovetsky Monastery] and Paris, but he opted for his native country. Solovetsky Islands or not, he sought to share his people's destiny to the end. Father Pavel was organically incapable of becoming an emigrant."

Florensky became one of the first members of the clergy to begin to collaborate with the Soviet authorities while continuing to serve the Church. He never went back on his convictions or was unfaithful to his holy orders. In 1920 he laid down a rule for himself: "Never forgo any of your convictions. Remember that a compromise leads to another compromise and so on ad infinitum." While cooperating with various Soviet authorities, he never tried to conceal the fact that he was a priest; in fact, he went to work in his sacral vestments. This strange combination, a priest in a Soviet office, greatly surprised witnesses.

Florensky's decision to participate in the cultural construction after 1917 was not made on the basis of theoretical abstractions. He believed it his moral duty and mission to preserve the foundations of spiritual culture.



"I scrutinized the world as a single whole."

He wrote in a letter of July 30, 1917: "Everything that is taking place around us naturally gives us much pain. I believe, however, that having run its course, nihilism will prove its emptiness, will start to bore everybody, become actively hated, and then, after the collapse of all this filth, the people's hearts and minds will turn to the Russian idea, to the idea of Russia, to the sacred Russia, and not as before, half-heartedly or with reservations, but with an eagerness born of hunger. . . . I am convinced that the worst is still *ahead*, not behind, that the crisis has *not* yet passed. But I believe that the crisis will cleanse the Russian atmosphere, even the worldwide atmosphere, which went rancid probably as early as the seventeenth century."

Persuading others not to "desert the ship" while attempts were made to jettison spiritual values, Florensky led by example. On October 22, 1918, he became a member of the commission for the protection of monuments of art and antiquities in the Troitse-Sergiyevsky Monastery. The commission was able to save treasures that had been nationalized and faced possible loss or destruction.

At the same time that he was working for the protection of Russia's cultural heritage, Florensky became involved in promoting science and technology. He chose applied physics, both because in this field he could help his country fulfill its electrification project and because he realized that he would not be allowed to study theoretical physics as he saw it.

The persecution of Florensky began in 1919-20, with the attempt to present the activities of the commission for the protection of the Troitse-Sergiyevsky Monastery as counter-revolutionary efforts to create an "Orthodox Vatican."

In the summer of 1928 Florensky was banished to the city of Nizhny Novgorod (now Gorky). Though he was allowed to return and was reinstated in his position three months later, the situation in Moscow by that time was such that Florensky said, "I returned from banishment to hard labor." On February 26, 1933, he was arrested, and on July 26, 1933, he received a 10-year sentence and was

soon sent to a camp in Eastern Siberia.

In late July and early August of 1934 Florensky's wife and three younger children managed to come to see him. His two elder sons were away on geological expeditions. That was the last time Florensky saw his family. On August 17, 1934, he was unexpectedly put into solitary confinement, and on September 1 he was transferred to the Solovetsky special-purpose camp in the northern European part of the USSR. On November 15, 1934, he began working at the Solovetsky camp factory that manufactured iodine. He investigated the extraction of iodine and agar from seaweed; he had over 10 patented inventions and discoveries.

Reorganized in the summer of 1937, the Solovetsky special-purpose camp became a special-purpose prison. "Now everything is gone (everything and everyone)," Florensky wrote to his wife in his last known letter, of June 3-4, 1937. "With my whole being I feel the smallness of humankind, its deeds, its efforts."

On November 25, 1937, Florensky was reconvicted, and further information about him is unreliable. Even the exact date of his death is uncertain. Twice convicted, he was posthumously rehabilitated also twice—in 1958 and 1959.

Central to Florensky's views on culture and history is the rejection of the idea that culture is a process continuous in time and space, with the corollary rejection of the evolution and progress of culture. As for individual cultures, Florensky developed the idea of their being subordinate to rhythmic shifts between two types of cultures—the medieval and Renaissance. A Renaissance culture has the following traits: fragmentation, individualism, a static nature, passivity, intellectualism, sensualism, and an analytic, abstract, and superficial character. In Florensky's opinion, Europe's Renaissance culture had run its course by the early twentieth century, and every field evinced the first signs of a culture of a new type. The medieval model is marked by an integral, organic, and dialectic character, dynamism, activity, volition, pragmatism (deed), realism, and concreteness. Florensky believed that his ideology

was in keeping with that of the Russian Middle Ages (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries).

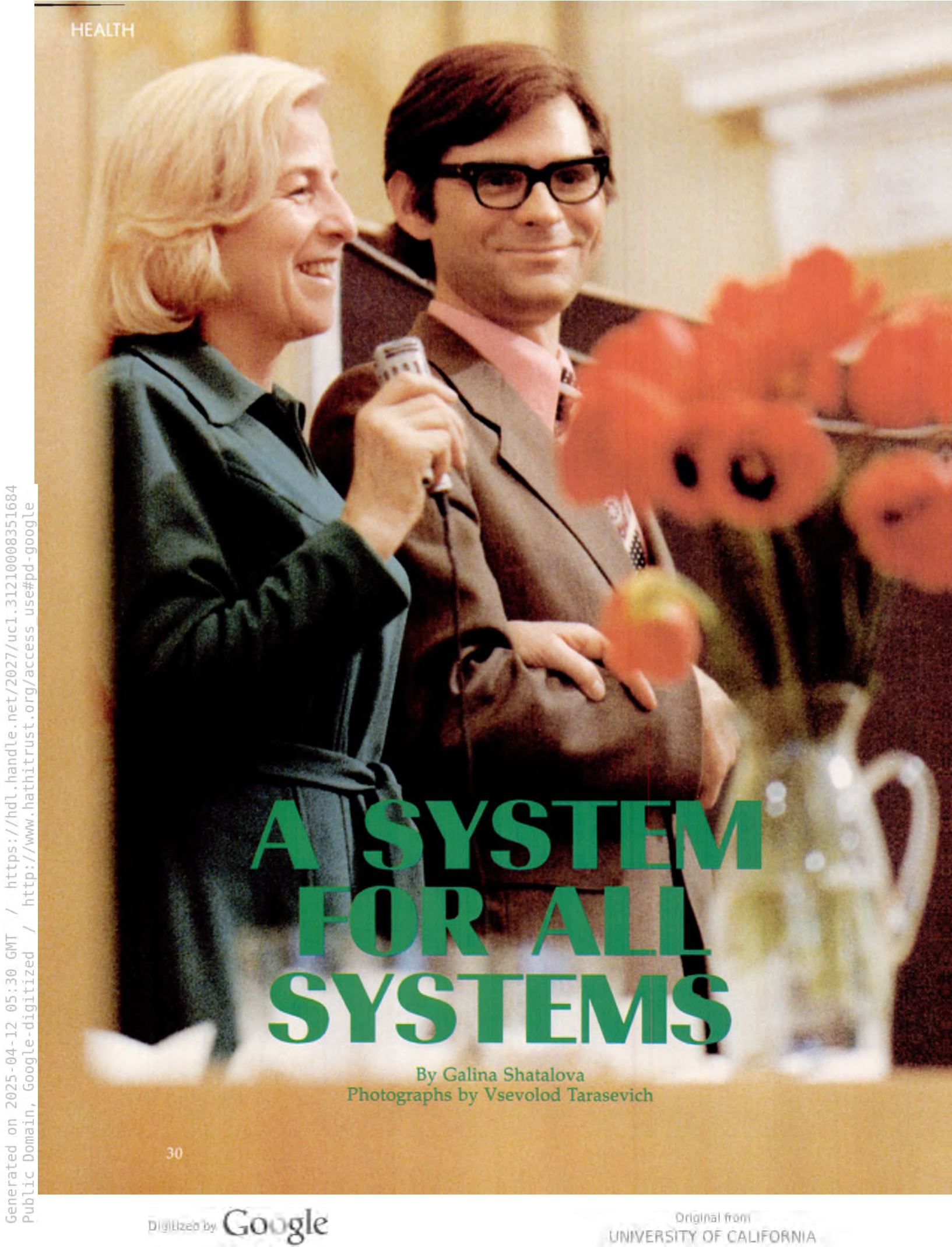
One of the last letters Florensky wrote from the Solovetsky camp, to his son Kirill on February 21, 1937, summed up his widely diverse activities: "What did I do all my life? I scrutinized the world as a single whole, as an integral picture and reality, but at every moment, or rather, at every stage of my life, I did so from a given angle on a given plane. The cross sections were different, but one cross section enriched, rather than nullified, another." The clash of the two cultures, Renaissance and medieval, was the very source of the tragedy in the philosopher's life and career.

What is the essential meaning of Florensky's ideology in our days? Formed as a thinker and scholar at the crossroads of cultures—European and folk, lay and religious—he warned that a culture not founded on spiritual principles was doomed.

"In retrospect, I see that I never had really favorable conditions for my work, partly because I do not know how to arrange my personal affairs, and partly because of the state of society, which lagged behind my ideas by at least 50 years. One can be ahead of one's time by two to three years at the most in order to be a success." (From a letter of April 20, 1937, from the Solovetsky Islands.)

And yet Pavel Florensky believed that the time he was waiting for would come. "I achieved serenity," he wrote, "when I realized beyond a doubt that the life of each of us, of nations, and of all humankind is directed by Benevolent Will, so one should not worry about anything except for today's tasks. And history itself is convincing evidence that ideology has already embarked on a new course, and therefore what is 'mine' is to triumph, and this triumph will be achieved without me, so my personal participation in this cause is a thing of slight importance. A little bit earlier, a little bit later, with some slight variations, the sensations that excited me will find expression and shape the nature of knowledge in the future. Today I am convinced of this."

Courtesy of the newspaper
Literaturnaya gazeta



A SYSTEM FOR ALL SYSTEMS

By Galina Shatalova
Photographs by Vsevolod Tarasevich

Galina Shatalova is a physician whose comprehensive program of health and fitness has drawn both controversy and thousands of followers over a period of almost 10 years.

All of the health programs currently in vogue are very much alike in principle. They start from the generally accepted theory that the fundamental reason for our illnesses and poor health is the harmful influence of our lifestyles, which no longer correspond to the purpose for which our bodies were created. So what we have to do now is alter our lifestyles and adapt them to the dictates of our evolution so that our bodies function smoothly.

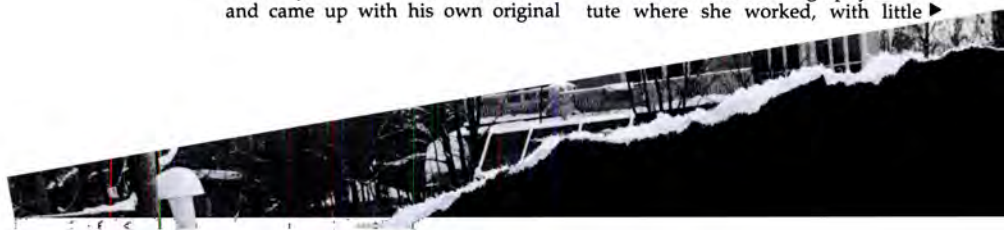
Each of the various health programs that have been worked out reflects the particular focus of its originator. The system developed by American scientists Paul Bragg and Herbert Shelton, for example, emphasizes nutrition; Soviet aircraft designer Alexander Mikulin discerned within the human body a certain system subject to the laws of mechanics and came up with his own original

program of behavior modification and physical training; and surgeon and philosopher Nikolai Amosov worked out a formula of "limits and loads."

My system is similar to all of those mentioned above. It touches upon how best to eat, breathe, move, and improve one's strength. However, before going into details, there's a short story to be told.

Up to a certain point in her life, Svetlana Kruglikova had led a fairly typical existence, with the usual ups and downs, joys and sorrows. Her concerns centered around the university, research work, visits to the theater, family, and her thesis. Then, suddenly, came the illness and death of her mother, financial difficulties, her child's illness, her own illnesses, hospitals, examinations, and uncertain diagnoses.

At 45 Kruglikova was still a junior researcher at the oceanography institute where she worked, with little





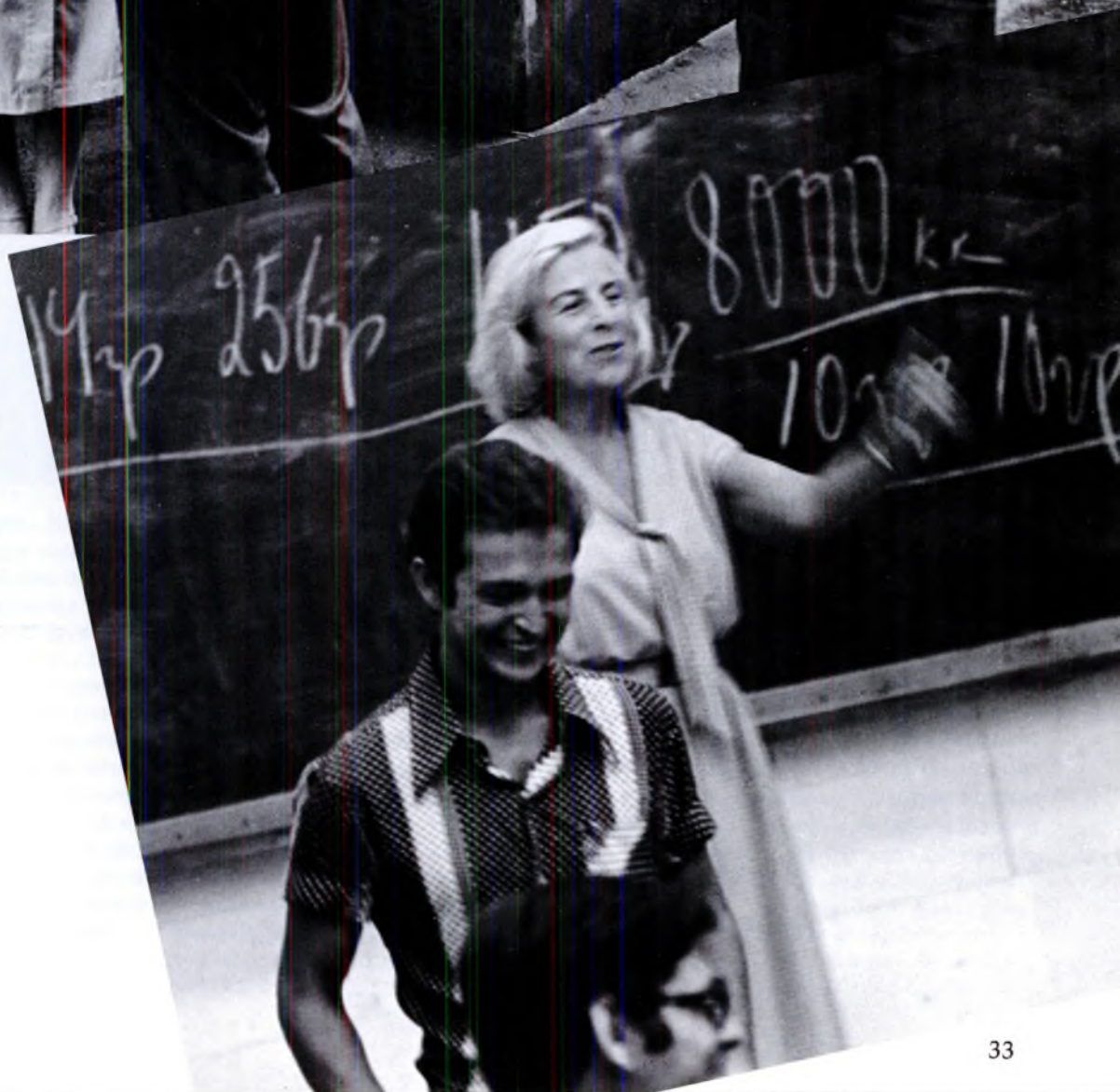
chance of promotion because she was on sick leave for six months of the year. She suffered especially from chronic bronchitis, severe radiculitis, pancreatitis, and shingles. On top of constant migraines, dizziness, and fatigue. There was vir-

ered thereafter with physical training of any kind. But here she was on the first day of her new life, getting up at five and going out for her first morning walk, with her husband to keep her company. It was difficult to walk quickly, but Kruglikova kept it up, patiently counting the steps. Before long, to her surprise, it got easier with her speed and her endurance, and finally there

Kruglikova's story is an illustration of what my program can do. The idea behind the program can be summed up in a fairly simple and clear premise: Our food, our movement, our psychology, and all other activities should not transgress the boundaries of humankind's natural requirements. But what are these boundaries? Obviously, they should correspond to the conditions under



Facing page:
Devotees run for
their lives. Above:
Shatalova's program
has saved many of
her patients from
death; today they
are leading normal
lives. Right:
Shatalova has
thousands of
followers. Her
lectures attract
wide audiences
of students,
researchers, and
homemakers.





CONGRATULATIONS AND THANKS!

The purpose of SOVIET LIFE magazine has always been to promote understanding between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union. It's a noble purpose—but meaningless without dedicated people committed to working toward that goal. One such person is our American stylistic editor Lillian Henley, who this past April celebrated her fortieth anniversary with the Information Department of the Soviet Embassy. Mrs. Henley, who also worked on our predecessor, USSR Information Bulletin, witnessed the birth of SOVIET LIFE, guided it through adolescence and watched it enter adulthood (going through two name changes along the way). Over the years her expertise in the English language has proved invaluable to the Soviet editors, all of whom are much indebted to her, and have always known they could count on her characteristic response: "Okay, now let's put it into English." On this auspicious anniversary, Lillian, we, the editors and staff of SOVIET LIFE magazine in Moscow and in Washington, offer you our heartfelt thanks and wish you health, happiness, and a peaceful sky overhead. ■

MUSCOVITES

Continued from page 7

"Our generation has discovered a different America—a free and rich country with a supereconomy. It is a country with a great culture," wrote a Moscow ninth grader who took part in this poll.

"My opinion of Americans has changed, and I am now prepared to think of them as friends," wrote another student.

"Many people here think that the United States is populated mostly by characters like Rambo and Rocky, and only a few normal people," one young man wrote. "I don't think that everyone is absolutely happy in the United States—every country has its shortcomings and negative features. But in my opinion, even though leaders may be good or bad, there is no such thing as a totally good or a totally bad nation. I think this is true of both the Soviet Union and the United States."

Over the years of *perestroika*, media coverage of life in the United States has grown more balanced: Positive characters from American movies appear on the small screen, and prominent American political analysts speak before Soviet television audiences. Not long ago the weekly magazine *Za rubezhom* (*Abroad*) published statistics on how the U.S. Army is getting its alcohol and drug problem under control. Several years ago the publication of such statistics would have been simply impossible: It was believed that describing American soldiers as drug addicts or drunkards was good for our nation.

There was one very sensitive question that Project Understanding did not shrink from asking: "How often do you drink an alcoholic beverage?" Thirty-six per cent of the respondents said they never drink alcoholic beverages. None of the 1,006 respondents in Moscow admitted to drinking every day, and five per cent have a drink once or twice a week. Almost half have a couple of drinks several times a year.

The poll revealed a very strong antidrinking tendency in this country. Has the society that only recently was

the world's leader in alcohol consumption changed so radically in such a short period of time? Or maybe some of the respondents were not being completely honest?

It is probably harder to assess the accuracy of this section of the poll than any other. This is a sensitive topic in the Soviet Union these days, and some of the people polled may not have been completely candid about their drinking habits.

In the very beginning of *perestroika*, the Soviet Union passed an unprecedentedly harsh antidrunkenness law, and society began to sober up. The rate of alcohol-related deaths has fallen by one-half, the rate of alcoholism by 11 per cent, and alcohol-related crimes went down by one-quarter. For the first time in the past few decades, the average life expectancy began to rise. Judging from all this, there were grounds to believe that the first round of the battle for a sober life had been won.

It turned out in a short while, however, that the battle was going on in accordance with decisions by fiat: Many liquor stores were closed, and some cities and areas had introduced alcohol rations and even prohibition. As a result, liquor profiteering and moonshining began growing noticeably. So the antidrunkenness law hit occasional drinkers, who did not resort to illegal means to get alcohol, harder than people with excessive drinking habits.

None of the respondents in Moscow had participated in a public opinion poll before, and only eight per cent of them knew what polls were all about. A majority of them—88 per cent—are ready to take part in more polls.

There were fewer women (45 per cent) than men among the respondents, although women make up a larger percentage of the Soviet population. Young people under 30 years of age constituted 17 per cent of the respondents, and people aged 60 years and older, 20 per cent.

Eighty-eight per cent of the respondents were Russians, five per cent Jews, and three per cent Ukrainians. This corresponds to the demographic composition of Moscow's population.

ECOLOGY UPDATE

ARE WE DOING ENOUGH?



Academician Yevgeni Syroyechkovsky of the USSR Academy of Agricultural Sciences is a prominent Soviet environmentalist and a specialist in the ecology of Siberia and the Far North. He is known for his broad outlook, principled approach to nature conservation, and conscientiousness. Recently Academician Syroyechkovsky gave an interview to SOVIET LIFE correspondent Alexander Tropkin.

Q: Do you perceive any common trend in the ecological crises that have developed almost simultaneously in various parts of our country?

A: It's pretty well established that the causes of our ecological crises are the same as the ones that had such a shattering effect on our economy and social sphere during the stagnation period. They are all interrelated.

The scientific approach to nature and the long-established moral basis of humankind's relationship with the world around it were tossed aside by the timeserving interests of irresponsible economic executives, the bureaucratic arrogance of the ministries and departments, and criminal frauds in science. Nature tolerated all those abuses for just so long, but we cannot expect it to do so indefinitely.

Take, for example, the massive-scale cultivation of virgin and fallow lands in Kazakhstan and the Altai. Only recently those projects were lauded and glorified from every rooftop, but today that "boundless granary" is recording the lowest grain productivity in the country: 500 to 600 kilograms per hectare. Why is that?

When it all started three decades ago, high-ranking ministry officials

were mesmerized by the cosmic scale of that massive plowing, but for some reason the experts forgot that large areas of land under cultivation require protective strips of forest and tracts of unplowed land. So nature avenged itself with droughts, dust storms, erosion, and an almost complete barrenness of the soil.

This, of course, is only one example. The arrogant attitude that prevailed during the period of stagnation has also been responsible for the pollution of our lakes, rivers, and air.

Q: *Perestroika* has already brought about substantial changes in our approach to economic and social problems. Have there been appreciable changes in the approaches to ecology as well?

A: Yes; we ecologists have made some important progress too. With the help of the mass media we have attracted the attention of broad segments of the public to the complicated ecological situations of Lake Baikal and Lake Ladoga, and to the Aral Sea crisis. It is getting more and more difficult these days to conceal crimes against nature and to escape punishment for them.

Public outcry has forced our country's leadership to abandon the disastrous "project of the century," which ►

would have partially diverted some northern-flowing rivers southward. The construction of a number of nuclear power plants has been suspended as a result of public pressure, and some polluting factories and plants have been closed down.

I would say that over a comparatively short period there has been a qualitative shift in the ecological mentality of our people, of both the general public and executive workers. And this is just the beginning.

Q: Let's imagine that you are the head of the newly founded USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation. What ecological problems would you make your first priority?

A: I would start with the broadest possible introduction of waste-free technologies and the further refinement of various purification systems. I am really convinced that ecologically clean production is also the most profitable production.

It is imperative to start drafting a comprehensive program of nature conservation in our country, which should first of all include the establishment of an integrated system of nature preserves, sanctuaries, and national parks. A major goal of that future program should be the preservation and restoration of rare plant and animal species.

At the same time, we must conduct fundamental studies in the field of ecology.

Q: How would you rate the state of our nature conservation policies?

A: In the Soviet Union the situation is somewhat better than, say, in Western Europe.

Our country is proud to have the world's largest nature preserves, such as the Kronotsky, with 964,000 hectares; the Taimyrsky, with 1.3 million hectares; the Lensky, with about 2 million hectares; and others. The total area of all the 150 protected territories in various parts of the Soviet Union is 11 million hectares.

Sheer size is, of course, not the point, but large protected zones are really necessary because they enable scientists to conduct important observations on the way one or another ecological system develops under nat-

ural, "model" conditions. Besides, nature preserves are a priceless gift to our descendants, who will be able to get a glimpse of nature's wealth and scope from those scattered islands of protected wilderness.

Q: There is also the view that a large number of preserves today is an im-

***So far we aren't
doing too badly,
thanks to our
country's vast
expanses. But we
have to be careful.
The illusory notion
that our natural
resources were
inexhaustible
remained entrenched
in our society for
many years, and that
has had a negative
effect on the
ecological awareness
of several
generations.
Unfortunately, I
think that this
illusion still prevails
in the minds of the
management of many
industrial
enterprises.***

permissible luxury, that they rob the economy of badly needed land and natural resources . . .

A: That is a dangerous delusion. The across-the-board advance of civilization has already led to a situation where some Western European coun-

tries have been left almost totally without forests, losing hundreds of plant and animal species in the process. In many countries a river free of industrial wastes is a great rarity. Repairing all that damage will take decades, even centuries. But here is where another problem arises: How can something be restored when the natural models of entire ecosystems—forests, meadows, rivers, or lakes—are lost forever? That is why it is so important to have nature preserves of all types and sizes. They are the main repository of natural models.

Q: Aren't we in danger of following the same path that the Western European countries have taken?

A: No, not yet, primarily because the state, as I have already mentioned, actively encourages the establishment of nature preserves and national parks, and finances their research.

Only recently the number of preserves in Siberia could have been counted on the fingers of one hand. Today their number stands at 21, including the most recently established—the Central Siberian Preserve, on the Yenisei River.

So far we aren't doing too badly, thanks to our country's vast expanses. But we have to be careful. The illusory notion that our natural resources were inexhaustible remained entrenched in our society for many years, and that has had a negative effect on the ecological awareness of several generations. Unfortunately, I think that this illusion still prevails in the minds of the management of many industrial enterprises.

Q: The wounds inflicted on the nature of northern climates heal particularly slowly, don't they?

A: That's just the point. The ecosystems of the Far North are very fragile, and their restoration takes three to four times longer than those, say, in medium latitudes. So the Far North calls for especially sensitive, responsible treatment.

This is not a problem facing the Soviet Union alone. All of the nations whose territories border on the Arctic Circle need to cooperate to set up an environmental program for that area of the world. ■

An aerial photograph of a river winding through a vast, dense forest. The river is a vibrant blue, contrasting sharply with the lush green of the surrounding trees. The forest appears to be a taiga, with a mix of coniferous and deciduous trees. The river has several rapids and small islands, creating a dynamic pattern of white water and blue pools. The overall scene is one of natural beauty and tranquility.

IN THE CLEANEST PLACE IN THE WORLD

By Alexander Dorozhkin
Photographs by Vyacheslav Bobkov

The taiga forest is made up mainly of fir trees, larches, and cedars. It has about 650 kinds of herbs, flowers, mosses, and shrubs. The newly created Central Siberian Preserve protects seven million hectares of this territory.



Left to right: Denis Angizitov wants to be a biologist. On his summer vacations he comes to the Central Siberian Preserve and rings birds with the researchers. Rocks like these are a common sight in the Central Siberian Preserve. Research associates of the preserve conduct observations all year round, monitoring central Siberian flora and fauna.

Siberia is a land of astonishing beauty, even for veteran travelers and nature lovers. The solemn Yenisei, the most full-flowing Soviet river, is almost three kilometers wide here. On both sides of its steep, rocky banks stretch vast expanses of taiga, glittering with hundreds of large and small lakes and bogs. Serpentine tributaries wind through canyons. This pristine coniferous land is endowed with a rich variety of flora and fauna.

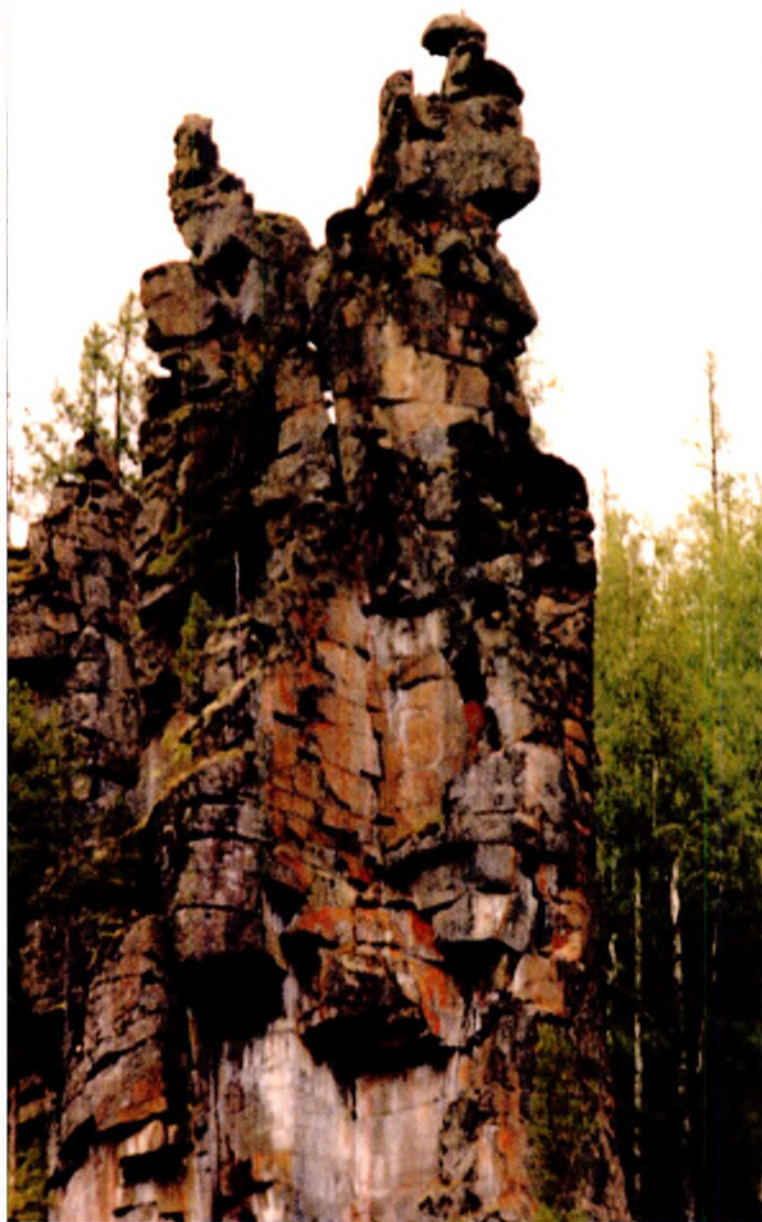
Three years ago a territory of almost seven million hectares was put under state protection, and a gigantic new preserve was formed. The Central Siberian Preserve was granted the status of a biosphere preserve immediately—which does not happen of-

ten. That designation means the preserve has several zones—the preserve proper (750,000 hectares), where scientists from the Northern Ecological Station of the USSR Academy of Sciences have been conducting research for many years now; a buffer zone (200,000 hectares) protecting the "nucleus" from the direct impact of human activity; and an economic zone (five million hectares) with several hunting, fishing, and deer-breeding stations.

Soviet preserves, whose purpose is environmental protection and scientific research, differ from national parks in other countries, where tourists come for recreation. In recent years many national parks have been set up in the Soviet Union too.

The creation of the Central Siberian Preserve was of major significance. Although such preserves had previously existed in the south of Siberia and in the arctic North, none had been established in central Siberia at all, from the middle reaches of the Ob River to the Pacific. Besides, the taiga occupies almost a third of this country's territory. Scientists believe that the newly established preserve is ecologically the cleanest place on this planet.

The Central Siberian Preserve is an oasis of crystal clean air and water, and uncontaminated soil. It seems unbelievable that such a place could exist today, when our planet is suffocating from exhaust gases and is polluted by industrial wastes.



The taiga forest is made up mainly of shaggy fir trees, emerald larches, and thickset cedars. It has about 650 kinds of herbs, flowers, mosses, and shrubs. Some of them have been entered in the USSR Red Data Book.

The preserve abounds in birds and other animals. Siberian rivers and lakes are home to rare species of fish.

The brown bear is the master of the taiga. Siberian bears are extremely large. They can be seen in the taiga quite often, but not as often, of course, as elks, wolves, wolverines, marten, and wood grouse. Catching sight of a sable has long been regarded as a piece of luck. Sables are absolutely safe in the preserve, and they do not have to fear poachers or traps. Hunting, fishing, and the gath-

ering of berries, mushrooms, and medicinal herbs—all these activities are prohibited in the inner rings of the preserve, although they are allowed in the preserve's economic zone. Any violation of these rules is punishable by law.

The Central Siberian Preserve is an invaluable resource for zoologists, botanists, ecologists, geographers, and soil experts. The scientists' work follows specially elaborated programs.

One of these, called "Chronicle of Nature," has been instituted in 150 other preserves in this country. For many years scientists have been observing changes in flora and fauna, the atmosphere, soil, and waters.

The economic zone of the preserve is one of a kind. On its territory lives

a small ethnic group of only 1,100 people, called Kets. The Kets are a real enigma for ethnographers. Their language is the only surviving branch of the ancient Yenisei family of languages. Other Northern peoples, such as the Evenks and the Nenets, speak entirely different languages and dialects. How did the Kets come to occupy their place in the very center of Siberia? That is a question to which the experts still have no answer. From time immemorial the Kets have been hunting and fishing. They hunt sable, squirrel, elk, and upland fowl better than anybody else. But the indigenous peoples of the Yenisei taiga have always lived in harmony with nature, and we, the children of civilization, could learn a good deal from them. ■

LEO TOLSTOY

Correspondence with America

By Lydia Gromova-Opulskaya

Leo Tolstoy said that he had a particular spiritual affinity with America, that America, more than any other nation, shared his own ideas and aspirations.

Few people know that Leo Tolstoy's correspondence with Americans represents a considerable part of his archives kept in a steel vault in Moscow. (By a decision of the Soviet Government, all original manuscripts of the great writer's works, his letters, and other archival materials are kept in a safe in which Tolstoy kept money, securities, and other valuables. So even if the house were destroyed by fire, the papers would not be lost.)

Many of Tolstoy's letters to Americans were published in a 90-volume collection of his works. But a number of other letters were discovered only after the collection was published and so are not included. Still other letters were sent to America on Tolstoy's behest by members of his family and his secretaries. Just 42 letters that Tolstoy received from Americans have been published in Russian translation so far, while there were nearly 1,000 correspondents and around 1,300 letters in all—a very unsatisfactory situation, to say the least. The letters are of great interest, not only because they

constitute an interesting chapter in the history of relations between our two countries, but also because descendants of the people who corresponded with Tolstoy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may well be alive.

Working in cooperation with American scholars, the Gorky Institute of World Literature of the USSR Academy of Sciences is currently preparing a comprehensive study for publication. The study, entitled *Leo Tolstoy and the United States*, will include all Tolstoy's letters, interviews, memoirs, commentaries, and notes on books by American authors.

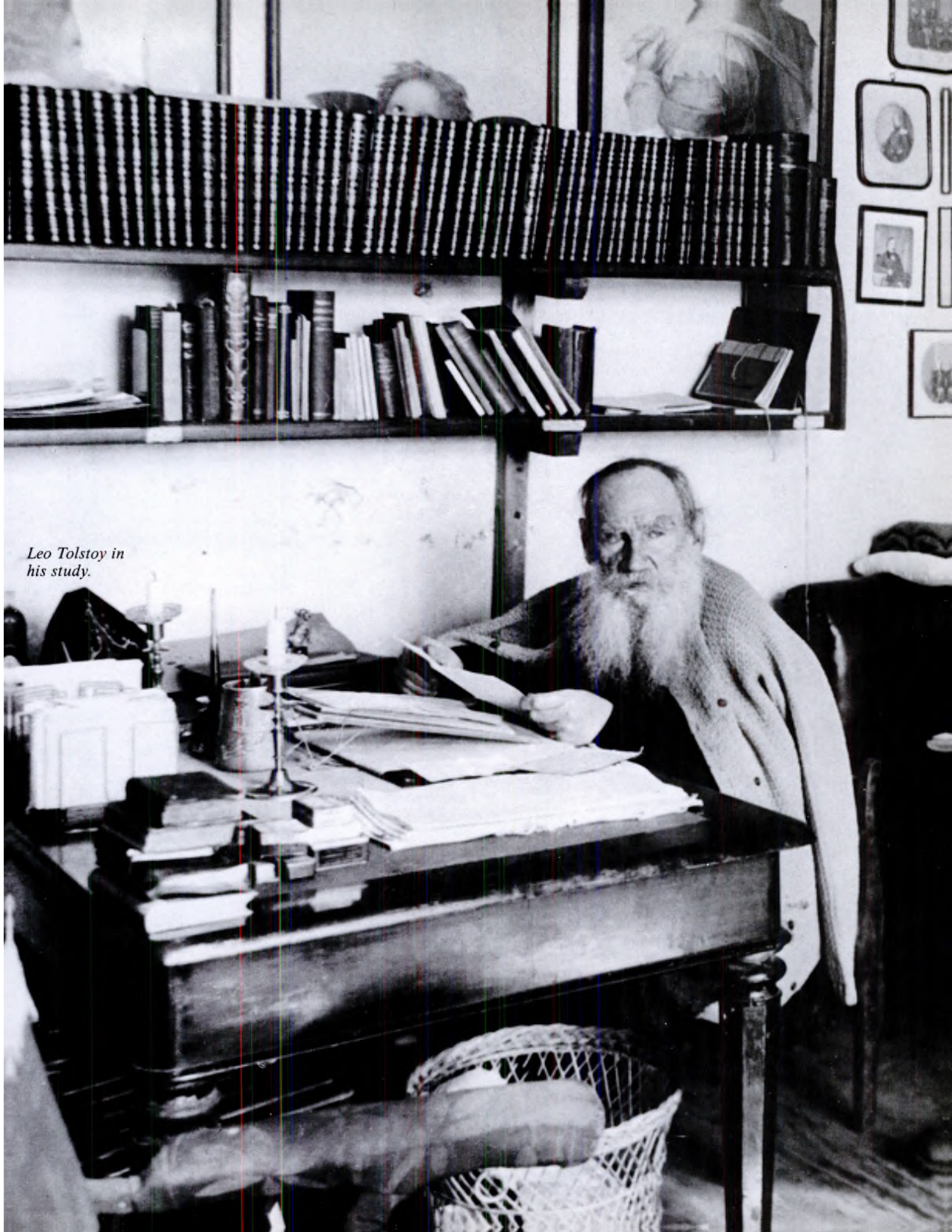
It seems that Tolstoy received letters from people from all walks of life: writers, journalists, translators, political leaders, public figures, ordinary people, and even children.

Through Tolstoy's works America "discovered Russia," and Americans were eager for the author of *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina*, and *Resurrection* to know about that discovery. For instance, in the spring of 1887, American writer John William DeForest wrote to Tolstoy that to him the au-

thor's characters were real, living people and as much part and parcel of Russian life as the author himself. DeForest noted that Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, and Gogol populated expanses that had been a wasteland to DeForest, known only by their geographic names. He added that when he visited Russia, he would be looking for Natasha, Pierre, and Levin.

Americans turned to Tolstoy for help, sympathy, advice, and support for their convictions. In 1904 the Leo Tolstoy Association in New York set up a society whose members conveyed to Tolstoy their admiration and gratitude. O. F. Barres from Arcola, Illinois, sent him an antiwar leaflet in 1909. The Brotaws asked for material aid. Isabel Barrows sent to Yasnaya Polyana her foster daughter's play, in which the action was set in Russia. (It advocated a "peaceful solution to the Russian struggle.") When the great Russian writer was dying in Astapovo, a letter arrived there from Indianapolis. It was from Walter L. Benton, who sent Tolstoy a "revelation bestowed upon him the previous year by God."

*Leo Tolstoy in
his study.*



Tolstoy's handwritten comments, such as "very pleasing" and "very gratifying," appear on some of the letters. The latter comment is found on a letter from a semiliterate worker who expressed his appreciation of Tolstoy's article "Slavery in Our Day." On one occasion a correspondent asked him whether compulsory smallpox vaccination was admissible. Tolstoy dictated the reply: "I view all compulsion as evil and criminal." To an agricultural company's inquiry about farming methods, Tolstoy answered: "For over 20 years now Leo Tolstoy has had no property and so does not engage in farming."

In 1910 a missionary named Tere-shchenko wrote to Tolstoy. A summary of his reply is found on the letter: "Nobody is called upon to teach others; one must only teach oneself."

The naiveté of some of the letters is touching. Lello d'Apery's letter of November 6, 1889, reads:

I am a little boy and live in New York, where I publish this little paper to make money to buy shoes for poor little children. I read a great deal about you in the papers and your noble work, and thought perhaps you would be willing to write something for *The Sunny Horn* for the sake of helping the poor little children. It can be in any language, and I will have it translated.

If you would, it would help me sell a great number of papers, for you are very much loved here. I am sending you my picture and would be very glad if you would send me yours, and I would keep it always.

Your little
American friend

Recent discoveries have been made even in those spheres of Tolstoy's correspondence that had been considered well known. Ernst Crosby was an American writer and political figure. Some of the letters Tolstoy wrote to him were published in the 90-volume collection, and a study devoted to him was included in the seventy-ninth volume of *Literary Heritage (Tolstoy and Foreign Countries)*.

It was generally known that after reading Tolstoy's book *About Life*, Crosby resigned his position as U.S. representative to the international court headquartered in Alexandria,

Egypt, at that time; cut short his political career; and, after interviewing Tolstoy in Yasnaya Polyana, dedicated the rest of his life to social reform. Tolstoy's archives contained 46 of Crosby's letters.

An excerpt from his first letter, the one he wrote after reading Tolstoy's *About Life*, reads:

How far I may have strength to "*renoncer à mon bien individuel*" in my own life, as I see is my clear duty, I do not know, but I am sure that I can never be as skeptical and hopeless and useless again as I was before I read the book.

I discovered another interesting bit of information in a letter written in 1897: "I have noticed in public speaking that the idea of nonresistance calls forth more applause than anything else."

But recently we have learned that many more letters from Leo Tolstoy and members of his family were in America than we had supposed.

After Tolstoy was excommunicated from the Church in 1901, and a rumor was circulating that he would be expelled from Russia, Crosby wrote him that thousands of people would be glad if he came to live in America and invited him to stay in his own home.

Upon learning that the author was seriously ill, Crosby wrote to him:

It must be some consolation for you to know that there are hundreds of people like me all over the world who owe their faith, hope, and love to you and to whom you brought the word of life at just the right time. There can be no greater comfort in leaving the world than to feel that one has left a faithful spiritual posterity behind.

Isabel Hapgood, an American translator of Tolstoy's works, refused to translate his treatise entitled *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, but she did make a major contribution to the effort to organize aid to hunger-stricken Russian peasants, which won her Tolstoy's heart.

Many of Tolstoy's letters to Hapgood are published in the 90-volume collection. But, as was the case with

Crosby, more letters—50 in all—were in her archives than we had previously supposed.

Hapgood translated not only Tolstoy's works but also, for instance, Russian folk legends known as *byliny*. In 1887 she wrote to Tolstoy:

The amazement and delight that were caused by the *byliny*—those truly remarkable productions of the Russian peasants, were very great in America and England. The profound appreciation of the qualities of the people whom you have shown us leads me to think that you will be interested in knowing how they impressed us abroad.

Hapgood was willing to go to any lengths to raise funds. For instance, she once asked Tolstoy to send her some autographs that could be sold. He flatly refused. But during the famine their mutual correspondence became particularly extensive.

And, last but not least, there was Andrew D. White. Unlike Crosby or Hapgood, White is not mentioned at all in the 90-volume collection, the *Chronicle of the Life and Work of Leo Tolstoy*, or the seventy-fifth volume of *Literary Heritage*.

From the spring of 1892 to the fall of 1894 White was the U.S. Ambassador to Russia, and it was during that period that he met Tolstoy. White described that experience in his autobiography, which was published in London in 1905.

However, it turns out that the Ambassador also kept a diary while he was in Russia. White later became the first president of Cornell University, where his archives are kept. Not long ago we obtained a Xerox copy of his notes.

Everyone is optimistic that with energetic cooperation we will manage to complete *Leo Tolstoy and the United States*. The American contribution to this effort is being coordinated by Professor Frank Silbajoris of the University of Ohio.

Lydia Gromova-Opulskaya, Doctor of Science (Philology), heads the Russian classics section at the Gorky Institute of World Literature of the USSR Academy of Sciences.



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USSR

VICTORY DAY COMRADES IN ARMS MEET IN POLTAVA

By Lyudmila Magnitskaya and
Elya Vasilyeva
Photographs by Pavel Zdobovilo



USA

May 9, 1989, marks the forty-fourth anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany. That glorious day will never be forgotten by the Soviet people, especially the veterans of the Great Patriotic War. They will cherish memories of front-line comradeship for life. The same sentiments inspired about 100 American veterans of World War II to visit the Soviet Union last year.



Snapshots of Allied soldiers taken in Poltava in 1944. More than four decades later many Soviet and American veterans met again. Even during the cold war years, the veterans from the Soviet Union and the United States preserved and expressed their trust in and sympathy and friendship toward each other. They know from experience the importance of normalizing relations between countries.



They all had much in common. All of them were in their sixties, but thanks to their military bearing, they didn't look their age. Common experiences had brought them together—these were people who had lived through horrible suffering, had lost friends and knew the pain of old wounds, and whose happiest day was Victory Day, when they knew there would be peace.

That meeting of Soviet and American veterans was held at the Soviet Veterans Committee in Moscow. In-tourist, which organized the trip, offered the visitors from the United States an interesting itinerary, though perhaps a little too extensive considering the age of the tourists. Hardly any foreigner visiting the Soviet Union would have turned down such a sightseeing program: the Moscow Kremlin, with its treasures; Leningrad, which is one of the world's most

beautiful cities; and the ancient city of Kiev. And yet the American guests unanimously chose to go to Poltava instead. It is a rather small town in the Ukraine and a place rarely visited by foreign tourists.

"Poltava was so dear to us in war-time because it was home to us—for a few days to some of us and for months to others," said U.S. Air Force Colonel (Ret.) Richard Brown, one of the visiting veterans who had taken part in the so-called Shuttle Bombing Mission in 1944. Shuttle bombing missions were U.S. Air Force operations that took off from airfields in Great Britain or Italy, raided targets on enemy territory, and then flew to air force bases in the USSR or North Africa. After the planes were inspected, repaired, and refueled, they flew back, bombing enemy objectives on the way.

Brown, now retired and living in California, was a supply officer in

charge of shipments of U.S. equipment to the USSR. He was stationed in Poltava for seven months, heading a laboratory where aerial photographs of German military objectives were developed. He reminisced: "When I first arrived in Poltava after a flight from Moscow, I found the city razed and the people living in dire circumstances. Now, in 1988, the city has been completely rebuilt, and it's much larger than I remembered it. In fact, the only thing I could identify was the Victory Column, a monument commemorating the triumph of Russian troops led by Peter the Great in the Battle of Poltava, where the Swedish invaders were routed. But one thing about the people there has not changed—a warm smile and a firm handshake still work wonders."

Said another member of the group of American World War II veterans, Colonel (Ret.) David Rowe: "I was a first lieutenant when I arrived in Pol-



Top: A group of American war veterans and their families in Poltava on May 9, 1988, the forty-third anniversary of Victory Day. The Soviet and American veterans had a lot to talk about: shared suffering, loss of friends, the pain of old wounds, the fear of death, the joy of victory. Above left: Julian Batyunin (left) and former U.S. military pilot Louis Rottila. Below left: U.S.A.F. Col. (Ret.) Richard Brown and Soviet Army Lieutenant General Vasili Obratz (right).

tava on a photo reconnaissance mission in June of 1944. While flying a mission, I was shot down by a German fighter. I parachuted down and was picked up by Russian farmers in the area west of Kiev. The Soviet military transferred me to a Russian hospital in Kiev, where I was treated with excellent and friendly attention by Soviet doctors and staff. I only wish that I knew their names and how to contact them so that I could tell them again how grateful I am for their care and concern in those trying times. During this second visit I have been able to meet with and talk to many of your veterans in Moscow and Poltava. I want to thank them again for the courtesy and friendship they extended to all of us during this stay in your wonderful country."

It's true that our soldiers have always been daring and courageous, and not only in wartime. Even in the years when our two countries developed mutual resentment, Soviet and American World War II veterans never stopped expressing their trust in and sympathy for each other. World War II veterans have a special role to play in normalizing relations today between our two countries. ■

ALLIES IN ROUGH WATERS

Text and
Photographs by
M. Vesta Murphy

M. Vesta Murphy is a deck hand and cook onboard the F/V *Topaz*. He has participated in many joint fishing ventures.



The author (second from left) with his Soviet counterparts onboard the *Mys Yegorova*. Above: A lifeboat from the *Mys Yegorova* pays a visit to the F/V *Topaz*.



Soviet trawl master Anatoli "Tony" Katelnikov shows his appreciation of American soda pop.



A typical spring day in the Bering Sea: foggy and cold. One hundred kilometers offshore, a bottom trawler, the F/V *Topaz*, trundles through the swell. A flag bearing the stars and stripes flies from the masthead. Suddenly the mist parts and a ship appears, the hammer and sickle insignia emblazoned on its smokestacks. The Soviet vessel steams alongside at close range, dwarfing the American boat. Men stand by the rails with grappling hooks, but their postures are not militant. At hailing distance, friendly greetings are exchanged.

Situation normal. Just another day on the job for mariners involved in this East-West joint fishing venture. *Mys Yegorova*, the Soviet mother ship, trails a buoy line and cable. As it pulls ahead, the Yankees snag and winch one end aboard. While the vessels maintain a synchronous speed and space, the payload—20 tons of bottom fish in a net bag—is shackled to the umbilical connection. And now the critical time—the delivery, when the load is transferred from the catcher (U.S.) to the processor (USSR).

Every year for the past decade, fleets have joined forces at Unimak Pass through the Aleutian Islands. Twice a month East meets West in person, when the catcher boat ties alongside the processor to draw fuel and water. No diplomats, these sailors, yet far from the conference table they labor in mutual interest, all leveled by the Bering Sea. Communication barriers are overcome by sign language and a simple game of pass-the-jug. Meals are shared and gifts exchanged. A communal *banya* (Russian bath) confirms that we are fundamentally alike. Debate is encouraged, since the obvious differences in philosophy and politics, culture and economics, cannot be ignored.

Forty years of cold war has left a legacy of estrangement in its wake. But change is coming, and joint ventures seem to be a step in the right direction. ■

SHARING A NEW FILM

By Alyona Vasilyeva
Photographs by Sergei Metelitsa

Doing some kind of activity together is more important than just talking," said Chris Schmidt, a young film maker and schoolteacher from the Boston suburbs.

"Today we should do something other than talk about friendship," said Rem Yustinov, head of the Youth Amateur Film Studio in Yaroslavl, Central Russia.

The young American and the elderly Russian did not just declare their concurrent positions. They realized them too, by making the first joint amateur Soviet-American movie.

It all began with a song—with the program "Sharing a New Song," to be exact. The film has the same title. Says the project's organizer, David Clapp (also a Bostonian):

"I teach European history and world culture. Whenever we got to Russian and Soviet history, my students always reacted in a very negative way toward the Soviet Union. That's why, five years ago, I felt the need to find a way we could begin getting to know people in the Soviet Union by doing something together. The idea was—since I love to sing—we would form a chorus that would go to the Soviet Union to share music with the local people in small towns. Our first trip was in 1984, and we have been going back every year since then."

During one of its trips to Yaroslavl, the choir was invited by the Youth Amateur Film Studio to the cultural center of a Yaroslavl plant.

Members of the Soviet-American chorus. Top, left to right: Andrei Yustinov, Catherine Lottier, David Clapp, Chris Schmidt, and Rem Yustinov.

Then Yustinov suggested that they produce a film together. The idea was met with enthusiastic support, and two years later the film was released. What is it about?

Yustinov's son Andrei, who shot the film in the USSR and in the United States along with Chris Schmidt, believes that it is about breaking down stereotypes. This is true. The film begins with Clapp asking his students what they associate

with the Soviet Union. Their answers are depressing: KGB, vodka, fur caps, and persecution of the Jews. But later, after the American choir has visited the USSR, the answers are different—full employment, no homeless people, hospitality. The film does not try to convince its viewers. It focuses on what we can learn from each other.

Perhaps the film *Sharing a New Song* is about peace, though the word is never mentioned in it. ■



"BOOM" MAKES A SPLASH

By Elina Yezikova
Photographs by Sergei Vetrov

Alexander Kalashnikov and his amateur Italian mask theater travel from town to town. They want to entertain the people—and shake them up a bit.





Insets, left to right:
Actor Vladimir
Tambovsky. During
vacations student
Roman Miryayev plays
Mr. Mockinpott in the
comedy How Mr.
Mockinpott Extricated
Himself from His
Misfortunes. Another
scene from
the same play.



Boom travels around Russia. Insets, left to right: Yulia Ivanova and Natalya Zatumennova in a rare moment of repose. Natalya Gilarova about to go onstage. Actor Alexander Kuprianov.





Wherever they appear, children go wild with delight. Who could resist the painted carts, the bright costumes, the music, and the fun that Boom brings with it? Once an old woman mistook the group for a Gypsy camp. "And where are you going now, dears?" she asked. "We are Italians, not Gypsies," laughed Alexander Kalashnikov, an obvious Russian. "We roam from village to village, entertaining people."

Kalashnikov told me he'd always dreamed that the Russian land would one day have its own Italian mask theater. He spent a great deal of time looking for a play with a philosophical and socially pointed message, and finally he found it: German writer Peter Weiss's *How Mr. Mockinpott Extricated Himself from His Misfortunes*.

Kalashnikov formed the Boom amateur theater company eight years ago in the town of Kuznetsk. He wrote then in his diary: "I'm thinking of naming the theater in the clamorous revolutionary tradition. Something like 'Bah-babah' or 'Boom-Boom.'" In fact, why shouldn't we call it 'Boom'?"

Was it risky for Kalashnikov to choose such a flashy name, one that makes such grandiose promises? Maybe. But no one can say the troupe hasn't lived up to expectations.

Boom performs anywhere it wants. Even a city courtyard can serve as a stage for the company. The amazed tenants run to their windows and come out onto their balconies to stare—you don't see actors playing in your own courtyard every day!

"I know that Boom isn't going to change the world," admits Kalashnikov. "But we'll keep going out to the people, shaking them up, blasting off layers of mental inertia."

When the carts come into a village, the first ones to notice them are the children. They run around, calling the people outside for the performance. The people hurry to change into their best clothes, and then it's on to the show. The charmed spectators will stand through the whole play, ignoring the fatigue of having worked all day. The actors have been on their feet all day long too. The horses Mashka, Burka, and Bubenchik are strong, but the props are heavy and the cast does not dare ride along in the carts. But the weariness disappears as soon as the audience begins to applaud expectantly.

The carts set off again immediately after the performance. Boom will play at dawn the next day at a summer livestock farm for an audience of dairy workers. Not 1,000 or even 100 of them—just 25.

Boom will almost certainly go on to play on large and glittering stages. But the actors will never forget their dawn performance for 25 dairy workers.



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WHEN THE ROOSTER CROWS, EXPECT SOME CHANGES

By Darya Nikolayeva
Drawings by Valeri Bochkov



Until quite recently, our traditional Wednesday-afternoon meetings with the patrons of our library were ceremonious tea parties, where new publications were discussed in a leisurely and civilized manner. Today our meetings are anything but ceremonious, and I am really at a loss to define them: Are they battles, jousts?

The debates are usually continued at home until Igor, after listening to his father and me for a while, says, "You know, I just heard a joke about that!" At this point our faces suddenly become stolid—there's no telling how far the younger generation will go in their judgments about the infamous stagnation period.

But today I am not in a hurry to get home after the latest battle. The topic of today's discussion was young people's art. Now I want to bring home some fresh impressions of this art, not just the dying embers of debate. So I make my way to the Central Exhibition Hall, one of Moscow's most prestigious halls, which is located in the very center of the city. The Eighteenth Exhibition of Young Moscow Artists is going on there now, so I should get to see what is being put out by our best and brightest young artists.

The exhibition is a real product of the period of *perestroika* and *glasnost*. For the first time ever, the show is not based on unity of style or theme. What counts here is artistic quality and sincerity, I read in the catalogue, and while some works are described as controversial, this category includes both avant-garde and traditional art.

I enter the hall... and my mouth falls open. The customary pompous canvases showing the triumphant or hard-working masses are nowhere to be seen. Instead I see a piece of

sculpture: two snow-white fistfighting bureaucrats.

A couple of steps away, I see something that looks like a triptych. I read the title: *Steel Orgasm on Orange Background*. What was it the catalogue said? No criteria other than artistic quality and sincerity? Well, I never...!

One of the displays elicits broad smiles from almost everyone who sees it. Young artist Sima Vasilyeva paints striking designs on breadboards. SOVIET LIFE has published an article on her work (March 1988). But when the magazine *Ogonyok* (*Flame*) ran a color reproduction of one of her works—a scene in a Russian bath—a scandal erupted. A great number of naked people are a natural sight in a bath, but it was enough to arouse the ire of many a prissy reader. Vasilyeva accepted the criticism and exhibited two breadboards: the "offending" piece and the "correct" one, in which the bathers are fully clothed.

Another very interesting exhibit is a beautiful abstract ceramic composition. But is it abstract? Probably not, judging by the title: *Broken Serice for Three*. Next I see a design by a T. Nikolayeva that I really like. I examine her ceramic *Crowing Cockerel*, a proud, handsome bird with a decorative quality and a size that calls pterodactyls to mind.

I move on to the next display unit but am distracted by a vague idea stirring in my mind. Some two months ago a strange piece of clay showed up on the telephone table in my apartment. My husband said that it was like a claw of the bird Roc from *Sinbad the Sailor*. I put the claw on a bookshelf and it disappeared.

I return to the *Crowing Cockerel*. That's it, the claw of the bird Roc!

The letters in the title dance and tease me: "T. Nikolayeva, born in 1968. Moscow."

Instead of going home, I make a surprise visit to my daughter's apartment. My suspicions are confirmed: My daughter, Tatyana, a student at the chemistry department of Moscow State University, and the T. Nikolayeva who created the crowing pterodactyl are the same person.

"What are you going to do?" I ask her in bewilderment.

"She'll do a few more pieces and then apply to the young artists section of the Artists Union," explains Dima, Tatyana's husband. "Then once she's put in some time, she'll be able to get the government to send her to exotic spots for inspiration, and she'll go on business trips and take commissions."

A sad picture comes to me: a pale artist in a shabby room, her children stretching out their emaciated hands to her.

"By the way, the Ministry of Culture bought my cockerel for 1,500 rubles," announces my daughter.

The sad picture evaporates. I work over six months to make that amount!

"What about the university?" I ask.

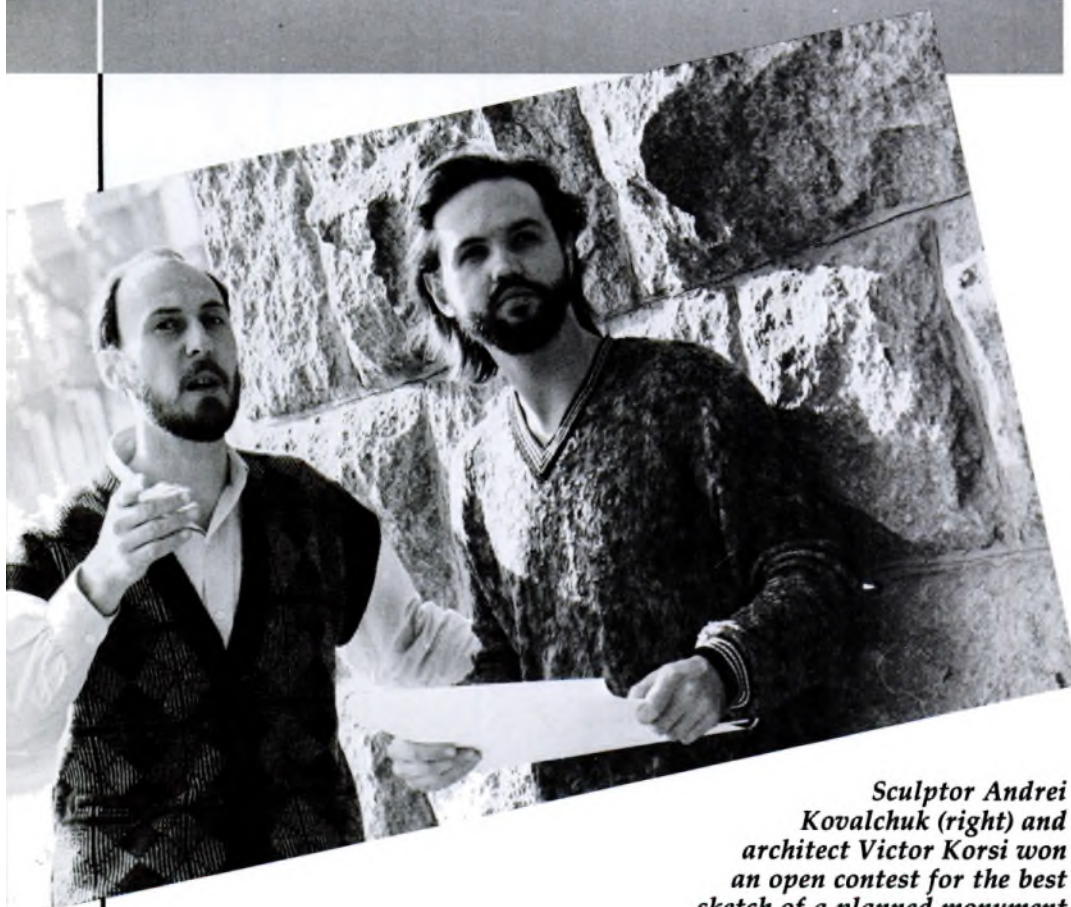
"I'll keep going for awhile, but I think I'll drop out."

Is it true that you Americans take it in stride when your children strike out on their own?



Remember Chernobyl!

By Vladimir Pavlov



Sculptor Andrei Kovalchuk (right) and architect Victor Korsi won an open contest for the best sketch of a planned monument to the victims of Chernobyl (top).

Three years have passed since the disaster at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant. Now there are people who insist that Chernobyl is a thing of the past, and it is high time to forget about it. There's no point in dwelling on the issue, these people argue, since the faulty unit is no longer functioning, decontamination is under way, mistakes have been redressed, and the plant's reactors station are working reliably.

No doubt, much has been done to correct the damage, but it will be years before the tragedy really becomes a thing of the past. At present, radioactive contamination of the environment remains a problem affecting a considerable area.

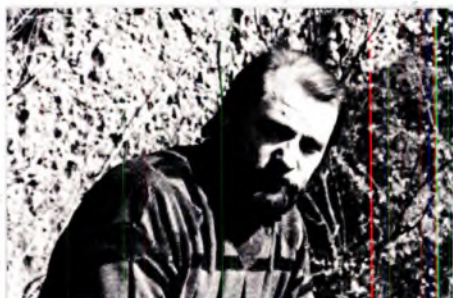
Naturally enough, after the tragedy in Chernobyl, people in this country have become much less enthusiastic about the development of nuclear energy. The Armenian Nuclear Power Plant, located in a highly seismic area, has been shut down under pressure from the scientific community, and with good reason. The question of whether to terminate construction of an atomic power station in the Crimea is being discussed.

Views on the issue of nuclear power are highly polarized. Some people demand that all nuclear plants be closed down and that no new ones be built. Others—mostly experts—maintain that nuclear plants are necessary and that more of them should be constructed. These people cite the experience of other countries: In France, for example, nuclear energy generates about 75 per cent of all electricity. That figure for the USSR is 12 per cent.

Apparently, we won't be able to do without nuclear energy, but we should always remember the lessons of Chernobyl. They teach us to be responsible. The tragedy of three years ago has compelled us to increase the safety of the operating nuclear plants many times over. As for future plants, every project should be subject to meticulous scientific analysis and to broad discussion by the public.

Vyacheslav Kalinin's HARSH VISION

By Yelena Sokolova
Reproductions by Sergei Ivanov



"The officials were always pretty harsh to artists they didn't like. In the early seventies they came down on us especially hard. A lot of authors, artists, and musicians had to emigrate. But there were quite a few of us who thought our inspiration would dry up if we left and that the commercial success we could get in the West would tempt us to compromise our art. So we just kept going.

"And now a trip to New York with a one-man show! At the Ministry of Culture's expense! Three years ago, if anybody had told me this would happen, I'd have said they were crazy."

From an interview with
Moscow painter
Vyacheslav Kalinin.

New York City made an indelible impression on Kalinin. He had never come in contact with as many artistic trends as he saw in that city's many galleries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Modern Art made him gasp, and he loved the New Yorkers, so hospitable and energetic.

But as much as he admired the American spontaneity that he saw in his colleagues, Kalinin couldn't help noticing that it had a negative side as well. Paintings were completed before the feeling and idea behind them had had time to ripen. Many of the pictures were so shallow that they all seemed the same, no matter how different the trends and techniques they represented.

As for Kalinin's own show, which was held last summer at the Eduard Nakhamkin Fine Arts gallery, the artist thinks that it was a success, and the press pronounced it brilliant. It certainly didn't draw crowds as it would have done at home, but it was very popular by local standards. Twenty-two of the 37 paintings sold right away, and the other 15 were moved to Nakhamkin's San Francisco gallery.

"The world has grown to like Soviet art. Our paintings sell well abroad, and our shows are popular in many countries. So we Soviet artists think the West is familiar with our work. Well, in the United States I saw that that's a myth. It seems to me Americans don't even really know American art, let alone ours. We'll have to arrange for all the exhibitions we can if we want to get any real exposure on the enormous American art market," Kalinin said.

Lately the Moscow artist has been very busy accepting offers. He plans to do a show in Switzerland next

spring. Nakhamkin has invited him to America next fall for several months. The dealer is planning a show of Kalinin's newest work.

Yes, things have certainly changed.

Kalinin was born in Zamoskvorechye, one of the oldest parts of Moscow, in 1939. His father was a soldier in the Second World War and was killed in action in 1941. The artist's mother, who sang in a church choir, had to work as a guard to support her two children, Vyacheslav and his little sister.

Kalinin can't say exactly when he developed his love for art. Perhaps he owes it to the art student who lived next door. The student spent his time making sketches, which the little boy diligently copied.

After secondary school Kalinin enrolled in the Abramtsevo Industrial Arts School near Moscow. Stage design, interior decoration, and other applied arts were its specialties, and the teacher looked down on the students who were more interested in painting.

But Kalinin didn't let that shake his conviction. One day he brought several unconventional paintings to the Moscow Board of the USSR Artists Union. The union officials were incensed. "Do you call this Soviet art?" they demanded.

So after graduation the young artist took up interior decoration. But he never gave up the idea of painting and spent all his evenings and weekends at his easel.

In 1968 a Moscow research institute that regularly held alternative art exhibitions mounted Kalinin's first show. It closed the next day, at the order of an enraged official.

Kalinin had friends who were non-conformist painters like himself. They looked for inspiration to worldwide artistic trends, and willingly or unwillingly, they set themselves apart from the self-important, officially rec-



ognized Soviet classics. So our hero joined ranks with the Moscow avant-garde. He worked with them, and they had some shows together. But he soon realized that their artistic goals were very different from his and that only their similar plights had brought them together. The innovative artists of the 1960s and 1970s had broken with tradition, while Kalinin was drawn to old masterpieces and wanted to reveal the secret of their fascination.

He gave up his avant-garde friends for another group, gifted artists with styles all their own. Anatoli Zverev, Vladimir Nemukhin, Oscar Rabin, Yevgeni Krapivnitsky, Dmitri Plavinsky, and others did much for his progress and made him popular in Moscow intellectual circles.

The authorities' position toward nonconformist art became more and more hostile. The recalcitrants banded together in an exhibition society known as The Seven. They had many ►

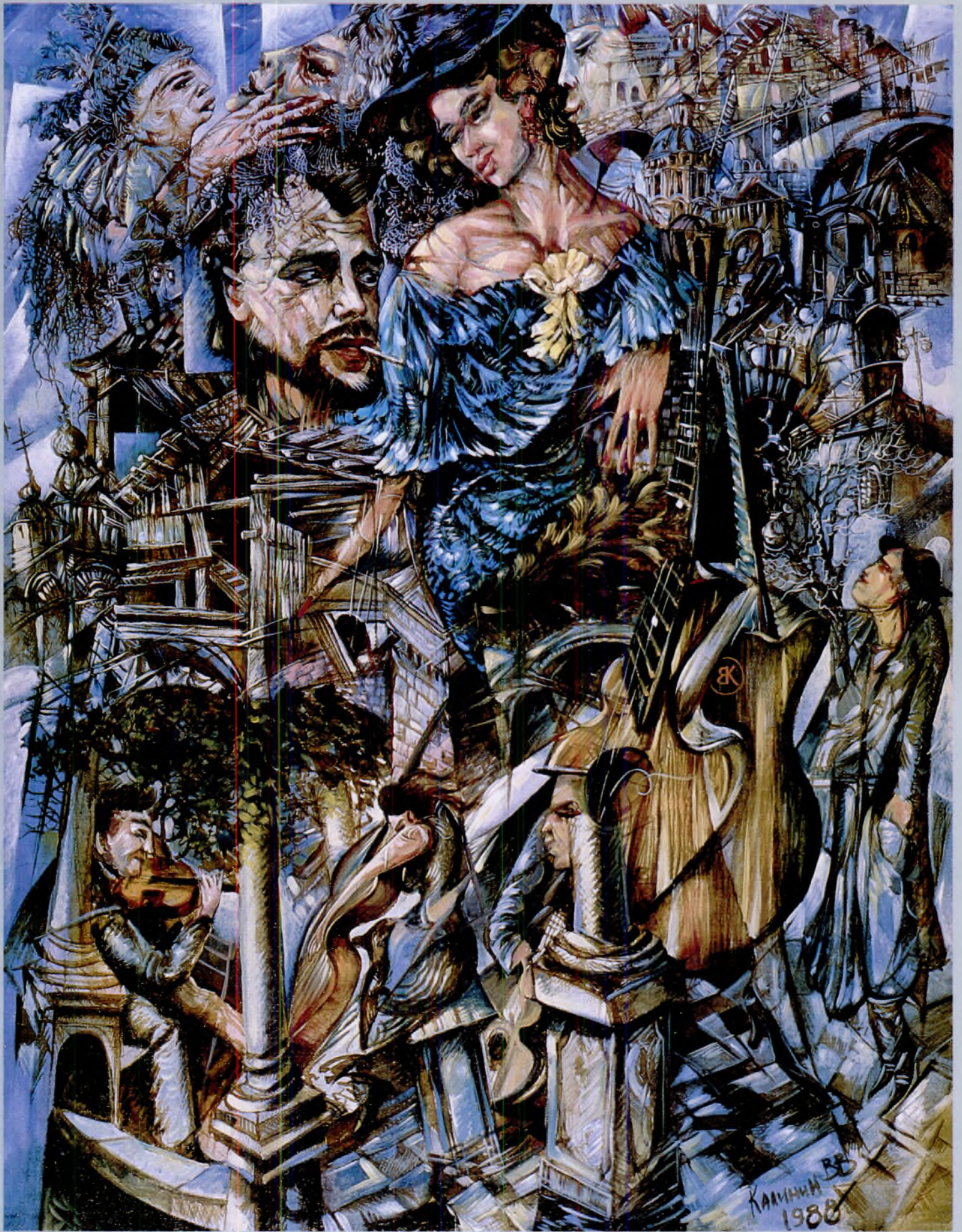
The Carousel.
1975. Oil on
canvas.



*Sacrificial
Offering.*
1975. Oil
on canvas.



*Before a
Concert.* 1988.
Oil on canvas.



Retro. 1988. Oil on canvas.



barriers to overcome before their first show was held in 1975. The officials did their best to hush it up: Not a single announcement, let alone a catalogue, ever appeared. But all of Moscow got wind of the event, and art lovers stood in lines for three or four hours to get into the show.

Today Kalinin has come into his own as an artist. His style and content are unique. His favorite subject is the old Moscow neighborhood of Zamoskvorechye that he knows and loves. It is a Zamoskvorechye that is receding into the past.

Kalinin portrays the dire postwar years, when shabby, overpopulated apartments and hard work for miserable wages were the things of everyday reality. But that bitter life couldn't kill the people's open, charitable spirit. Frustrated and overworked, they would often give their last kopeck to a beggar.

Kalinin knows that world—its mentality and values—inside out. His paintings are harsh; he never stoops to sentimental embellishment. This art is disturbing to contemplate. There is something broken and twisted about the denizens of Kalinin's Za-

Who Will Kill the Rooster? 1988.
Oil on canvas.

Greetings from Sochi—Yours, Kirkhner, the Painter. 1987.
Oil on wood.

moskvorechye, and they convey a deep sense of disillusionment.

Events from different times clash on canvases crowded with objects and grotesque human shapes. The artist's all-embracing pity passes to the viewer, and he or she feels compassion, not revulsion, for these deformed characters.

"We Russians perceive the world with an apocalyptic sense of foreboding. Perhaps that's why there's an air



of martyrdom about all of the figures in my genre pictures," Kalinin says.

Many see that spirit of suffering as vice. Kalinin's intolerant colleagues flatly call him a dauber. At a time when escapism was the way of the most sophisticated painters, Kalinin threw open a window into the shabby postwar reality and the later world of bohemian artists and their nouveau-riche patrons.

Kalinin's pictures are the confes-



*People
Devouring the
World. 1988.
Oil on canvas.*

*Saturday
1982. Evening.
Oil on canvas.*

sions of a penetrating, critical mind and a vulnerable heart. But they are more than that—they are the confessions of a whole generation, one that is destined to lay the cornerstone of a new Soviet culture.

"Life is easier now for art and for artists. But the work is still torture. Every new picture satisfies me less than the last. I guess that's good: It means my standards are getting higher," the artist says. ■



**NEXT
ISSUE**



ARMENIA REVISITED

The February issue carried a report on the earthquake that shook the Armenian Republic; an update appears in June. The disaster brought out serious shortcomings, such as in construction in the seismic zone. The magnitude of the suffering touched the hearts of people around the world, who responded quickly and generously.



GETTING BACK TO NATURE

The stresses of urban living cause many people to yearn for the slower-paced life of the countryside—life that brings them into communion with nature. That's what motivated a group of young people to give up their big-city jobs and to settle down in a small village high in the Altai Mountains.

COMING SOON

Tribute to Anna Akhmatova



Boating, or Ship of Fools, by Vyacheslav Kalinin. 1975. Oil on canvas. See story on page 61.

Soviet Life

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ELECTIONS '89



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ALL IS QUIET,
AND THEN...



An extremely violent earthquake rocks the Armenian Republic, leaving 25,000 dead and 500,000 homeless. The world responds with an outstretched hand of aid and friendship. A look at how Armenia is healing its wounds begins on page 6.



NUCLEAR POWER PLANT CLOSES

Not long after the earthquake, a team of American experts on the seismic resistance of nuclear power plants arrived in Armenia to conduct an independent inspection of a nuclear plant situated 28 kilometers from Yerevan, capital of the republic.

Evenings, back in the Yerevan hotel where they were staying, the experts checked their pocket meters to see if they had been exposed to any radiation. The meters always registered zero. The men did not find the slightest sign of radiation leakage at the plant. And neither did Soviet specialists. The findings surprised no one, but that does not mean that an earthquake closer to the plant would not have catastrophic effects. That is why the majority of Armenians welcomed the USSR Council of Ministers' decision to close the Armenian Nuclear Power Plant.

On February 25, 1989, Reactor No. 1 was shut down, and on March 18, Reactor No. 2. "Everything isn't that simple," explains Migran Vartanyan, manager of the plant. "A nuclear power plant is not a factory that can be vacated and padlocked. The fuel—uranium-235—will have to remain at the plant for three more years. But even after the fuel is removed, there will still be a great deal of work that has to be done before the plant is totally deactivated."

Plans call for converting the power plant to natural gas. But until the conversion is completed, Armenia will face a power shortage—the nuclear power plant supplied 44 per cent of the republic's electricity.

The neighboring republics will help supply some of the shortfall. In the meantime, Armenia has introduced strict restrictions on power usage.

EDITOR'S NOTES

Not without a tinge of professional envy did we read from cover to cover the April 10 Special Issue of *Time* magazine—"The New USSR." A good job indeed.

We've decided to challenge *Time* magazine in the foreseeable future. We'll take up the same topics and give them our own interpretation. By no means am I accusing *Time* of distorting Soviet reality. What I mean to say is that many things are better seen from within. Moreover, Soviet life is changing so quickly now that in half a year some of *Time*'s observations and conclusions may be outdated.

In the same issue of *Time* it says, "The future of the Soviet Union—in some ways, the future of us all—is at stake." In other words, Americans and all others are in the same boat as we are. This implies that the favorable changes in our domestic and foreign policies are surely leading to an improvement in Soviet-American relations.

Now, however, a year since the last Soviet-American summit, the assessment of the future of our relations in both Soviet and American newspapers is somewhat pessimistic. Articles complain about a lack of progress in the development of our relations during this past year. I don't share this view. Of course progress in the area of disarmament could be accelerated, and artificial barriers also stand in the way of economic cooperation. But on the whole Soviet-American relations are getting better with every passing day.

Let's be optimistic. We have ample reason to be.

Robert T. Gellman

Soviet Life

June 1989, No. 6 (393)

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Front Cover: Donatas Banionis, a well-known Lithuanian actor, casts his vote at the Plenary Meeting of the USSR Cinematographers Union that selected its representatives for the newly formed Congress of People's Deputies. Photo by Boris Babanov.



Material for this issue
courtesy of
Novosti Press Agency

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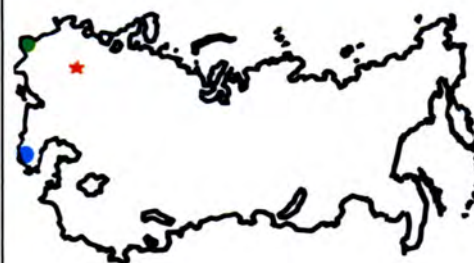
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SPECIAL REPORT Elections

'89

By Pavel Antonov
Political Commentator



ON MARCH 26, 1989, THE SOVIET PEOPLE WENT TO THE POLLS TO CHOOSE THEIR REPRESENTATIVES TO THE NEWLY FORMED CONGRESS OF PEOPLES DEPUTIES. PASSIONS RAN HIGH THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN, BRINGING, IN SOME CASES, UNEXPECTED RESULTS.



This spring my easy-going mother-in-law quarreled with her equally good-natured husband over a completely new subject—whom to vote for. My father-in-law, a military engineer, favored the candidate who was a space researcher, while his wife felt that the prominent economist was the best man for the job. "Who cares about space stations anyway?" she burst out. "The economist is better qualified."

You can draw at least two conclusions from that little episode. First, until recently my mother-in-law couldn't have cared less about elections because voting was a mere formality. Now she realizes that elections are not meaningless and that her vote really counts.

And second. In many instances, the voters were making the choice between programs and personalities. Really, who can be sure that the economist will keep his promise or that his resolve to stand by his pledges will correspond to his ability to carry them out?

I listened to and then read the poet Yevgeni Yevtushenko's election speech—a list of 55 provisions under the common title "The Choice of the Future." Each of them was a mini-program in itself. Taken together, they comprised such a vast program of social reform that his program could only be implemented if it were tackled jointly by the entire Congress of People's Deputies and by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Yevtushenko didn't get elected, perhaps, because he was promising too much. But having lost, he wrote: "One must be strong enough to smile and say: Life goes on. I may have lost, but democracy has won."

The Soviet press complained that, although voters had a choice of candidates, the elections were not direct and still contained vestiges of the old undemocratic ways.

The first stumbling block was the local election meetings. By law, an election meeting has to be held if two or more candidates are vying for the same seat. The meetings determine the number of candidates who get on the ballot.

Every constituency has about 300,000 voters. The election meetings, however, were attended by from 500 to 1,000 representatives who were to make decisions on behalf of hundreds of thousands of voters. That procedure was rejected in Estonia, where the names of all candidates were entered on the ballot. In a number of election districts the votes were spread among too many candidates. The result was that no candidate acquired the needed majority, and repeat elections had to be held. The important thing to note is that the opinion of the voters was heeded and their feelings of involvement enhanced. This was a real gain.

And yet, you can't say that the election meetings were merely a filter for sifting out candidates and that they hampered the democratic process. For many people the meetings were their introduction to politics.

"I'm 84," an old man said at a meeting in Moscow's Leninsky election district. "I've kept my opinions to myself for almost a century, but now I'm ready to speak out and make others listen."

The next speaker was a woman. "I'm the mother of six," she said, "and I'm here because I want to be able to tell my children when they grow up that I was involved in making things change for the better."

Another thing. There are 1,500 territorial and national-territorial election districts. The largest number of candidates—12—was registered in Moscow's Gagarinsky election district. The most typical candidate-to-seat ratio was two-to-one (951 election districts). Three hundred and eighty-five election districts had unopposed candidates, and more than one-third of those candidates were party officials, most of them first secretaries of the republics' district, regional, and central committees. But under those circumstances the candidates could not just sit back and wait, as they had done in the "good old days." Voters now had the choice of crossing the unopposed candidate's name off the ballot. If the candidate didn't receive more than 50 per cent of the votes cast, another election had to be held. And this did happen.

Many people believe that democratic elections are incompatible with a quota system, such as the 750 deputies having to come from public organizations—one-third the total number of deputies. This system raises more questions than it answers.

Take the size of the quotas, for instance. Trade unions with about 140 million members delegated 100 deputies to the Congress, as has the Communist Party with 19 million members. Seventy-five deputies will represent the Young Communist League with more than 36 million members.

The USSR Academy of Sciences has the right to delegate 25 representatives to the supreme government body. But this scientific institution has only 907 full and corresponding members. Moreover, by law, the candidates are nominated by the presidium of the Academy of Sciences, which is elected by only about 300 full-time academicians. As a result, at the academy one deputy was nominated by 12 people; in the trade unions one deputy was nominated by almost 1.5 million people; and in the party one deputy was nominated by slightly less than 200,000 members.

There is a widespread belief that these quotas were proposed by the Communist Party, whose leaders are afraid that there would be an insufficient number of Communists elected to the new parliament without tilting the balance. It's true that the Communist Party carries the brunt of the responsibility for what happened in the Soviet Union during the almost 72 years in which it was the ruling party, for the mass repressions in the 1930s and 1940s, for economic stagnation, and for errors in foreign policy. And yet the party found the courage to initiate the life-giving process of renewal.

A few days before the election *Pravda* published a letter it received from Ramiz Khaliulin, a miner from the Kazakh city of Pavlodar.

"The party's dwindling prestige is being restored by a new generation of party leaders," Khaliulin wrote, "and by those members of the old guard for whom *perestroika* is something they can wholeheartedly support. ►



IN THE NATIONWIDE
ELECTION ALMOST
3,000 CANDIDATES
WERE VYING FOR
1,500 SEATS IN
THE NEW CONGRESS.
ANOTHER 750 SEATS
WERE FILLED BY
DEPUTIES CHOSEN
BY PUBLIC
ORGANIZATIONS. THE
HIGHEST BODY
OF STATE AUTHORITY,
AMONG IT'S OTHER
DUTIES IS EMPOWERED
TO AMEND THE USSR
CONSTITUTION AND
TO SET GUIDELINES
FOR HOME AND
FOREIGN POLICY.

Elections '89

When I learn from papers or TV how roughly and even ruthlessly party secretaries were treated at election meetings, I get really angry. These people represent our party and the ongoing restructuring efforts that have opened the doors wide for democratization and *glasnost*."


Mr. Khaliulin should be pleased with the election results since 85 per cent of the elected candidates are Communists. The number of workers, on the other hand, has decreased by 18.6 per cent and the number of farmers by 11.2 per cent. Small wonder. One electoral meeting I attended shows why. An 18-year-old student at a railroad transport college addressed two young workers who were running for election. "You're nice guys," she said. "We're about the same age and have a lot in common, I'm sure. It would be great to dance with you. But I'd prefer to see more experienced people in the Supreme Soviet." Incidentally, the meeting nominated an economist and a lawyer, and the electoral district voted in the economist.

Undoubtedly, the current election campaign in Moscow, its significance reaching far beyond the city limits, had its heroes—Andrei Sakharov and Boris Yeltsin.

The story of Sakharov's non-nomination was as follows: At the beginning of the campaign there were 130 candidates running for the Academy of Sciences' 25 seats. The majority of the academy's institutes (55) nominated Andrei Sakharov. However, on January 18 the plenary meeting of the academy's presidium, which is entitled to select candidates, came up with a list of 23 names. Sakharov's was not among them.

The decision caused a public outcry. Sakharov was nominated by hundreds of election districts and public organizations. (By the way, 50,000 of the 200,000 people who responded to a *Literaturnaya gazeta* questionnaire asking to name the most important events of 1988 mentioned Andrei Sakharov's return to active scientific

Continued on page 39

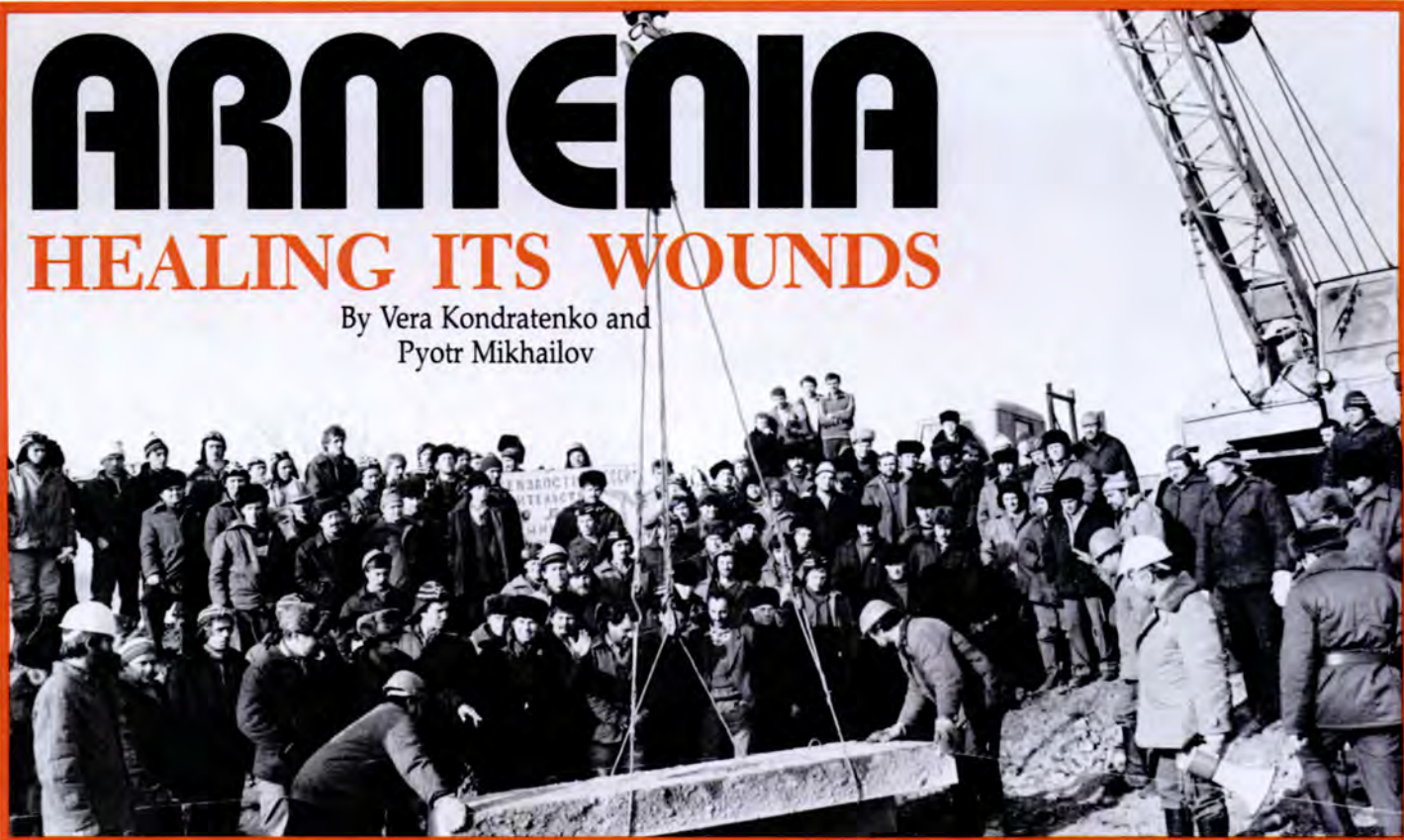


ONE REAL GAIN OF THE
WHOLE ELECTION PROCESS
WAS THAT IT BROUGHT
MANY PEOPLE INTO THE
POLITICAL ARENA.

ARMENIA

HEALING ITS WOUNDS

By Vera Kondratenko and
Pyotr Mikhailov



When our town is rebuilt and we have homes again, we'll invite all the people who helped us to come and visit," says a little girl from Leninakan. Along with dozens of other Armenian boys and girls and their mothers, she is staying at a recreation center near Moscow.

The Armenian children attend the local school. All the daily necessities are provided free of charge, along with some other things to make them feel more at home. For example, traditional Armenian dishes are served in the school cafeteria. Also, the local people have shown them a great deal of kindness.

Several hundred Armenian families from the earthquake-ravaged cities of Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak are now living in Lithuania. They are being housed in the dachas of workers from Vilnius and Kaunas. A special school was opened for the Armenian children.

As the saying goes, a friend in need is a friend indeed. The Armenian people have many friends. All of the So-

viet republics have given shelter to hundreds of Armenian families. Dozens of severely injured children and adults have been sent to the best clinics in the United States, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, and other countries.

But what is happening in the disaster area itself? The Armenian Government and the Politburo Commission unanimously decided that all of the more than 400 partially or completely destroyed small towns and villages would be restored or rebuilt.

The damaged cities are a more difficult problem. It was decided that Spitak, which was at the epicenter of the earthquake, should be rebuilt in a safer seismic zone. Three other cities—Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Stepanavan—will be restored at their previous sites. Because multistory structures did not withstand the tremors, only three- and four-story buildings will go up.

A great deal of work and tremendous difficulties still lie ahead. Armenia lost 17 per cent of its housing in the disaster, leaving 500,000 people homeless. The immediate task was to

give people shelter and to reopen factories and plants. An enormous number of people pitched in to help.

But life is gradually returning to normal. The new Spitak is already emerging. Shops, canteens, and services are already in operation. Schools and kindergartens are also in session. Italian workers are creating a whole "Italian quarter"—a neighborhood of single-family dwellings imported from Italy. Not far from the Italians, builders from Uzbekistan are laying the foundation for an apartment complex.

Although the horror of the tragedy dimmed the importance of money, people simply can't live without it. Many Armenian families lost everything they had. Every disaster victim received a one-time benefit of 200 rubles from the state. Families that lost a breadwinner were given an additional 2,000 rubles. Also, 500-ruble allowances were paid to cover the cost of burying loved ones.

Naturally, the State Insurance Agency will cover all insured property losses, while the state will compensate for any other damage that was sustained. In addition, the State Bank



Clockwise from left: A medical train leaves Kazakhstan for Armenia. A school for Armenian children is set up in Voronezh, Central Russia. Two Armenian women give birth to babies in a Georgian hospital. A sanatorium in the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR opens its doors to disaster victims. Facing page: Workers lay the foundation for a new apartment building.

There's no such thing as another man's sorrow.

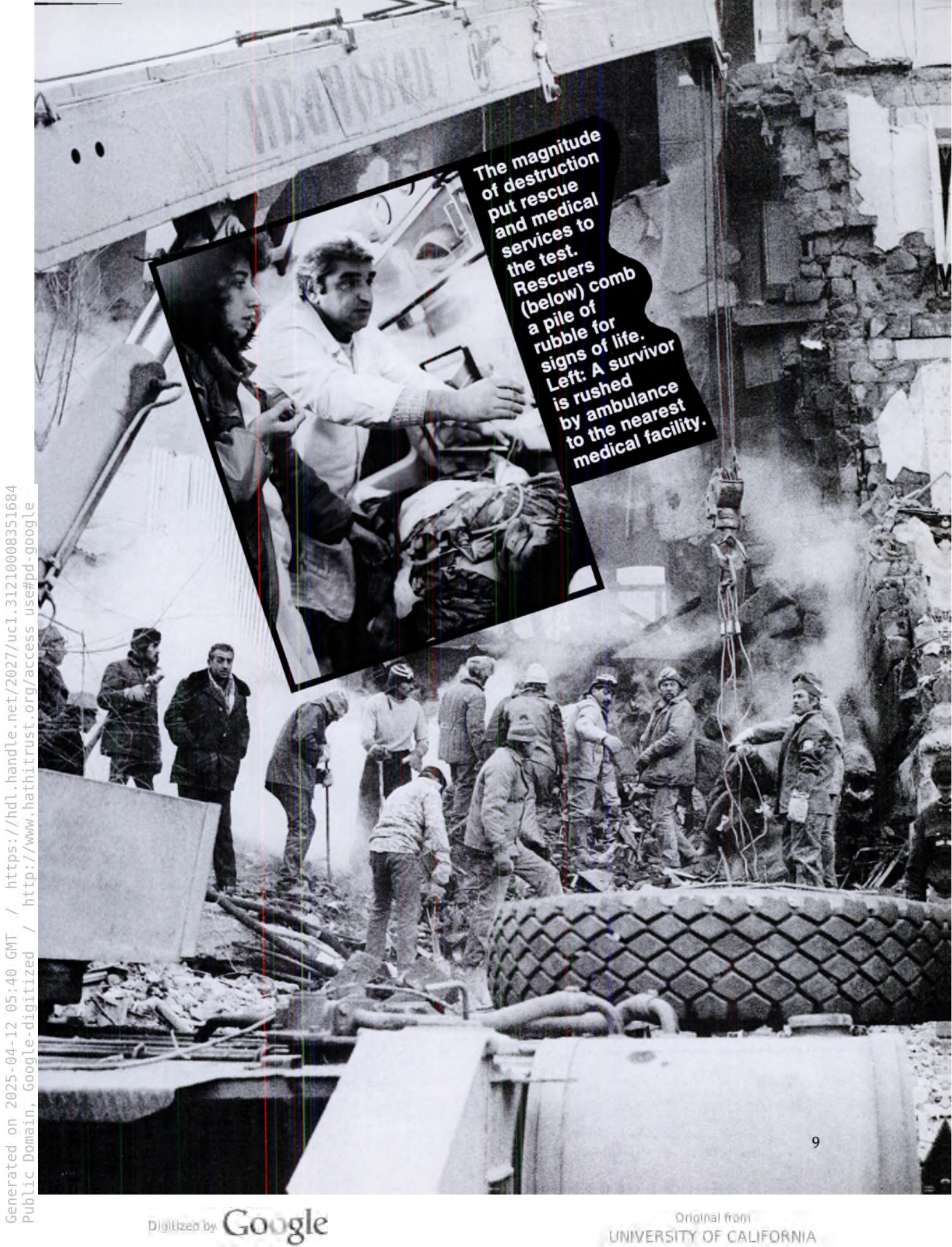


has written off all of the citizens' debts, which will be paid out of Armenia's budget.

Special attention is being devoted to easing the lot of children who lost their parents and who now rely on the care of relatives and guardians. All of these children are receiving maximum survivor's benefits, while disabled adults are receiving pensions too. The size of the pension depends on the worker's earnings on his or her last job. Thousands of evacuated women with children are now fully provided for by the state. People who lost their job as a result of the earth-

Continued on page 14

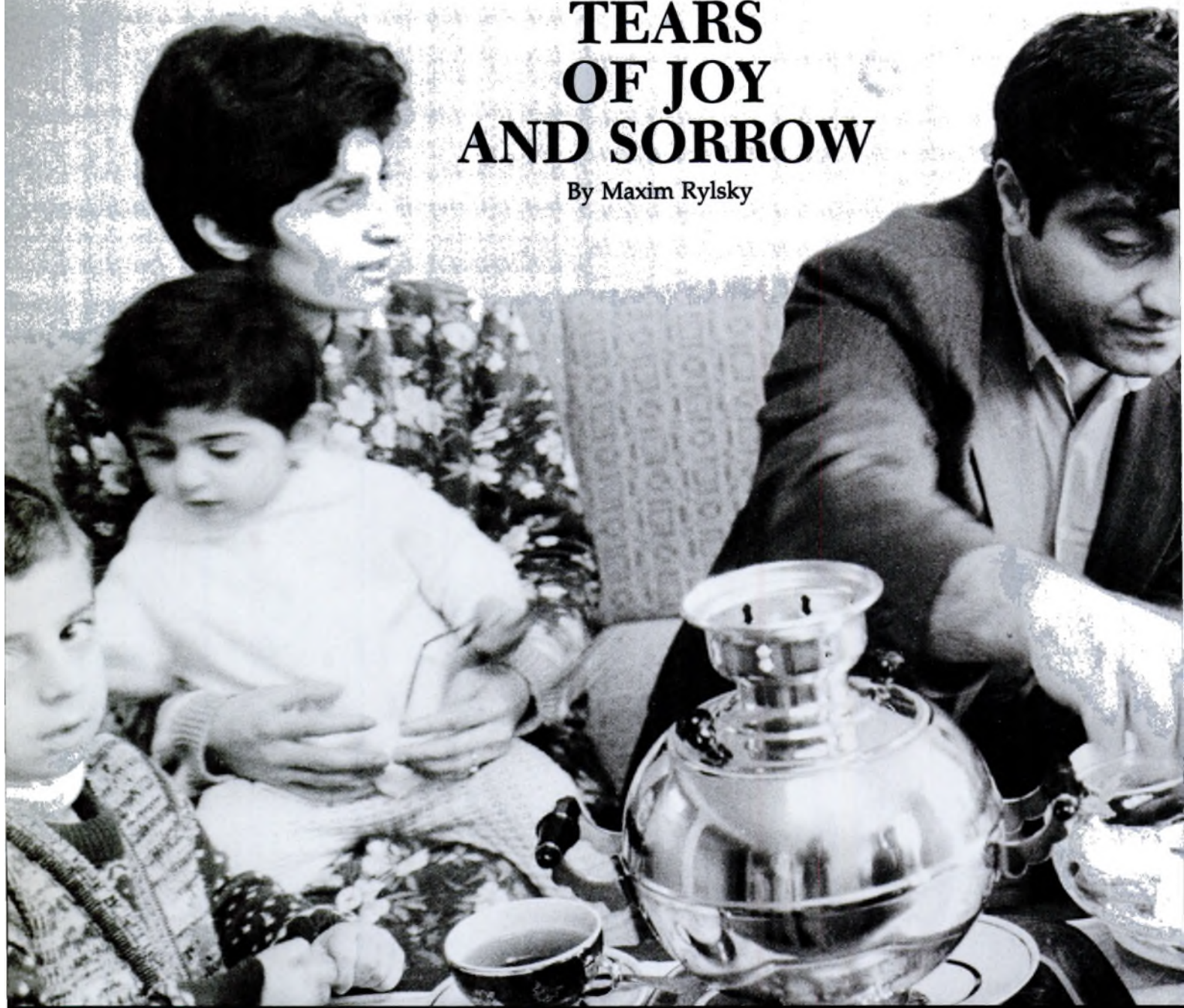




The magnitude
of destruction
put rescue
and medical
services to
the test.
Rescuers
(below) comb
a pile of
rubble for
signs of life.
Left: A survivor
is rushed
by ambulance
to the nearest
medical facility.

TEARS OF JOY AND SORROW

By Maxim Rylsky



Hegina Muradyan, 10, a fourth grader, and her brother Genrikh, 13, who is in the sixth grade, are now studying at Kiev Secondary School No. 179. They arrived in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, from the Armenian city of Spitak together with their mother, Granush Muradyan, and their three younger sisters and brothers. They are being housed at the Golden Spike Hotel in a two-room suite paid for by the trade unions. Most other daily necessities are being

provided by the state free of charge.

At school everybody is trying to be helpful. Classmate Olga Troyan's parents bought skis for the youngsters and invited them to go skiing.

"Kievans are very warm-hearted," says Granush. "My children and I are very, very grateful. The slightest noise still frightens the children. They're afraid the earth will start shaking again. We'll all need some time to recover from the shock."

The mother explained how the children happened to escape the fate of many of their neighbors and friends.

The two school-age children were playing outdoors before having to get ready for school, which started at two o'clock. Their younger siblings were with them. Granush and her one-year-old were at a neighbor's house. Suddenly the floor began trembling, the ceiling started falling down, and the walls began cracking. Somehow she managed to get out through a window. She rushed to her house, but all she saw was a pile of cinders and beams.

"We were so lucky!" said Granush, still shaken from the event.



Armenian truck driver Alik Gasparyan, 34, his wife, Ruzanna, and their two small children were evacuated to Kiev from Leninakan.

"Just before disaster struck," Alik said, "I had parked my van near the bakery and had started to get out. Suddenly all hell broke loose. I was okay, but what about my wife and kids? I hurried over to the kindergarten where they were. Ruzanna worked there as a teacher. When I saw that all of them were safe, I burst into tears—tears of joy. No one was injured at the kindergarten. But my

joy soon turned to sorrow when I learned that my mother, brother, and nephew were gone."

"I've lost 20 relatives," he said, with tears in his voice. "Maybe time will ease the pain. I spent three days by the fire waiting for my relatives to be taken out of the ruins. Let's hope we'll never have to go through such a thing again. I came to Kiev to help my family, but I see that they are surrounded by good and kind people. I would like to thank all of them. I'll return to Leninakan. There's plenty of work to be done there."

More than 100,000 people, mostly women and children, had to be evacuated from the devastated area. Some families, like the people shown here, are being housed in a hotel in Kiev, the Ukraine. Inset: Thirteen-year-old Armenian Genrikh Muradyan (center) with his new classmates in Kiev.

Q: Since the tragic events in Armenia last December, the word "earthquake" has acquired new significance for people all over the world. But many of us don't know how serious December's disaster was, compared to others the world has seen. Which earthquakes have been the largest?

A: Earthquakes have occurred throughout history. Seismic activity intensifies periodically—every 100 to 200 years—and then becomes less intense. In our country the first serious studies of earthquakes were conducted at the end of the nineteenth century by Academician Boris Golitsyn.

The most destructive earthquakes in this century occurred in San Francisco in 1906, where the fault measured 200 kilometers long; and in Japan in 1923, when Tokyo was almost destroyed. Most of the damage done by the earthquake in Kamchatka in 1952 resulted not from the shaking of the earth, but from the accompanying tsunami, or tidal wave.

The death toll from the great earthquake in Tian Shang, China, in 1976 rose to 240,000, according to official statistics. Then there's the 1948 earthquake in Ashkhabad, Turkmenia's capital. It claimed some 110,000 lives and left the city in ruins. Earthquakes have occurred in Mexico, in Portugal, and in other places. A great earthquake usually occurs in the world once every 10 years. But now the destruction caused by an earthquake is becoming more and more severe, since the population is growing everywhere, and construction along with it.

The United States has special services to forecast future disasters and the possible damage resulting from them. For instance, in the not too distant future an earthquake in California, seismically a most dangerous region, will claim some 14,000 lives, maim and injure another 55,000 people, and cause property losses estimated at 17 to 20 billion dollars.

Q: But what actually happened in Armenia? Have there been earthquakes

CHANCES FOR ANOTHER EARTHQUAKE

Correspondent Oleg Torchinsky talks about the probability of another Armenian disaster with Dr. Gennadi Sobolev, an expert on earthquakes.

in that region before? If so, when?

A: The Caucasus is a zone of high seismicity, where earthquakes have occurred before. One of the most serious happened in 1668 in the area of Shemakha, northwest of the city of Baku. The tremor had a magnitude of at least 9 or 10. The 1902 earthquake in the same region was equally destructive. The disastrous earthquake of A.D. 893 completely destroyed the city of Dvin, the capital of ancient Armenia. Ten centuries later a series of earthquakes shook the region with striking regularity from 1851 and 1893. And finally there was a great—magnitude 8—earthquake in 1926 in the vicinity of Leninakan, some 50 to 100 kilometers west of the epicenter of the most recent disaster.

But the earthquake that took place last December in that region was the most catastrophic in more than 1,000 years. A deep, 1,000-kilometer-long fault running from east to west in the earth's crust exists in that region, and one side of the fault is moving relative to the other. And although displacement is no more than a few fractions of a millimeter a year, stresses were building up. In the vicinity of Spitak, the large fault is crossed by another fault, running from north to south. Such points are the likeliest source of an earthquake. Unfortunately, the city of Spitak happened to be right there.

We knew that the region was a zone of high seismicity. But we estimated it approximately at a magnitude of 7. But the latest earthquake

had a magnitude of 9. What is worse, it occurred at a depth of only 14 to 25 kilometers from the surface. That's why it was so destructive.

Q: Could another earthquake occur in the same region?

A: There's no doubt about it. But earthquakes like the recent one or the one that took place in A.D. 893 happen only once in a thousand years. Lesser earthquakes occur once every 100 to 300 years. So it seems that we have a breathing space of some 50 to 100 years.

Q: But is it really possible to predict an earthquake?

A: Our country has a good history of long-term forecasting. But as for short-term forecasting, it can scarcely be said to exist at all. And this in spite of the fact that seismic monitoring work should be continuous, especially in potentially dangerous zones, such as the Caucasus region and Kamchatka. Yet it is essential to make detailed, short-term observations in high-risk areas.

According to our findings, certain data about the most recent cataclysm were coming from the republic of Georgia, where changes in underground water temperature were observed. But **there were** no signals from Armenia, and **the** political ferment in that republic essentially put **an end to even** isolated observations. However, **we** know how valuable such intensive, short-term observations can be, based on the experience of other countries, say, Japan—Tokyo—and the U.S.—California.

The events in Armenia should be **enough to** force the government to **correct the** situation. We need a state-sponsored service for permanent observation and forecasting. This may help us avert the most serious consequences of earthquakes when they do occur.

Gennadi Sobolev, Doctor of Science (Physics and Mathematics), heads the Division of the Physics of Earthquake Epicenters at the Institute of Earth Physics, a research institution of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and chairs an expert group whose job is to forecast earthquakes in the USSR.



**POOLING
ALL
RESOURCES**

Tents became
temporary
homes for the
homeless.

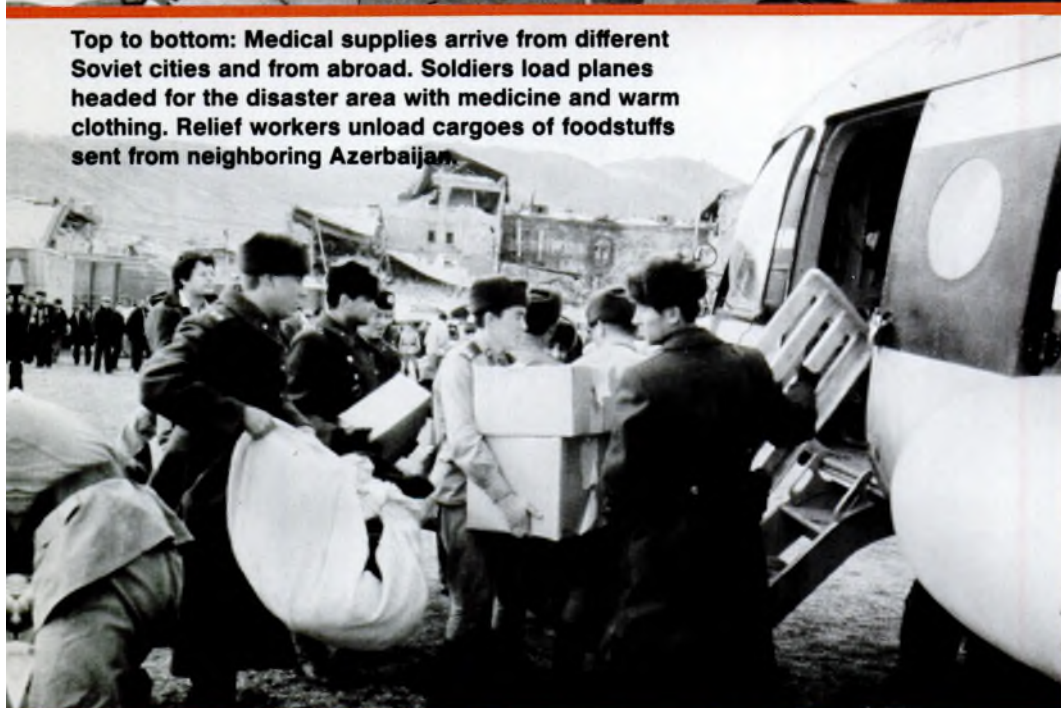


The injured
were airlifted
to the best
clinics in
the country.
Left: George
Reid of the
International
Red Cross was
one of 300
foreign
physicians
to come to
Armenia.





Top to bottom: Medical supplies arrive from different Soviet cities and from abroad. Soldiers load planes headed for the disaster area with medicine and warm clothing. Relief workers unload cargoes of foodstuffs sent from neighboring Azerbaijan.



ARMENIA

Continued from page 7

quake are receiving temporary relief until they are working again.

Relief aid has come from 111 countries and seven international organizations. By April, 346 planes from 44 countries had landed at Yerevan Airport, bringing medicines, foodstuffs, clothing, and other items for the earthquake victims.

All monetary contributions received by the USSR's Vneshekonombank are deposited in a special account at its Armenian branch. The Armenian Government is using the hard currency in a number of ways, such as for construction and for medical assistance to the disaster victims. All foreign relief aid and its distribution are under strict governmental control.

The level of organization of the relief effort is much better now than it was in the first days after the disaster. Local newspapers publish regular reports on the amounts of food and supplies that are donated and how they are distributed. Representatives of the foreign public are given ample opportunity to check on how their aid is being used.

Judging from experience in Tashkent after the earthquake there, the restoration will cost at least five billion rubles and will take about two years. But this time the rest of the world is helping us.

Armenia accounts for only 1.2 percent of the Soviet population, and the country could heal Armenia's wounds alone. But there was one thing the tragedy, shared by all humankind, vividly demonstrated: Human values hold priority.

The selfless aid of the whole world is not only a manifestation of humanity and compassion. It is evidence of the ties that bind all nations.

Photographs by Alexander Grashchenkov, Igor Flis, Yuri Kuidin, Ruben Mangasaryan, Alexander Makarov, Vladimir Mayevsky, Gennadi Ratushenko, and Mark Steinbock.

**This elderly Armenian
has survived
the earthquakes of
1926, 1931, and 1988.
The following lines
of a poem by Armenian
poet Avetik Isaakya
best express
the suffering
she has seen:**

*... Who is Man
himself?*

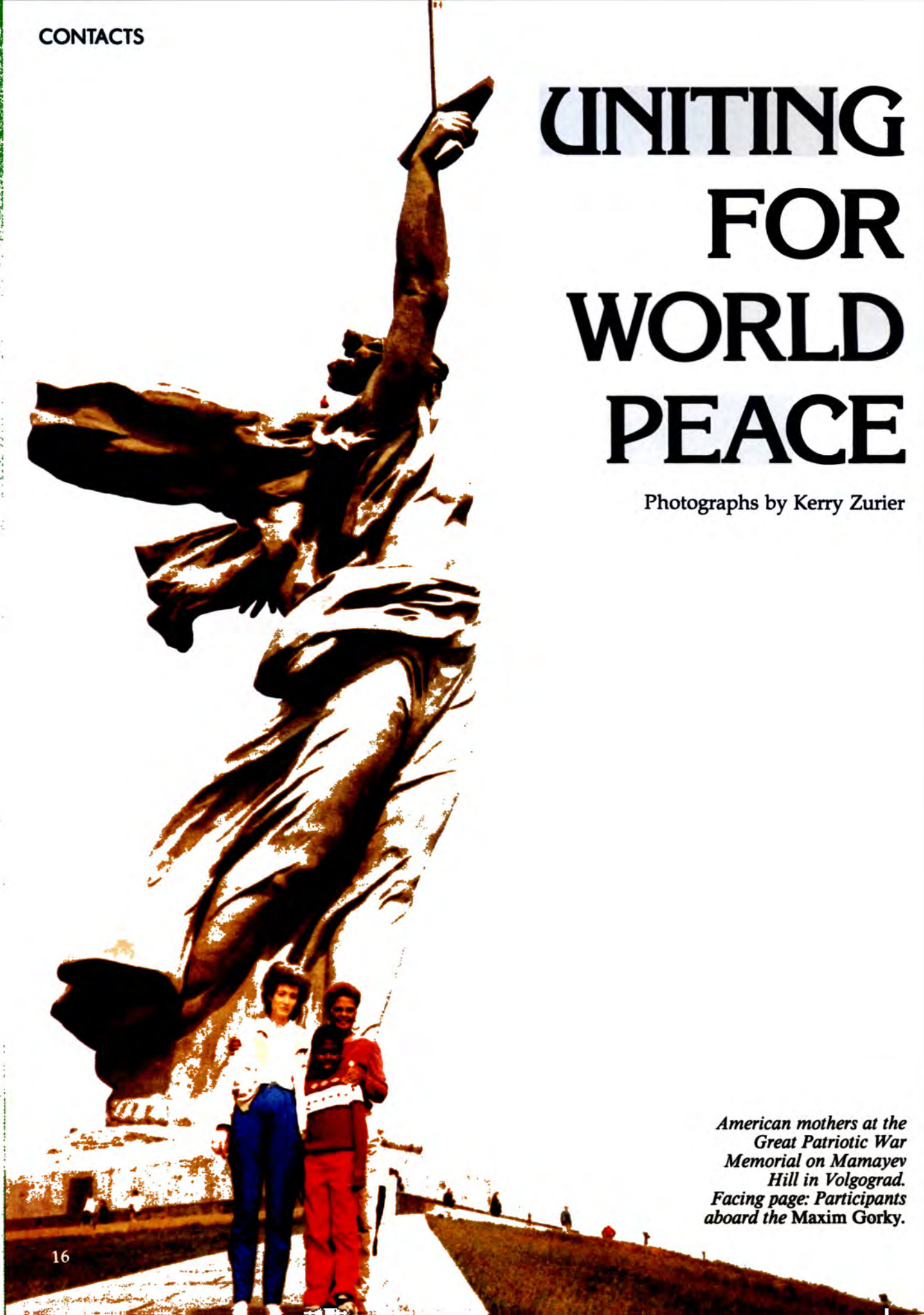
*Not but a mere speck
of dust.*

*But his pain be that
much more than
the entire Universe.*



UNITING FOR WORLD PEACE

Photographs by Kerry Zurier



*American mothers at the
Great Patriotic War
Memorial on Mamayev
Hill in Volgograd.
Facing page: Participants
aboard the Maxim Gorky.*

USSR-USA

Center for Creative Initiatives for Peace (CCIP) is a grassroots peace movement under the umbrella of the Soviet Peace Committee. The organization was established in 1986 by a group of Soviet students who had been to the United States as participants in a joint Soviet-American theatrical production. The peace theater still occupies a central position in the organization, but it has grown to include many other programs.

CCIP is dedicated to the idea that each individual holds some responsibility for the fate of the entire world. By acting in the capacity of citizen diplomats, CCIP members believe, ordinary people can make a contribution to bettering relations between countries.

Mothers for Embracing Nuclear Disarmament (MEND) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan educational organization dedicated to inspiring mothers and other nurturers to become effective participants in the effort to reduce the risk of nuclear war.

The organization was founded in April 1985 by Linda Smith Kapstein after a visit to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C. That visit inspired Kapstein to form an organization that would work to reduce the risk of nuclear war. She believes that mothers like herself are a potent force in the fight to prevent war because they possess an overwhelming instinct to protect their children.

September 1988 marked a milestone in Soviet-American relations when a group of American mothers and children traveled to nine cities in the USSR with a counterpart group of Soviet mothers and children. The reciprocal visit of Soviet citizens to the United States took part this past March. Articles on the following pages give an overview of the historic journeys across the ocean.



USSR



UNPRECEDENTED VISITS





MEND delegates in front of St. Basil's Cathedral in Moscow's Red Square.

Facing page: Lunch aboard the Maxim Gorky on its way down the Volga River (top). Soviet and American children in the Moscow Young Pioneers Palace (bottom).

The excitement and anticipation were high when the group of 21 American mothers and children of Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament (MEND) arrived in Moscow on September 2 for the first part of a historic exchange with Soviet mothers and children. It would, in the end, prove to be an experience of a lifetime and one that left a lasting impression on all of the participants of MEND.

MEND organized the "citizen diplomat" exchange in cooperation with the Soviet Peace Committee, the Center for Creative Initiatives for Peace (in the Soviet Union), and the Soviet Women's Committee, as a means to foster greater understanding between the people of the United States and the Soviet Union.

"This exchange is a tangible, grassroots effort to involve ordinary people in the challenge of reducing the risk of nuclear war," said Maureen King, MEND's executive director. "By getting to know the Soviet people and learning that we share a common desire for peace, we are taking conscious steps toward increasing collective trust," she added.

The American mothers and children arrived in the Soviet Union laden with "peace presents," which were handmade by MEND members throughout the country and later presented to their new Soviet friends.

The first stop during the 18-day trip was Moscow, where the MEND contingent visited Red Square, a circus in Gorky Park, a children's theater, and museums. One of the highlights for both mothers and children was a visit to an English-speaking elementary school, where they were able to tour the classrooms and spend time conversing with Soviet students. Later the American mothers and children were introduced to their Soviet counterparts at dinners in the homes of the participating Soviet families.

"Being able to visit my new Soviet friend's home was a wonderful opportunity to experience Soviet cultural traditions on a firsthand basis," said MEND mother Nancy Walter.

Following Moscow, the group flew to Kazan to board the *Maxim Gorky* ship for a nine-day, thousand-mile peace cruise on the Volga River. It was a time for cementing relationships and deepening understanding as the U.S.-Soviet mothers, teenagers, and young children met in their respective groups and discussed everything from music, family problems, and politics, to the threat of nuclear war. The daily discussions allowed the participants the opportunity to really delve inside each other's hearts and souls and resulted in barriers of misconceptions being removed.

"The American and Soviet children bonded without hesitation, and, amazingly, the inability to communicate in the same language proved not to be a hindrance," said Dr. Doyne, who facilitated the children's discussion group.

The cruise included such diverse sightseeing stops as the city of Ulyanovsk (Lenin's birthplace), Volgograd, and Maiden Island, where the mothers and children played volleyball and enjoyed a family-style barbecue.

At the conclusion of the Volga cruise, the American and Soviet mothers, in a show of solidarity, drafted and signed a letter to both President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev explaining the purpose of their exchange and calling for an end to the arms race. The women stated that "we experienced a deep appreciation of the necessity to end the arms race and a profound sense of unity upon realizing that our similarities far outweigh our differences. We commend your previous efforts toward peace and urge you, on behalf of the children of the planet, to continue to work diligently to reduce the risk of nuclear war and to insure global security." The exchange trip concluded with a two-day stay in Leningrad. ■

The above is a slightly abridged version of an article that appeared under the title "American and Soviet Mothers and Children Unite for World Peace" in the Fall 1988 issue of MEND News.

On March 16 the second part of the exchange visit began when a delegation of Soviet mothers and children arrived at Dulles Airport outside Washington, D.C. Accompanied by its American hosts, the Soviet group spent the next 18 days touring the United States, stopping in, besides the nation's capital, New York City, San Diego, and several places in the Los Angeles area.

"Everyone in the Soviet delegation is deeply grateful to MEND for its flawlessly organized program," said Anna Gurevich, a Soviet participant.

The Soviet mothers and children were very impressed by America's magnificent cities and beautiful countryside, the spacious homes, and abundant supermarkets—but most of all by the friendliness and openness of all the people that they met. "Looking back, it wasn't Washington's broad avenues, New York City's unique skyline, or San Diego's rolling waves and picturesque mountains that I cherish most of all about the trip," said Gurevich when she arrived back home in Moscow. "It is Sally Levy and her cozy home, full of kids and friends; and Kay Lautman, who flew from Washington to New York just to see us off; and Nancy and Jim Walters, who have become my close friends; and Karen Pecht, in whose 80-year-old, four-generation home I spent my last night in America."

Among the highlights of the visit were two receptions—one at the Soviet Embassy in Washington and the other at the United Nations in New York. It just proves once again the significance of nongovernmental voluntary organizations in the movement for peace and disarmament and the official recognition of such efforts.

Eleven-year-old Mark Gurevich accompanied his mother on the trip. "Disneyland was a treat," he said. "It's an especially fun place for kids."

Many members of the Soviet delegation expressed one regret, if there could be such a thing—that there wasn't enough time both to see all there was to see and to discuss all that needed to be discussed. "Peace is such an important issue for everyone," one Soviet mother said. "We all have to work for it."

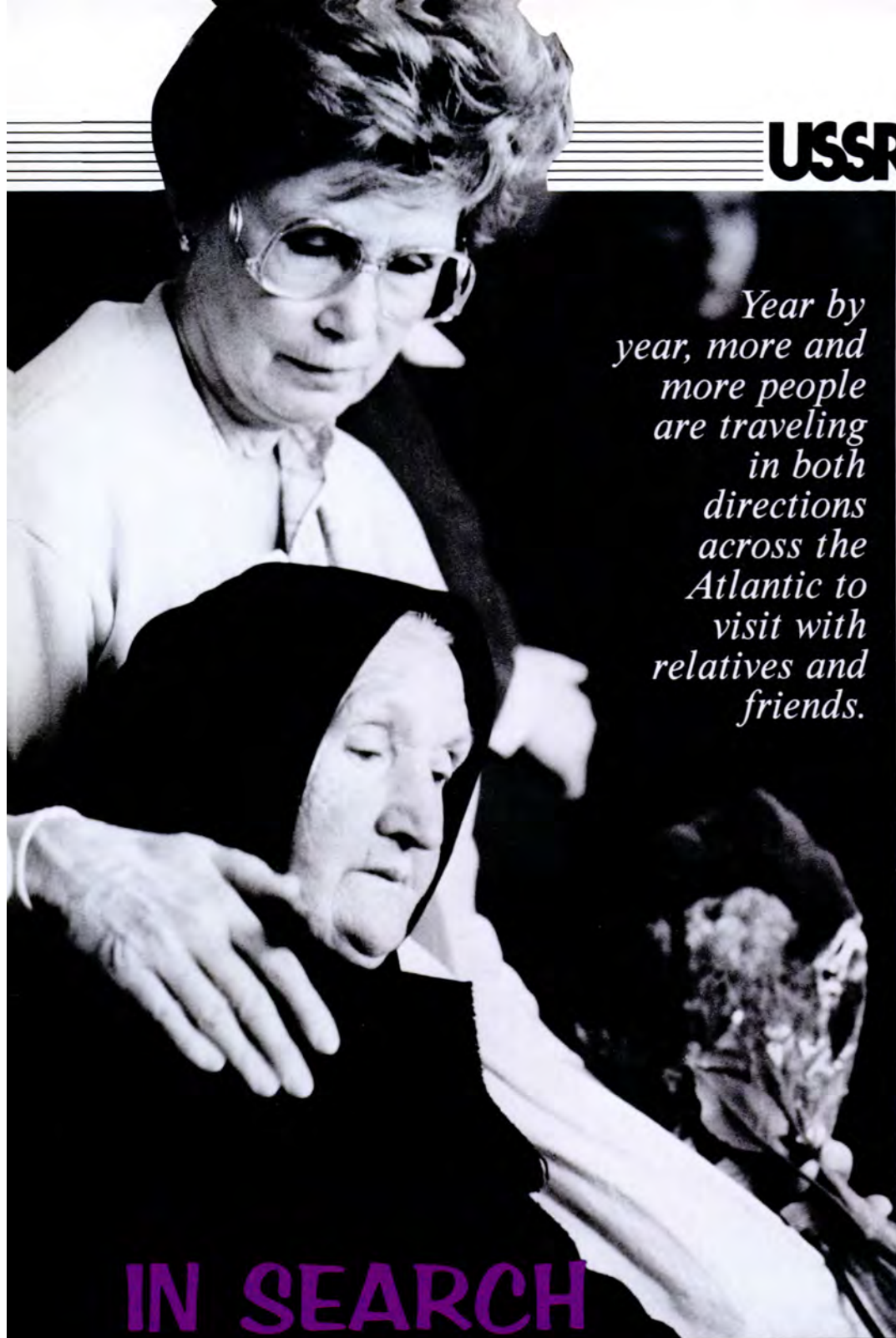
Dunn Photographic Associates, Inc.



Soviet and American mothers and children on the steps of the U.S. Capitol. Facing page, clockwise from top: The organizers of the exchange visit—Maureen King of MEND (left) and Nadia Burova of CCIP (right)—with Mrs. Liana Dubinin, wife of the Soviet Ambassador to the United States, at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. A picnic lunch at Will Rogers State Park in Los Angeles. Members of the visiting delegation at P.S. 41 in New York City. A Soviet child makes friends with Mickey Mouse at Disneyland.



USSR



Year by year, more and more people are traveling in both directions across the Atlantic to visit with relatives and friends.

IN SEARCH OF THEIR ROOTS

By Boris Alexeyev
 Բորիս Ալեքեյևի և Ջոն Միկոլայի



When my wife and I got here, I thought, 'Mother, I've fulfilled your last wishes,'" said Robert Serko, an engineer from New Jersey. Serko, 65, had promised his mother to visit her homeland and meet her relatives.

His mother was born in the Carpathian Mountains, in the western
 Իլլիւշինո Բոթոկո յոյժով յոյժ Իլիո Խո-



When Anna Pollock (holding flowers), from Pennsylvania, learned that her family was getting together for her grandnephew's wedding in the Ukraine, she couldn't stay home. Left: Anna with her sisters Sofia (left) and Malvina (right).

ritory was part of Czechoslovakia, and later Hungary. During that time many people who lived there emigrated to the United States in search of a good job and a better life. Serko's mother was among them. Her sister, however, decided to stay in the small village where she was born.

The sisters continued to correspond and visit each other, but with the cold ►



Above and below left: William Vislocky happily spent time with his niece Maria Bukar and her family on a recent trip to the Ukraine. Not long ago Maria visited her uncle in the States. Left: Anna Pollock with a portrait of her father, which hangs in the family home. She left the Ukraine in the thirties with her father.



war, all contact between them broke down.

"We thought we'd lost our family living in the United States forever," one of Serko's Transcarpathian relatives told me. "Our letters and telegrams never reached them, and there was no telephone communication."

William Vislocky, 70, who runs a tourist agency in New Jersey and who, incidentally, has roots in Transcarpathia, confirmed what the relative said. Vislocky's business, Rahway Travel, was the first American travel agency to arrange trips to Soviet Transcarpathia for American citizens.

"I first tried doing this way back in 1949, but all my proposals were flatly turned down. Transcarpathia was a closed area for us.

"Only in 1959, when the ice of mistrust between our countries began to melt, when the first American national exhibition opened in Moscow, and when Benny Goodman toured the USSR with his jazz band, did I receive a favorable reply."

In 1959 Vislocky accompanied the first group of Americans to Uzhgorod, the capital of Transcarpathian Region. "We filled in the gap on the Soviet map, so to speak," he laughed.

I asked him to tell me more about Rahway Travel.

"We started from scratch, but our business has been snowballing. Considering the current changes in the USSR, Transcarpathia should certainly experience a tourist boom."

Anna Pollock, a homemaker from Blairsville, Pennsylvania, visited the small village of Opok, a two-hour drive from Uzhgorod. She had to change planes three times and cross 11 time zones in order to attend the wedding of her 24-year-old grandnephew, Volodya.

She said she decided to make the trip after receiving the letter from her eldest sister, Sofia, 76, announcing the marriage. Sofia mentioned that the whole family was getting together and that everyone would be pleased if she could come too. Anna's other sister, Malvina, added the postscript: "Please come. I'm 75, and who knows if we'll have another chance to see each other."

The sisters' house in Opok had been built by their father, Ivan. In the thirties, when he left for the United States, he took his youngest daughter with him. That's how Anna came to be living abroad.

World War II prevented them from returning home. Their life stories are similar to thousands of others.

Anna told me about the days of her youth while she and her sisters and I slowly climbed hilly Krasnaya Street to house No. 37. I felt that the memories of the times when she and her sisters played in this street were all coming back to her as she spoke. Brushing away a nostalgic tear, she kept saying how happy she was to be here again and to see her family.

Nearly 40 people were gathered in the backyard, which was festively decorated for the occasion with green



Marion Robeson traveled to Transcarpathia as a tourist, to see how people live there and to admire the beautiful scenery of the western Ukraine.

sprays and autumn flowers. All of the people were Anna's relatives. The youngest, Roman, is four years old, and the oldest, Sofia, is 76. I tried to keep track of who was who and how they were related, but I soon got confused and finally gave up. "After all, it doesn't really matter," I thought. "What's important is that the newlyweds have a close-knit family to turn to for support."

I didn't stay for the entire celebration, which traditionally lasts several days, but I remember Anna and her family making arrangements for future visits to the United States.

Today that prospect is much more feasible than it was a few years ago.

Practically all restrictions hampering contacts with people from other countries have been removed.

Though a trip to the United States is still expensive (round-trip plane fare is 1,250 rubles), more and more Transcarpathians are visiting their American relatives and friends.

"The number of trips has increased enormously," Ivan Pantyo, the 47-year-old head of the Transcarpathian Region Visa and Registration Department, told me. "Practically all restrictions hampering Soviet citizens' contacts with people in other countries have been lifted. The application has been simplified too. Applications for entry visas to the USSR have also been revised."

Of course the new regulations have increased the department's workload. "We never know at any given time how many people will be applying for visas," Pantyo continued. "That sometimes causes an unpleasant delay with issuing foreign passports, especially during holiday periods. We have to enlarge our staff to ensure normal processing times."

"Does that mean that everyone who applies for a foreign passport receives one?" I asked.

"Yes, with very few exceptions. Last year only six out of the 100,000 applications for foreign passports were rejected."

"Why?"

"One applicant was under investigation, and the others were drafted into the army. There were no other reasons for refusal."





CITIZEN DIPLOMACY *HITS THE CLASSROOM*

By Varvara Ardamatskaya
Photographs by Vladimir Rodionov



One day a new teacher came to our school. She was Sarah Elston from Williamsburg, Massachusetts. We were told that she would be teaching English for the next two months.

I have mixed feelings about Americans. On the one hand, I feel they aren't much different from us. On the other, they seem like people from another planet. My school, School No. 1289, is situated on Planet Street—a strange name, indeed—so the other kids in class and I nicknamed our new teacher "ET on Planet Street."

We got used to Ms. Elston in no time. She's a very good teacher. She reminds me of the main character in the movie *Up the Down Staircase*. In terms of discipline, our school is like a Catholic boarding school compared to the school in the movie. That's what we kids think, but I'm sure our teachers have the opposite point of view.

After I got to know Ms. Elston better, I asked her for an interview. She gladly agreed. Here's how it went.

Q: Is this your first visit to the USSR?

A: Actually, this is my fifth visit.

Q: You've brought your puppet show with you. Is that your hobby or your second profession?

A: It's my second profession. [Ms. Elston's puppet show is simply brilliant. She does everything herself—writes the scripts, works the puppets, sings, and plays several musical instruments. At the end of the show, she explains to the audience how she manages to do it all. Her aim, she says, is to communicate with students.]

Q: What brings you to our country so often?

A: I come here because I have friendly feelings for your people. And also because the Soviet Union and the United States are two superpowers that cannot afford to be in conflict with each other and lose time on reciprocal reproaches.

Q: Please pardon my next question, but don't you think you're taking too much upon yourself? I can understand when our leaders meet, but . . .

A: I think I'm doing exactly what is right. Treaties concluded by two countries are nothing without mutual understanding between their peoples, without citizen diplomacy. I, for instance, would like to bring together Soviet and American teachers, psychologists, students, and parents in order to discuss relationships between them: how to prevent conflicts in school and at home; how to help different generations and different nations understand each other better. All problems should be solved jointly. Then the relations between our two countries will be truly human.

Q: This is your fifth visit to the Soviet Union. How have your ideas about our country changed?

A: Before my first visit to your country, I thought I'd be meeting gloomy people who'd be hostile to Americans. Even then my ideas proved to be very wrong. The Soviet people I met were open and friendly.

My previous four trips were made as a tourist. Now I am living and working in Moscow. This is an altogether different experience. I'm gaining a better understanding of how Muscovites live and work, and what worries them.

Q: What don't you like about Moscow?

A: I hate the crowds on the Metro when I'm trying to get to school in the morning.

Q: What about New York's subway?

A: I've no idea. I've never been on it. I'm from a small town in Massachusetts.

Q: What do you think about our school?

A: I like the warm atmosphere and the openness of the students here. What's more, I feel students are interested in me as a representative of the United States. I like the way you think. Judging by everything, Soviet students are concerned with serious problems.

Q: Is there something you don't like about our school?

A: The noise during the breaks between classes. Students are running to and fro, and I'm always afraid that they'll bump into me and knock me down. I'm just kidding: Children will be children, and they have to let out energy from time to time.

To me, working with juniors is the most interesting. A teacher can help them think independently. This is what I am trying to do, instead of forcing some ready-made answers on them.

Though Ms. Elston said her favorite students were the juniors, she gave extraordinary lessons in my class. We discussed American literature, music, movies, and politics and compared the cultures of our two countries and the traditions and customs of our two peoples. We learned a great deal from Ms. Elston, and I think she learned something from us too.

After two months Ms. Elston left us. When we were saying good-by, at first we made speeches in the spirit of critical thinking, but then we all became sentimental and kissed our teacher good-by.

In my opinion, our American teacher made a great contribution to the development of citizen diplomacy. My schoolmates and I now have a better idea about the United States. This is undoubtedly Ms. Elston's biggest achievement.

Varvara Ardamatskaya is a student at School No. 1289 in Moscow.

Sarah Elston (left), from a small town in New England, spent two months teaching in a Moscow school. Sometimes her lessons took the look of a water. Center: the students say their visitor not only taught them a great deal about the United States but also provided them with a lively break from the normal school routine.

THE WINGED-S

By Yuri Salnikov

Until recently only one book about Igor Sikorsky, the Russian-born aviation pioneer, had been printed in the Russian language.

Written by Konstantin Finne, the chief physician of the *Ilya Muromets* aircraft squadron, the book was published in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in 1930. Sikorsky also wrote his autobiography—*The Story of the Winged-S*. This year a new book by Moscow aircraft designers Vadim Mikheyev and Gennadi Katyshev is being released to mark the centenary of Sikorsky's birth. The anniversary will be celebrated in Kiev, Leningrad, and Moscow, as well as abroad.

The son of two physicians, Igor Sikorsky early developed a passion that led him in another direction—the designing of flying machines.

In 1907 Sikorsky enrolled in the Kiev Polytechnic Institute, but he soon abandoned his strictly academic course of study to begin designing aircraft. His early dream was to design a vertical lift machine, or helicopter, but after two failed attempts he gave up the idea for the time being.

Sikorsky's first operational aircraft were the 15-horsepower S-1 and the 25-horsepower S-2, in which the designer managed to make a short flight at an altitude of 180 meters. His next aircraft, the S-3, had a more powerful engine and better flight characteristics, and in this craft he was able to

make a 59-second flight. His subsequent S-4 and S-5 versions allowed him to complete longer flights, at an altitude of 500 meters.

In 1911 and 1912 two additional Sikorsky planes made their appearance—the S-6 and S-6A. Sikorsky entered these in a contest organized by the Russian War Department. Although his planes were competing against aircraft entered by the world's leading companies, such as Farman, Nieuport, and Fokker, Sikorsky walked away with first prize.

Sikorsky built his planes in a shed ►



The Ilya Muromets lands at Korpusnoi Airdrome near St. Petersburg, February 1914. Note the people standing on top of the fuselage. Below: During the second year of World War I, the squadron of flying ships acquired improved versions of the Ilya Muromets, including a new generation of bombers—the Ilya Muromets Type E, which was outfitted with four 220-horsepower Renault engines.



in the back yard of his father's house on Bolshaya Podvalnaya Street in Kiev. The house is still standing.

In 1912 Sikorsky was offered the job of chief designer in the Aircraft Department at the Russo-Baltic Works in St. Petersburg, then the only aircraft-building concern in Russia. The management of the plant did much to encourage the development of national aviation, and the young designer lived up to expectations: In a short time Sikorsky designed a series of aircraft, including the S-7, S-9, S-10 (on pontoons), and S-11, a monoplane that won first prize (25,000 rubles) in the "Russian Aviation Week" contest in the spring of 1912. National records for altitude, speed, and distance were set in his S-12, S-16, and S-20 planes.

Sikorsky believed that the future of aviation belonged to aircraft with two or more engines. Once, when he was piloting a single-engined craft, a mos-

quito suddenly lodged in the carburetor jet, causing the engine to fail just as the plane was coming in for a landing. He managed to maneuver the plane between a train and a concrete wall and brought it down safely onto a narrow strip of land. Sikorsky walked away with nothing more than a good scare. But the incident convinced him that multi-engined planes were safer than single-engined.

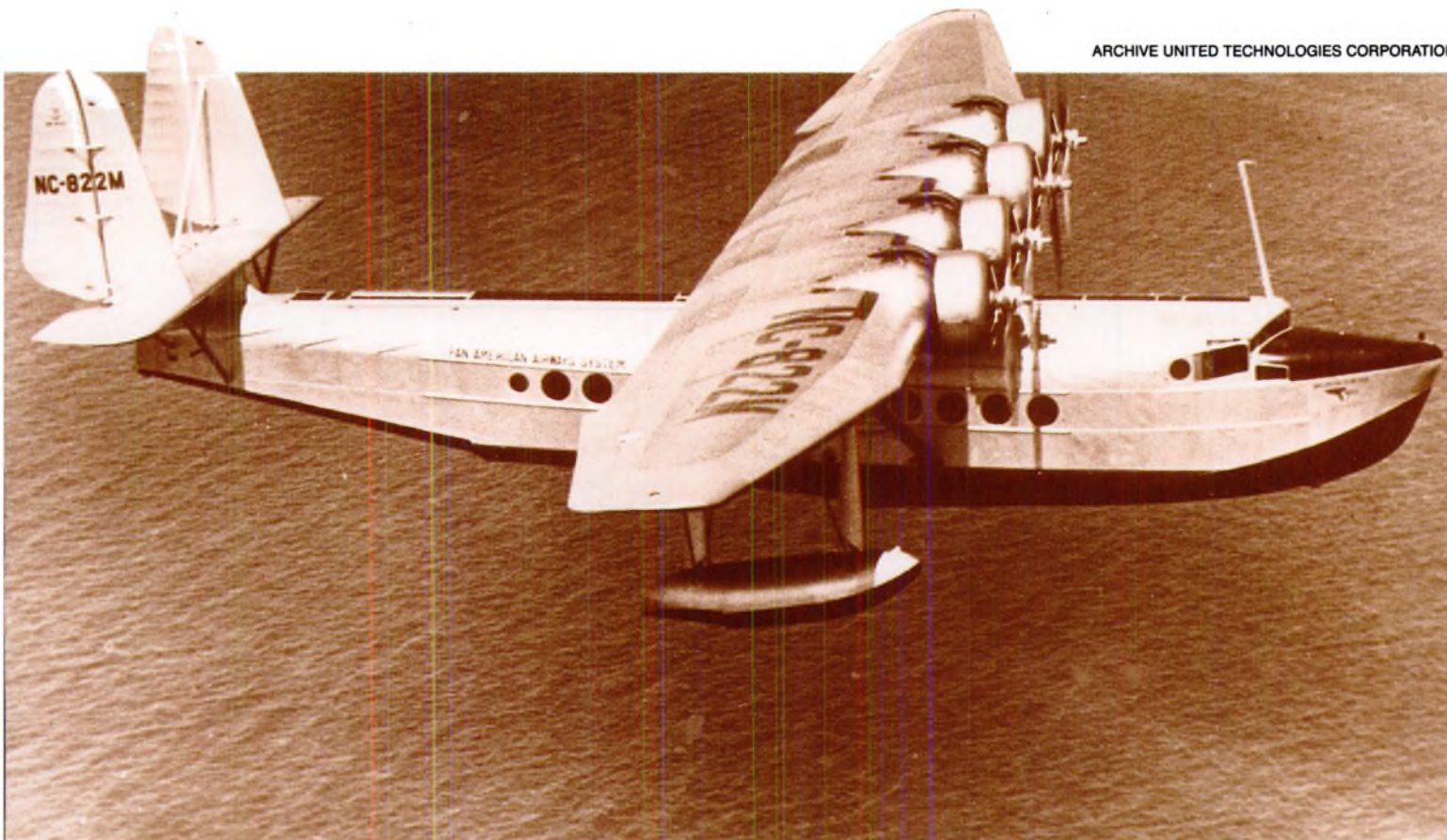
Later Sikorsky created the blueprints for giant aircraft, unprecedented at that time: At the Russo-Baltic plant he built the twin-engined *Le Grand, Russky vityaz*. Then came the four-engined *Ilya Muromets*, which opened a new chapter in the history of world aviation—the era of heavy, multiengined aircraft capable of long-distance flights carrying passengers and cargoes.

During World War I the Russian War Department took an interest in the new heavy aircraft and ordered a

The S-35 before its flight across the Atlantic from New York to Paris, 1926. The designer of the craft, Igor Sikorsky, is standing directly below the wing. Facing page: The S-40 flying boat, the American Clipper, in flight. Pan American Airways used this 40-passenger ship to blaze air travel routes to South America.

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series of bombers designed by Sikorsky. From 1914 to 1918, about 80 *Ilya Muromets* planes were built in Russia. Flying at high altitudes, these bombers were able to deliver powerful strikes at the enemy's rear. (The German command issued an order urging soldiers not to believe that the Russians had "giant aircraft," claiming "there are no such aircraft in reality.") Neither the German fighters with their primitive armaments nor anti-aircraft artillery could compete with the Russian "flying fortresses."

What made Sikorsky decide to emigrate to the United States? Konstantin Finne explains: "Few people appreciated the fact that Sikorsky's aircraft was not only the first multi-engined plane in Russia but also in the world. It was the beginning of a new era in aviation. These aircraft could have boosted the development of air transportation and brought fabulous profits to Russia—a country with boundless expanses and endless plains, but with poorly developed communications. But no steps were taken to raise the money to build a large Russian plant for the manufacture of the aircraft engines and planes that Sikorsky de-

signed. That attitude revealed the difference between the Russians, who revered everything 'foreign,' and people from other countries."

After the October 1917 Revolution new people took over the aircraft industry. But they, too, failed to appreciate Sikorsky's talent fully. So in the spring of 1918 Sikorsky emigrated to France. He spent about 12 months there and then moved to the United States. After three years of hardship, he managed to rally a group of Russian émigrés, former officers, and engineers, and opened a small plant. The group was sponsored by Sergei Rachmaninoff, the great Russian composer, who had also emigrated to the United States. The Sikorsky Aero Engineering Corporation began with 200 employees, but it would grow into a major aircraft company.

The beginning was very difficult—but in September of 1926 the plant turned out its first aircraft. The ambitious designer wanted to be the one to fly the new, three-engined plane from New York to Paris. But since the engines for the aircraft had been made in France, the French Government demanded that the plane be

flown by a French pilot. Unfortunately, the pilot had received insufficient training in the aircraft, and the plane crashed on take-off, killing the radio operator and the navigator.

Despite this failure Sikorsky's company kept afloat, receiving donations from Russian emigrants. A charitable committee was set up in New York to raise money for a new aircraft. Also, the company signed several contracts with American businessmen interested in the undertaking. So Sikorsky modernized his latest model and produced the S-37, which flew between North and South America. The aircraft was a huge success, and it was bought by the U.S. Army Air Corps.

By the time Charles Lindbergh made his historic transatlantic flight, Sikorsky's company was on its feet. Russian aircraft designers were very popular in America in the 1930s.

Sikorsky's S-38 flying boat was a new word in aviation: a twin-engined amphibious plane that could deliver 1.5 tons of cargo and 12 passengers to any spot on the globe. This aircraft, piloted by Lindbergh, opened a number of international air routes.

In 1939 Sikorsky returned to his ►



*Sikorsky's maiden flight
in his VS-300 helicopter,
September 14, 1939.*

*Below: The first Sikorsky
aircraft plant at
Utgoff Farm, 1923.*

*Facing page: The designer
with the VS-300, which
opened a new era in aviation.*



earlier dream and began working on developing a helicopter. This time he successfully designed a whole range of single-rotor helicopters: the S-51, the S-55, and the S-61. Later on, Sikorsky built turbine helicopters, amphibious helicopters, and "flying cranes."

In early 1930, a Soviet delegation headed by outstanding aircraft designer Andrei Tupolev visited Sikorsky's plant. Ivan Golovin, 86, is the only member of the delegation who is still living. He has worked with the Tupolev design office for many years: He was the chief expert on metallurgy and is now one of the firm's leading consultants. Golovin recalls that the visit to Sikorsky's plant was very enlightening and useful.

Before Tupolev left the United States, he invited Sikorsky to visit the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted, but since the two countries did not have diplomatic relations at that time, the trip was canceled. In 1935 another delegation headed by Tupolev traveled to the United States and met with Sikorsky. It was the last meeting between the two great aircraft designers.

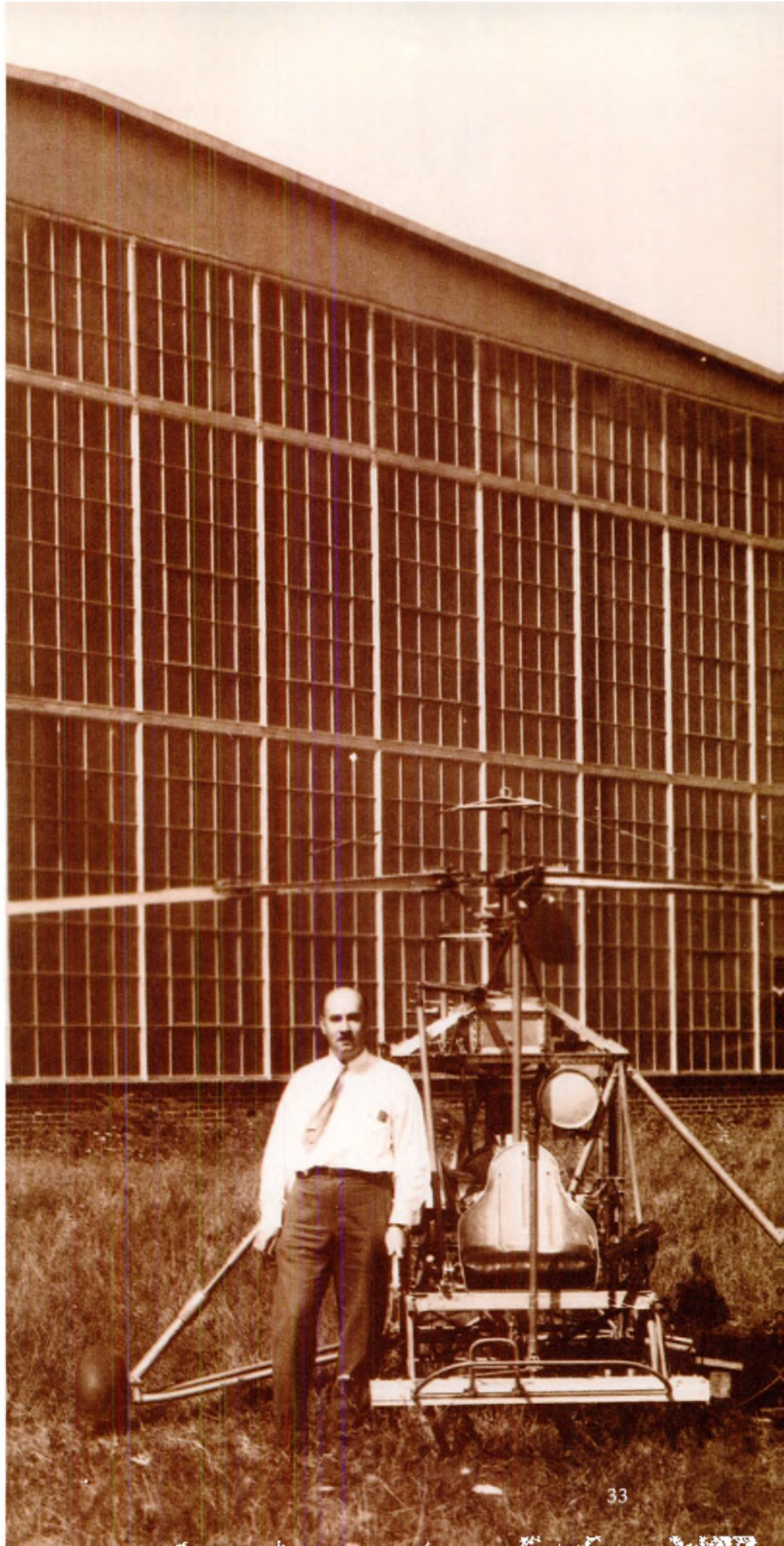
Sikorsky was well-educated. He liked the music of Rachmaninoff and was a wonderful storyteller with a remarkable sense of humor. His memoirs are written in a delightful style.

On December 14, 1967, Sikorsky was awarded the Wright Brothers' Medal, a major award in aviation, for the design and construction of the world's first successful single-rotor helicopter, of the world's first four-engined aircraft, and of a series of flying boats, which ushered in the era of transoceanic air travel.

Recently Sikorsky's children and grandchildren traveled to the Soviet Union and visited Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev. To mark the centenary of Sikorsky's birth, a memorial plaque will be erected on his house in Kiev. ■

Yuri Salnikov is a Soviet film director specializing in documentaries on the history of Soviet aviation. Presently, he is in the United States as an International Fellow at the National Air and Space Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

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TACKLING THE BUDGET DEFICIT

By Vladimir Gurevich

Unlike the shortage of goods, which ordinary people contend with every day, a budget deficit means nothing to the majority of Soviet citizens. They don't realize the grave consequences a deficit could have. Meanwhile, during the past three years budget expenditures have exceeded budget revenues by 183 billion rubles.

As *perestroika* entered its fourth year, the Soviet Union discovered that its No. 1 economic problem was a dislocated monetary and financial system.

In the autumn of 1988 the Soviet Union officially admitted for the first time that it had a budget deficit. The announcement was made at a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the parliament.

However, the news came as no surprise. Said Chairman of the Council of Ministers Nikolai Ryzhkov: "We thought it would be a bombshell, but not a single member of the Supreme Soviet uttered a word. For a long time finances had been a banned subject. Many people had no idea how the system works."

The policy of *glasnost*, or openness, and the economic reform drew public attention to the financial problem. Several factors aggravated the budget deficit: the unfavorable situation on the world market, especially the drop in the price of oil and gas, the Soviet Union's main source of currency; the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant disaster; the earthquake in Armenia; and the lack of experience in using the economic regulators introduced with the reform.

Factors contributing to the poor state of the economy are the scarcity of goods and the budget deficit.

Soviet people's deposits in savings banks, which have already exceeded 300 billion rubles, have been increasing by 25 billion rubles a year. This is not the result of a rise in the standard of living, however, but the negative

aftermath of unsatisfied demand. According to official statistics, unsatisfied consumer demand now totals 70 billion rubles. Some economists estimate the figure at 150 billion rubles. This money puts pressure on the market, increasing the risk of inflation.

Unlike the shortage of goods, which ordinary people contend with every day, a budget deficit means nothing to the majority of Soviet citizens. They don't realize the grave consequences a deficit could have. Meanwhile, during the past three years budget expenditures have exceeded budget revenues by 183 billion rubles, the USSR Minister of Finance, Boris Gostev, announced. In 1989 the budget deficit is expected to increase by 36 billion rubles and then to increase by another 63 billion rubles, which the government will have to borrow from GOSBANK, the State Bank of the USSR. In other words, the difference between the government's expenditures and revenues in 1989 will exceed the gross national product by 11 per cent, a good illustration of the scale of the problem. And we can no longer tackle it by the old method of putting more money into circulation. If we do that again, we're likely to trigger uncontrollable inflation.

Inflation is something the Soviet economy has no experience in handling. Although prices went up from time to time, the prices of the basic necessities hardly changed. So inflation was manifest not so much in rising prices as in the shortage of goods. No wonder the amount of unspent cash has now reached a critical level.

To be able to control inflation, we must first admit its existence. Will a policy of gradual measures work here if we have such huge imbalances on the market? The obvious solution is to allow the market to balance supply and demand. But the genie of inflation has been kept in the bottle for too long; and the longer it stayed there, the more energy it accumulated. So we can't just let it out. If we do, prices will soar and incomes will fall. At the same time, the pressure inside the bottle is too high.

So the Soviet Union has decided to begin by imposing tough controls on the prices of goods produced by state-run and cooperative enterprises. At the start of the reform, cooperatives were relatively free to price their commodities as they liked. High demand in almost all sectors of the economy imparts a monopolistic character to enterprises and makes them insensitive to the wishes of the consumer. In this kind of situation, the classical market instruments are practically powerless.

What is to be done? Should we leave everything under administrative control? But this is the economic model that the Soviet Union wants to abandon through the reform it has launched. Can we adopt the market model all at once the way Lenin did when he launched the New Economic Policy? We can't because the scale of the economy is not the same as it was then. Its structure is far more complex, and the risk is far greater. The only solution is to overhaul the financial system, eliminate the most striking imbalances, and pave the way for the creation of a free market.

The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has set up a commission to analyze the financial situation in the country. The Finance Ministry can hardly cope with the problem and seems not to have a viable program of action.

First of all, we must slash budget spending, especially defense allocations, and substantially reduce the financing of new construction projects, whose number and scale have long exceeded all possible limits. Though Soviet economists have been urging the government to do so for years,

only now has it decided in earnest to suspend or give up a number of projects, a measure that is expected to save us between seven and eight billion rubles this year.

Another cause of inflation is subsidizing money-losing enterprises. The government has now decided to shut them down, to modernize them, or to lease some of them to cooperatives. This year subsidies to money-losing enterprises are to be cut by one-third. The final solution to this problem is expected to take about two years.

The other part of the program contains emergency measures designed to satisfy consumer demand. A number of defense and other plants will change over to the production of consumer goods. A giant tractor plant under construction has been converted to an automobile plant that will turn out 900,000 compact cars a year.

Purchasing strategies are being reviewed with an eye to increasing imports of consumer goods. The construction of private housing has been accelerated. Besides, tenants of state-owned housing can now buy their apartments from the state and become private owners. They are allowed to sell them, give them as a gift, or bequeath them.

The Soviet Union is increasing the issue of securities (shares and bonds) in order to ease consumer pressure on the market. Workers at some factories and plants now invest their savings in the development of their enterprises and receive interest on their investments. The idea of creating a securities and exchange market, which was previously rejected out of hand, is now being widely discussed.

Everyone agrees that the financial situation poses a serious threat to economic reform. Rising prices and chronic shortages of goods create public discontent. The present state of the country's financial system compels the government to take restrictive measures and toughen price controls. This creates difficulties for the implementation of one of the main aims of the economic reform—the establishment of a pricing system geared to demand. Restrictive measures also limit the independence of the recently created commercial, cooperative, and joint-stock banks, which might success-

fully compete with the State Bank.

It is not always easy to understand to what extent these restrictive practices are the bitter pill we have to swallow in order to stabilize the situation and to what extent they result from the efforts of conservatives to foil the reform. Nevertheless, things aren't as bad as they look. The financial situation compels us to take measures whose urgency we realized before but which we postponed for a variety of reasons. If the budget deficit forces us to shut down some unprofitable enterprises, it will be a victory for the reform. We can't discuss their future forever (according to official data, there were almost 1,200 insolvent enterprises in the Soviet Union in early 1989), and the state can't waste billions of rubles to subsidize them.

It is time we abandoned or suspended a number of giant land-improvement projects, each of which costs several billion rubles. These projects have been the subject of heated debates for a long time. The budget deficit clearly helps those who maintain that these projects are economically unfeasible and environmentally unsafe.

Yet another success of the reform is that the financial situation and consumer goods shortages have now made Soviet planners take a no-nonsense approach to structural reorganization of the economy.

It is important for everyone to realize that the financial recovery program cannot be limited to a series of emergency measures projected for a couple of years. The entire financial system must be overhauled, including the taxation system, the pricing system, the credit and banking system, and the system for the distribution of centrally planned investments.

This task is far more difficult to accomplish than scrapping individual projects or discontinuing money-losing subsidies. But it is the essence of the economic reform, whose main objective is to lay the foundation of a viable economic system. Herein lies the main cause of our troubles. However, we have to proceed step by step, first by bringing the fever down and only after that by starting to treat the disease. ■



FORCED TO RESIGN

By Boris Smirnov
Photographs by Mark Steinbock

Perestroika in the workplace.

This report is from the most recent party conference at the Sergo Ordzhonikidze Machine-Tool Plant in Moscow. Only a few years ago such conferences would have been formal and their outcomes predictable. Now, with sweeping democratic reforms and *glasnost*, the meetings have acquired a new dynamic and unexpected quality.

The large auditorium in the plant's cultural center was filled to capacity. A storm was brewing. Tension was felt in everything—the hushed voices and nervous movements. Many of the people who had gathered that day held the plant's daily newspaper, the *Innovator*, in their hands.

It was the issue in which three interviews had been published under the headline "What I'd Like to Say at the Conference." The interviews with a department head and a milling-machine operator described the growing crisis at the Sergo Ordzhonikidze Machine-Tool Plant and the inefficiency of the party committee to avert it.

Both interviews sounded ominous but vague. The third interview, with assembler Alexander Anurov, was the most outspoken. "Our incompetent party committee hasn't faced up to the plant's problems. Because of its inaction, the bosses have had their way," he said.

The delegates—there were over 300—took their seats. Some people looked hopeful, others apprehensive. There wasn't an indifferent face in the crowd. The only ones who appeared imperturbable were the invited guests: an official of the CPSU Central Committee, a ministerial official, the Secretary of the Moscow Party Committee, and the First Secretary of the district party committee. Con-

spicuously absent was Nikolai Chikirev, who, citing poor health, had abruptly resigned from his position as general director of the plant the day before the meeting. That was his reason, but the delegates knew better, and they were sorry he wasn't present to hear what they had to say about him. They lambasted his empty promises and railed against his way of making whistle blowers face the music while giving his favorites unde-

served rewards. The delegates condemned his allowing the plant's fine traditions to disintegrate and attacked his corrupting all spheres of plant life—production statistics, job appointments, and dealings with other firms.

"Oh, so now that the cat's away, the mice will play," a speaker on the rostrum chortled sarcastically.

"You've got it all wrong," a voice boomed from the audience. "He's

away because we finally started to speak up."

"Though I've been with the plant for 18 months," one shop supervisor said indignantly, "I had my first meeting with Chikirev only the other day." "Lucky you!" another worker joined in caustically. "I've been here for some years and still haven't seen him."

Chikirev, however, was not the only one to come under fire. The ►



One speaker after another offered bitter truths. Others came up with lame excuses. The debate went on for more than eight hours, but when it was over, an invigorating air filled the room.



speakers also blamed themselves for allowing the situation to get so bad at the plant.

"Things look pretty grim," said Sergei Guennis, head of the labor and wages section. "We're in a bog, and we haven't yet realized how deep we've sunk in. If we're ever to get out of this mess, we'll have to face reality."

The Financial Commission's report summarizing a month-long investigation was received with a gasp of horror. Over the past nine months the plant had incurred a bank debt exceeding 20 million rubles. It had spent all of that money and had no funds to pay wages. The plant had also failed to fulfill orders for eight automated lines and 163 lathes.

How could such a thing have happened? An ad hoc party commission, the Moscow People's Control Committee, and the city procurator are currently looking into the situation and plan to hold those who are to blame responsible.

With workers' wages increasing annually and the plant's fine reputation

The delegates vote on a new, long-term program that will help the plant to pay off its debts and to regain its former prestige.

growing year after year, it's easy to see how the scope of disorganization went unnoticed. In 1932, when the plant began operations, it marked a real stride for Soviet heavy industry, and for many years thereafter the Ordzhonikidze trademark stood for efficiency and durability. Even now the leading Soviet firms prefer its numerically programmed lathes and automated lines to many others, but its glorious traditions have faded.

"Everybody's talking *perestroika*," Alexander Anurov told me during a break in the meeting. "Open any newspaper or switch on your television, and all you see or hear is news about reforms and changes in the country. But here—at the plant—we're still operating according to the same old moth-eaten ways. We're ripe for change."

"It's not hard to explain why our plant is going to pieces: Our equipment is outdated, we don't receive our supplies on time, and many of our work teams are understaffed. But just look at our show-window statistics. Don't they look nice!"

It's difficult to say now who was the first to protest, the blue-collar or white-collar workers, but then, it really doesn't matter. The concerned workers set up a *Perestroika* Committee with several dozen members, including shopfloor workers, supervisors, shop managers, and others. One of the committee's first orders of business was to begin issuing typewritten leaflets informing the workers of developments only a select few were supposed to know: that the plant was on the verge of bankruptcy, and other unwelcome truths.

But back to Chikirev, the archetypal self-made man, and his spectacular career. Chikirev started working at the enterprise in 1942 when he was 15 years old. His first job was as an apprentice turner, but he advanced

very quickly. The next 40 years brought him the title of Hero of Socialist Labor, a professorship at the famous Bauman Technical Institute, and many professional accolades.

How this bright, respected man could have made false reporting a matter of routine at the plant stunned everyone! But the evidence irrefutably pointed to his doing exactly that. For at least three years sophisticated equipment was regularly registered as ready, though its manufacture had not even begun. The Ordzhonikidze trademark was losing all of its prestige. However, while the plant was going to the dogs, Chikirev stubbornly wooed his staff with beautiful, empty talk.

When all was said and done, by an overwhelming majority, the delegates deemed the work of the old party committee unsatisfactory and set up a new committee with new blood.

"We knew what we were in for when we first started complaining," one worker told me. "Now we're drawing up a long-term program to get the plant out of trouble."

Just as we were going to press, we received the following news from the Sergo Ordzhonikidze Machine-Tool Plant: The workers refused to have the vacancy created by general director Nikolai Chikirev's resignation filled by higher-ups or the ministry. They decided instead to hold a plant-wide election and set up a special commission to handle the details. Six people came forward as potential candidates. Two were immediately rejected on the grounds that they had no experience in running a large plant.

The four remaining candidates—all of whom had proven track records in production—waged a spirited campaign. In the course of the campaign, another two candidates dropped out. The fate of the remaining two was decided by secret ballot.

After receiving an overwhelming majority—87 per cent—of the vote, Anatoli Panov, deputy director of the Institute for Advanced Training of Specialists of the Machine-Tool Building Industry, emerged as the new general director of the plant. ■

Elections '89

Continued from page 5

and social activities.) In response, Sakharov published a statement in *Moscow News* which said, in part:

"I feel inextricably linked with the Academy [of Sciences] of which I've been a member for 35 years. I have arrived at the conclusion that I must run in the new-style election as a representative of the academy or give up the whole idea. That is why I've decided to represent the academy and no other organization."

Not everybody agreed with the academician. And yet scientists, both young and old, refused to recognize Sakharov's defeat. They counted on an expanded general meeting of the academy making the final choice of candidates.

The advocates of democracy prevailed, and only eight of the 23 candidates nominated by the academy's presidium were elected. By law, a second nomination of candidates for the available seats had to be held. In the repeat election Sakharov's supporters had their way and elected him to the Congress of People's Deputies.

Boris Yeltsin's story is somewhat different. His name is linked with attempts to promote swift and radical change, first of all, to eliminate all bureaucratic and party privileges.

Yeltsin was nominated by more than 50 work collectives and organizations. Like Sakharov, he said that, as Moscow's former party boss, he preferred to secure the support of the entire city and would run for election in the Moscow district. The district meeting registered his candidacy with the other candidate, director general Yevgeni Brakov of the ZIL truck plant.

In the middle of March 1989, the Central Committee of the Communist Party held its plenary meeting, which elected the deputies from the Communist Party and which adopted a resolution on the radical restructuring of the party's agrarian policy. At the end of the meeting, six workers and one collective farmer suggested exam-

ining the conduct of CPSU Central Committee member Boris Yeltsin, which, in their opinion, "went against the political principles of the Central Committee, party ethics, and the Rules of the CPSU." The meeting charged a commission of several Central Committee members to delve into the matter and submit its conclusions to the next plenary meeting.

Emotions ran high. The situation was unpleasantly reminiscent of the times when unpopular decisions were pushed through, allegedly on the initiative of the working people. Spontaneous meetings in support of Yeltsin sprang up.

Yeltsin, who received nine out of every 10 votes cast, won the election in a landslide victory.

Perhaps the most popular word during the election campaign was "nakaz"—the voters' mandate to the deputy to promote their interests and will. The day before the election, *Pravda* published a letter from Muscovite Valeri Mironov that, in my opinion, can very well serve as a mandate to all deputies.

"The war generation is leaving the scene," he wrote, "a generation that knew nothing but hardship before the war and worked like hell after the war, restoring the economy until their retirement on pension. I assure you, it's not the search for a comfortable life that makes millions of pensioners beg for a chance to work a little longer, without any limitations on their earnings. The request comes from those who are still strong enough to work. But most of them are completely exhausted. Are we so poor that we cannot even create decent living conditions for the people who won the war and who now fear their last days simply because they could not save enough money for their own funerals? Why do we keep spending billions on projects that never get off the ground and for space voyages 'of all nations?' I am convinced that the reason for this is not because the state treasury is empty but because of our moral emptiness and neglect of the older generation. I am not suggesting solutions. I simply want my voice to be heard by the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the people who will be guiding the country." ■

GLASNOST

THE
SOVIET
PRESS
AT WORK



“Not to Mourn or Laugh, But to Understand”

Under the above title the newspaper *Moskovskaya pravda* published a report on a round-table discussion held at the Military History Institute of the USSR Ministry of Defense. The quotation, belonging to Spinoza, aptly conveys the atmosphere of that round table, where historians discussed the tragic events that occurred in the Soviet Union in the 1930s.

In the thirties Leninism survived only in the minds of Lenin's more principled associates. The policy of

chance, coercion, and terror of that period was fraught with mistakes. Its followers maintained that resources, labor, and raw materials alike were inexhaustible since Russia seemed so vast. The powers that be decided that they could manage without analyses or experts. Moreover, the Stalinists destroyed the cream of the nation to maintain their rule. What we are witnessing today is a restoration of a society based on Leninist principles.



SOVIET PEACE FUND BUDGET

In an interview with TASS, Anatoli Karpov (above), former world chess champion and chairman of the Soviet Peace Fund, discussed the organization's budget, which is made up of citizens' donations. "The Soviet Peace Fund's budget comes to 180.7 million rubles. In 1988 the breakdown was as follows: Support for peace initiatives and the development of citizen diplomacy contacts totaled 27.5 million rubles. Another 16 million went to aid war victims and to help relief operations in countries affected by natural disasters. Expenditures for medical and other services for veterans and their families came to 92 million rubles. We also spent 38 million rubles on emergency aid to the earthquake victims of Armenia and on the construction of several projects in the affected regions. Those were the main items of expenditure in 1988, but we were also involved in many other projects at home and abroad.



GENGHIS KHAN: HERO OR VIL-LAIN?

Moskovskaya pravda carried news from Mongolia that a new top-class hotel in the city of Ulan Bator is to be named after Genghis Khan. Dr. Sandzha Dylykov, a leading Soviet authority on Mongolian studies, commented: "Scholars and writers paint Genghis Khan either all good or all evil. But history demands objectivity. Many aspects of the personality of the founder of the Mongol state are still to be studied. I'm convinced that only painstaking research will enable us to complete the picture."

Earlier this year the USSR Ministry of Culture set up a new department to take care of the conservation and restoration of historical and architectural monuments. Muscovite Sergei Petrov, an Institute of Architecture graduate, was named to head the new department. He formerly worked as a restorer, architect, and teacher. "The situation pertaining to the conservation and restoration of monuments is really grim," said Petrov in a *Pravda* interview. "And a lot

needs to be done to rectify it. The conservation and restoration work that was carried out before our department was established shouldn't be underrated, and we plan to continue that effort. Right now we're concentrating on the Heritage Program, which involves registering all of our national monuments and their condition. We're trying to establish which of them are in the most urgent need of repair and to channel our resources accordingly."

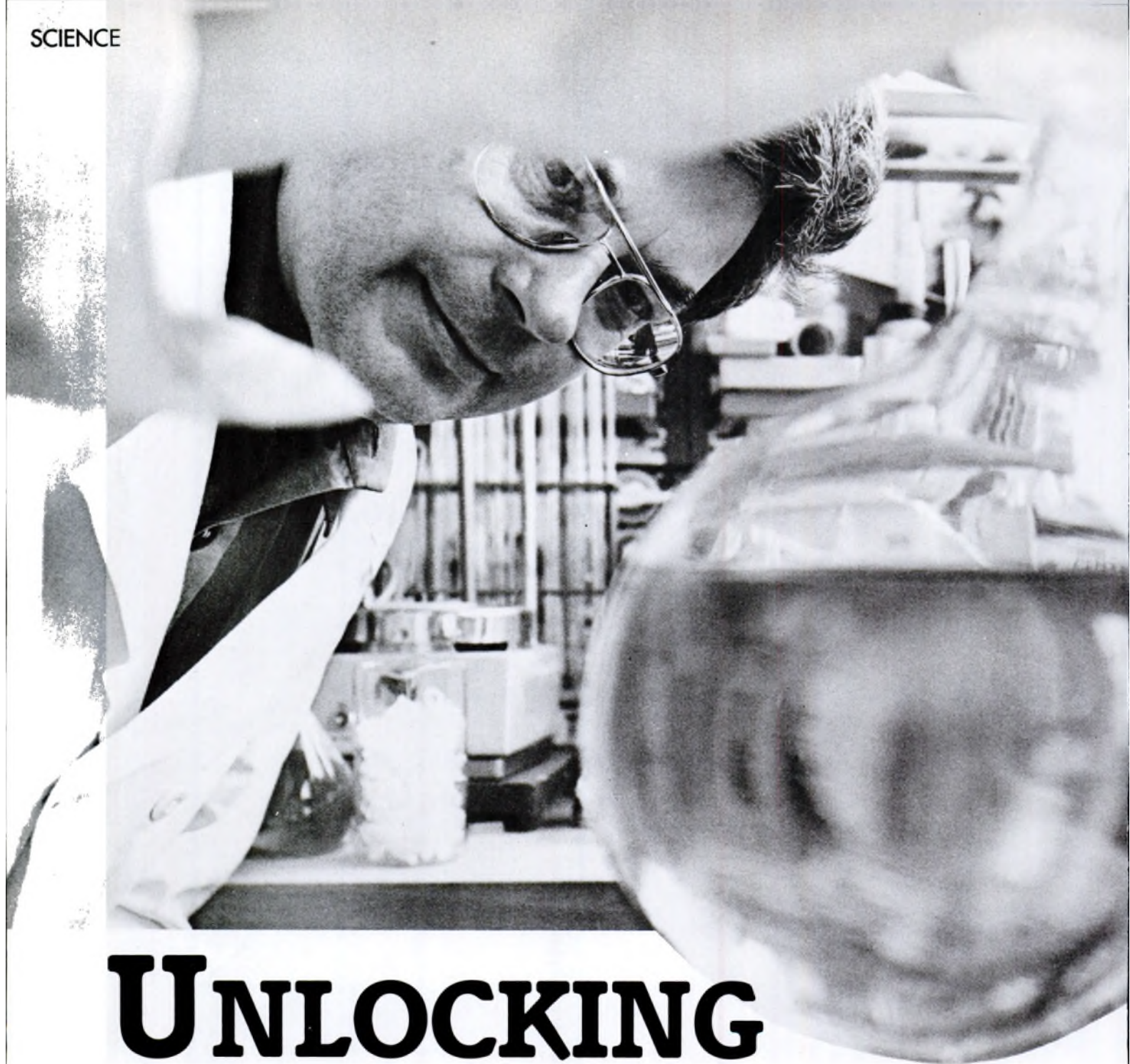
PROTECTING ANCIENT RELICS



That's what historian Roy Medvedev (left) said in a recent interview with *Moskovski komsomolets*. Though his name was practically unknown to Soviet readers, his books and articles were published abroad for some 25 years. In the photograph below are just some of the titles published in different countries. With glasnost, things are different. Over the coming year seven of Medvedev's writings will be published in the USSR.

Medvedev:
"I have
never played
the hypocrite.
I've always
written what
I thought."





UNLOCKING THE MYSTERIES OF THE LIVING CELL

By Mikhail Vasin

Photographs by Sergei Ivanov



Last year the USSR Research Institute of Genetics and Selection of Industrial Micro-organisms switched over to a new system of economic management. Though the transition was bumpy, the institute's staff is now facing a bright future.

Long before acquiring its fancy scientific name, biotechnology served to supply people with bread, cheese, and beer. Since antiquity the invisible microbe cell has been manufacturing many substances. Today microorganisms are the main workhorses at hundreds of factories and plants producing vitamins, feed yeast, amino acids, plant protective agents, and bacterial fertilizers.

Every strain of the industrial microbe is an enormous asset. A common microorganism found in nature goes for anywhere from 50 to 100 dollars on the world scientific market, while a good industrial strain is apt to run into the millions. Expensive? Yes, but it's easy to understand why. It takes years of collective research involving selection and refinement in order to develop an industrial strain.

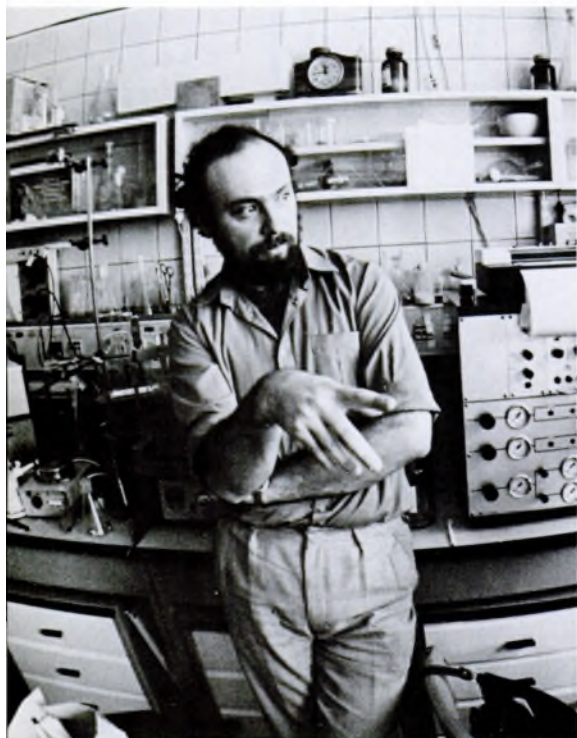
All living things inherit a valuable legacy from their parents: two spirally intertwined DNA chains hidden deep inside the cell. These chains, or threads, which are only visible under a powerful microscope, transfer genetic information from parent to offspring. They determine if something will be a human being, a dragonfly, or a bacillus—actually everything from the color of eyes to the number of legs and the substances to be synthesized. Also found on the life thread is the famed gene, the "phrase" describing how the cell should make a certain enzyme. Several phrases make up the genetic code, that is, the instructions for pro- ▶



Varieties of "manufactured" microbes.



The switchover has been more than financially fruitful. It has encouraged innovation and initiative and brought new life to the institute.



Biotechnology is a godsend for agriculture and medicine, among other industries.

ducing complex substances.

Scientists involved in developing industrial strains study the microorganism to improve some of its natural abilities by altering its genetic code. The text of the code is inscribed on the DNA thread in a single line, which resembles a long ribbon of ticker tape bunched together. It is within this bunch that the required phrase is found and altered. Later the effects on the new generation are studied.

Almost invariably any tampering with the genetic order incurs dire re-



sults — ailment and death of the offspring.

However, in very rare instances some not only survive but also acquire useful new traits. It is among these offspring that scientists, using additional techniques, select the microorganisms that are capable of being used in industry.

That's the traditional way of genetics and selection. Recently, however, new methods and techniques have been developed to delete the unnecessary phrases from the genetic code and insert others in their place. For example, a human gene has been im-

planted in bacteria, with the bacteria starting to manufacture human substances, such as interferons.

Vladimir Debabov, who is the director of the USSR Research Institute of Genetics and Selection of Industrial Microorganisms, and his colleagues are just some of the Soviet scientists involved in such painstaking and rewarding research.

In the past, microbiologists have been unsuccessful in attempting to prompt soil bacteria, which have been used in industry for a number of years, to produce threonine. Threonine, one of the amino acids found in proteins and an important component

of nutrition, is extremely scarce in farm feeds. Adding small amounts of threonine to fodder facilitates the assimilation of other substances and promotes weight gain.

Debabov's laboratory decided to attempt using another microorganism—*Escherichia coli*, usually abbreviated *E. coli*—to produce threonine. Though geneticists have long worked with this microorganism and know its properties well, transforming it into an industrial strain that could produce threonine in worthwhile quantities took a lot of ingenuity. The research called for the scientists to find a way of blocking precisely the gene that halts the synthesis of the amino acid when it is produced in surplus amounts. The scientists had to teach the gene to manufacture a "danger hormone," which would stimulate production of the amino acid and alter its genetic code so that the microorganism would use a cheaper nutrient than its favored solution of glucose and fructose to produce the amino acid.

It was only after this that *E. coli* became an industrial microorganism. But in doing so, it changed its original makeup, and a completely new organism appeared.

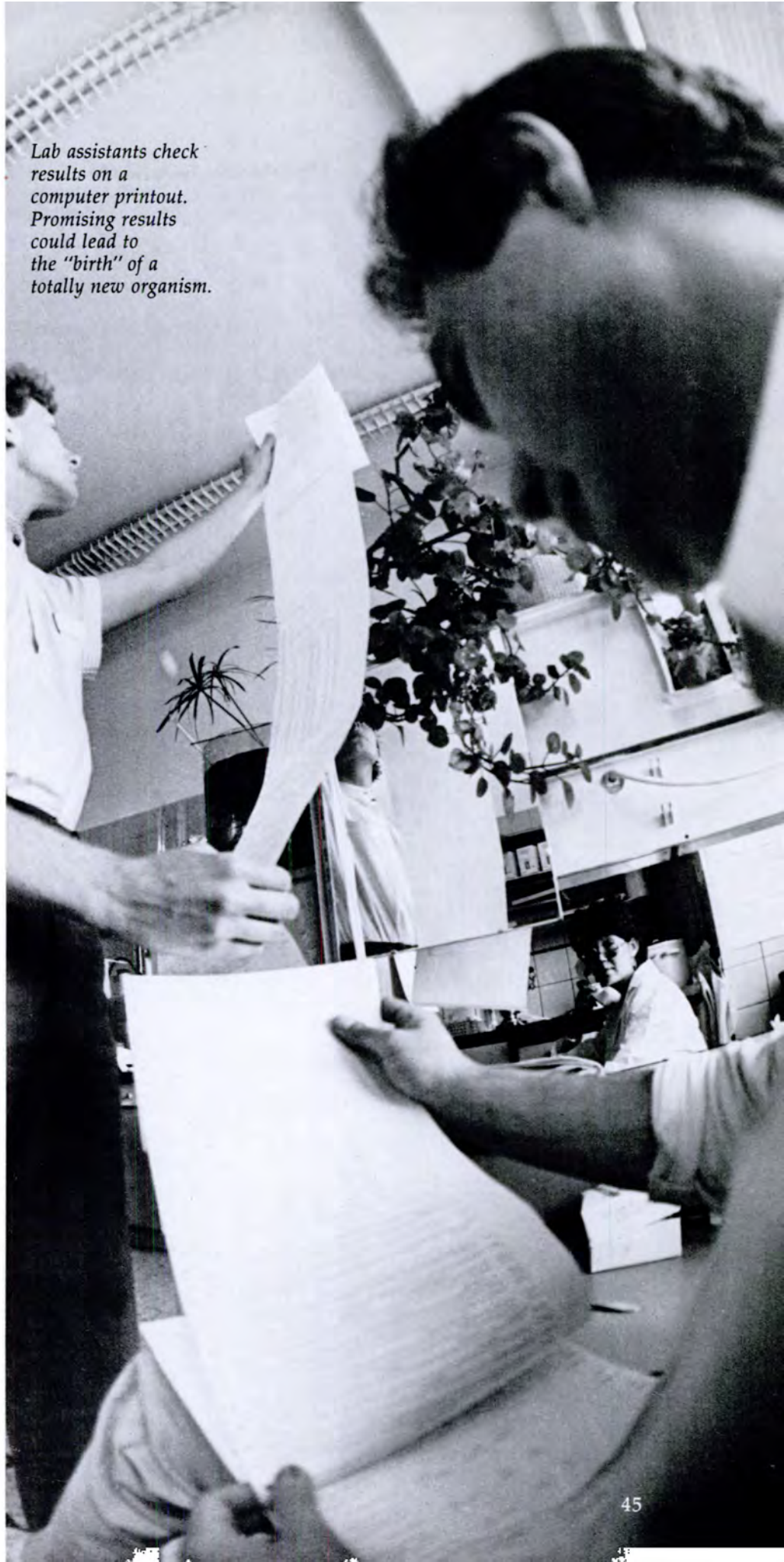
The threonine-producing strain manufactured by Soviet scientists has no equal. Small wonder, then, that it was quickly purchased by the Swedes, Japanese and Czechs.

Last year the institute adopted a new system of economic management. No longer getting by on state subsidies, it now has to earn its own living.

It took the staff of the institute almost a year to adjust to the new way of working. Young people were among the most enthusiastic. With industrial enterprises switching to a self-financing basis at the same time, everyone anticipated that research would forge a healthy partnership with production.

No one at the institute expected easy money, but the very first months of working in the new way gave everyone confidence that those who had the skills would be able to increase earnings both for themselves and for the institute. ■

Lab assistants check results on a computer printout. Promising results could lead to the "birth" of a totally new organism.



Vienna

KEEPING HOPE ALIVE

By Vladimir Brodetsky

Assigned to Vienna? Lucky you! You've got a job that will last a lifetime." That was the usual response among Soviet diplomats and military experts throughout the years of fruitless talks on cutting the armed forces and arsenals in Central Europe. "Vienna in Deadlock" and "Hopes Fade in Hofburg" were typical and very apt newspaper headlines then.

Earlier this year, however, the name "Vienna" came to stand for something quite different—hope in East-West relations. On January 15, when the meeting of the countries of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe adopted its final document, Vienna became the symbol of international accord.

No, diplomats and experts won't be out of work now, but their jobs will change. Instead of spending time on hairsplitting debates on minor statistical questions, they'll be tackling an inspiring, wide range of issues of vital concern for Europe and North America.

Disarmament will remain the central topic; that's the dominant opinion. The first round of talks ended in March. Several more lie ahead with a view to mutually arriving at reasonably sufficient war potentials. Experts on both sides will have a hard time proving that their military doctrines are truly defensive. For the time being, neither side has been very successful at that: While the West eyes the Soviet tanks with apprehension, the East suspects the West of air and naval superiority.

Be that as it may, the Soviet Union and its allies

shifted their position before the first round of the Vienna talks. The Warsaw Treaty countries announced a reduction in European-based armed forces by almost 300,000 to take place over the next two years, a 15 per cent cut in military budgets on the average, and a scrapping of 12,000 tanks, 9,130 artillery systems, and 930 warplanes.

As the East sees it, the armed forces and arsenals in Europe belonging to both military-political blocs are roughly in balance. The problem lies in asymmetries in particular potentials, which USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze proposed to eliminate in the coming two to three years. Other proposals call for establishing reduced armament zones along the borders of both blocs and for each cutting its armed forces by approximately 500,000, again in the course of two or three years. It is expected after the third round of talks that all armed forces will have acquired a genuinely defensive nature and that understandings on limits for all classes of weapons will have been reached.

Now, what about the talks of the 23 countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty organizations on conventional forces based in Europe? The Warsaw Treaty Organization is willing to cut its ground forces, which frighten the West most of all. Will the West do the same for its navies, whose offensive nature is beyond doubt? That's a crucial question.

The USSR and its allies expect the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security, also meeting in Vienna, to accelerate reduction of navies and air forces. Again, the Soviet Union

warily gazes at the high seas, with the United States maintaining the bulk of its strategic arms on submarines.

The Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear and space arms in Geneva offer an example that could be followed. (There is the prospect of halving them.) True, it's not without reservations, but, as they say, where there's a will, there's a way. Suffice it to mention the reservations that were successfully overcome in respect to the INF Treaty. Therefore, we optimistically look forward to the new U.S. Administration's elaborating its stance in Geneva without delay. Vienna will likely reap the harvest.

Apart from the Vienna final document, other vital understandings on the future of Europe—and not Europe alone—were also reached. A peaceful Old World means much for the New World. Take humanitarian matters. I can point to many instances when the United States was outspoken on human rights in Eastern Europe, and when debates deteriorated into mutual accusations to the detriment of all aspects of East-West relations. Now the Vienna consensus has brought forth concrete and comprehensive formulas to guide both sides in human rights discussions. American experts and political leaders are sure to notice the Soviet response to the humanitarian items of the Vienna final document. Soviet ministries and other central offices have received instructions to work out legal instruments that will facilitate foreign travel.

There is another telling fact. A mere two years ago, Soviet and other spokespeople from socialist countries referred only to social and economic rights at the Geneva session of the UN Human Rights Commission. A different situation existed at the session held this past March, with delegates from the socialist countries entering into debates on civil and political rights. The West met this halfway by agreeing to the discussion of social and economic rights. The result was impressive: Consensus was reached on close to 70 per cent of the resolutions, as against 50 per cent at last year's session. Obviously, the democratic change sweeping the Soviet Union is having a spectacular affect on international relations.

December 1988, with the Armenian earthquake, was a tragic month for the Soviet Union. Yet there was some consolation. The scope of the tragedy touched people around the world, and they quickly mobilized to lend a helping hand. I don't think that such a large-scale rescue effort would have been possible several years ago: The West would have been wary of offering aid, and the Soviet Union, of accepting it. Now, with *perestroika*, people wanting to help hurried to Armenia, some even without visas. The trip to Armenia of then President-elect George Bush's son and grandson, which was covered widely by the

media, moved the Soviet people deeply. Truly, good seeds were sown in the soil of contacts between the two great nations.

The times, they are a-changing, and unprecedented things are happening in Soviet-American relations: For example, reporters from the *New York Times* toured a maximum security prison in Perm, a city in the Ural Mountains. American doctors visited several Soviet mental hospitals.

With the change in global attitudes, the United States and Great Britain no longer object to Moscow as the venue for the 1991 International Conference on Humanitarian Issues. Information exchange is also experiencing invigorating change. Foreign radio broadcasts to the USSR are no longer jammed. The *New York Times*, *Le Monde*, and some other Western newspapers are sold at Moscow newsstands.

The foreign press corps in Moscow is approaching 500 members. They no longer grumble about a lack of information. Now it's just the opposite. They don't know what to do with the flood of Soviet press reports or how to cover all the Foreign Ministry briefings. More and more often foreign correspondents are being invited to contribute articles to the Soviet press and to appear on national television. Moscow assignments are now highly prized. Hundreds of Western news bureaus are expanding their staffs, and the exchange of correspondents has become the normal routine. Reporters from New Jersey's *Trenton Times* now work in the *Moscow News* office, and vice versa. Soviet journalists also work in the offices of the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Idahonian*. The situation will only get better. That was the opinion of Vienna delegates, whose final document envisages the information forum held in London, April 18 to May 12, 1989, which was to look for ways to improve the accessibility and exchange of information.

Europe's future depends on its economy. The East is attentively watching the strides of Western integration and making its conclusions. It is considering ways to streamline cooperation between the two systems, with an eye to increasing mutual profits. All Vienna delegates, including those from the United States and Canada, paid a great deal of attention to European cooperation and concluded a final document item on a conference on European Economic Cooperation (Bonn, 1990) to provide a new impetus to economic contacts through a quest for new directions and potentials.

Events in other European cities besides Vienna, London, Bonn, and Moscow will most likely attract attention. An environmental conference is scheduled for Sofia, Bulgaria, this coming autumn; a Mediterranean conference, for Palma, Majorca, in 1990; and a cultural heritage symposium, for Cracow, Poland, in 1991. Events in Vienna provide an optimistic view of the future. ■



In 1918, as a group of children from Petrograd left for the summer, no one dreamed that it would be nearly three years and a journey around the world before they would be reunited with their families.

AN INCREDIBLE ODYSSEY

By Vladimir Kuperman

Every year in early May several Leningraders get together by telephone to exchange fond wishes and catch up on the news. Unfortunately, most of them can no longer meet in person as they used to—after all, 71 years have passed since they first met under quite unusual circumstances—yet they feel its important to keep in touch. What brought these people together in the first place? Let's go back to that remote May of 1918.

As World War I, in its fourth year, was winding down, the Civil War in Russia was heating up, and food and supplies were growing scarce. Shipments of foodstuffs to Petrograd (now Leningrad) practically stopped altogether, and daily bread rations dropped to 50 grams per person in the city.

Petrograders, weak from hunger, collapsed in the streets. The situation was bad for everyone, but it was the children who endured the greatest hardship. To help ease the suffering, the municipal authorities decided to send as many youngsters as possible to the grain-producing regions in the south and east of the country for the summer.

School let out earlier than usual that year, and groups of children waiting to leave the city filled the railroad station. It took two trains to accommodate the 800 boys and girls and chaperons of the Petrograd Children's Colony, as one group called itself. When the parents and grandparents standing on the platform waved good-bye at the Finland Station, no one could have imagined what lay ahead for their loved ones.

The destination of the Petrograd

Children's Colony was the Southern Urals. The children swam, sunbathed, hiked in the mountains, and gathered mushrooms and berries in the woods.

The summer passed. Just as the children were preparing for the return trip home, the situation at the front lines became acute, and the way back was cut off.

As winter drew near, the need for warm clothing greatly increased, while money grew scarce. Keeping the children together in one place became more and more difficult, and the decision was made to split the colony into small groups, which could be dispersed among various towns in Western Siberia.

"The town my group was staying in changed hands often," reminisced Vera Schmid. "We heard a lot of shooting in a nearby park. Time and time again soldiers searched our

place, tearing our straw mattresses with their bayonets. I was barely 15 years old, yet I was the oldest in the group. I kept telling the soldiers that the only thing we had were starving children."

"I was among the group of kids sent to Tomsk," recalled Iraida Shmatok. "As the harsh Siberian winter got closer, warm clothing became our greatest problem. There just wasn't any. Somehow we managed to fashion seven warm coats, just in time, too, as I remember. It was getting really cold outside. We also managed to wangle a pair of felt boots. So we had to take turns going to school."

Meanwhile, back in Petrograd, the worried families of the children tried to figure out what to do. They turned to Georgi Chicherin, People's Commissar (Minister) of Foreign Affairs, for help. Chicherin approached the International Red Cross for assistance. In late autumn a Red Cross delegation carrying all sorts of recommendations and credentials left for Siberia.

"As I was drawing in my room," Tanya Albrecht wrote in her diary, "Manya Eizenberg suddenly burst in and said that there was a soldier in the other room who looked just like my father. She remembered him from a photo she had seen. When I went out to take a look, I discovered it really was Dad. All of us, even our chaperon, started to cry. Dad said if we didn't stop crying, he wouldn't tell us any news."

Members of the Red Cross delegation managed to visit all the towns in which the youngsters from the Petrograd Children's Colony were living, but the local authorities, who were fighting the Bolsheviks, refused to cooperate in getting the children back home.

At this point the American Red Cross got involved and decided to take the children's colony under its wing. This decision was surely not an easy one, for the American Red Cross was assuming responsibility not only for the welfare of 800 children but also for their eventual return to their parents. And yet the organization did not hesitate to lend a helping hand.

"The Americans hired Russian seamstresses, who brought their sewing machines to the house where I



Some of the children of the Petrograd Children's Colony, then (top) and now (above). Facing page: The children aboard the Yomei Maru.

was living," recalled Vitali Zapolsky. "The Red Cross supplied the cloth. The boys received new pants, shirts, and long johns, while the girls got blouses, skirts, and dresses. On the very first day we all had soup with meat, buckwheat porridge, and canned pineapple. We loved those volunteers of the American Red Cross."

In the meantime, the situation at the front was going from bad to worse. Street fighting became common in the towns. With travel west becoming too risky, the Red Cross made plans to evacuate the Petrograd Children's Colony by train along the Trans-Siberian Railroad to Vladivostok, a port on the Pacific Ocean. In the autumn of 1919 the children fi- ▶

nally reached their destination. Though 18 months had passed since they had parted from their parents, they were not a step closer to home.

For the following nine months the children lived on Russian Island, a small tract of land near Vladivostok. The children later described those months as their happiest. Credit for that goes to the American Red Cross volunteers and the Russian personnel who succeeded in accomplishing a herculean task. Who were those heroes? Railley Allen, a leading reporter on the staff of the *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, took his colleagues by total surprise when he decided to leave for Vladivostok.

"You want to go where? To do what? Why?" his editor must have bellowed.

"To Siberia, to help the Red Cross," Allen surely replied. "Because it's the right thing to do."

Though the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* lost a star reporter for a time, the Petrograd Children's Colony found a leader in Railley Allen.

Allen's right hand was Barl Bramhall, 26, from the state of Washington. Driven by the lure of adventure, he became an officer of the Red Cross.

Caring for the physical and mental well-being of the displaced children posed one type of challenge. Getting them back home again with their families was another. Though the children were prepared to leave Vladivostok at a moment's notice, they had no choice but to stay. The Trans-Siberian Railroad continued to be hotly contested by the White Guards and the Red Army, and the route was not safe. What could be done?

One memorable day Allen assembled his aides and announced:

"Since all overland routes are cut off, we'll go by sea!"

The search for a boat began. A Japanese shipping company undertook the job of overhauling its dry-cargo vessel the *Yomei Maru* to carry the passengers. A thousand hammocks were set up in no time, along with a hospital, kitchen, cafeteria, bakery, showers, bathrooms, and so on.

Soon the *Yomei Maru*, with the Japanese insignia on its side, the Stars and Stripes on its mast, and a large red cross on its smokestack, was ready to welcome its young passengers aboard.

The youngsters from the Petrograd Children's Colony boarded the *Yomei Maru* on July 9, 1920. Three days later the ship raised anchor and began its voyage across the Pacific. The first port of call was Muroran, a city in southwest Hokkaido, Japan. The youngsters went ashore and spent the day with Japanese children. Leaving the island, the captain steered the ship eastward toward San Francisco.

The captain made the following entries in the ship's log:

Tuesday, July 20, 1920. The weather is cold and foggy. Some of the waves roll over the deck.

... The ship's English school is hard at work. The American teachers have undertaken to hold extra classes in colloquial English.

... The emergency drill generated much enthusiasm.

Saturday, July 24, 1920. Today is a holiday, the name day for all the Olgas onboard. There are 32 Olgas, large and small. A dance was held in the cafeteria in the evening.

For most of the voyage the weather was bad, but the last leg of the trip to San Francisco was cloudless. San Franciscans had enthusiastically awaited the arrival of the *Yomei Maru* and had planned a full program of entertainment for the young guests. The city's mayor welcomed the children at a ceremony at City Hall.

After a few days the ship said farewell to scenic and hospitable California and headed for the Panama Canal. News of what the American press dubbed "the children's ship" preceded it, and thousands of people lined the canal to greet the children and bombard them with flowers and fruit. The reception in New York was equally warm.

"The whole wharf was filled with people who had come out to welcome us in New York," recalls Valentina Yakovleva. "When we came down the gangplank, cameras were everywhere, and we felt like celebrities. So many people wanted to take our pic-

ture, we kids soon got tired of it and turned our backs."

Not only San Franciscans and New Yorkers but all Americans followed closely that incredible odyssey of the 800 children from far-off Russia. President Woodrow Wilson also greeted the children. The message he sent to the representatives of the Red Cross said that the hearts of the entire nation were filled with the kindest sympathy for Petrograd's children and with the hope that their future would be sufficiently happy to compensate for their past.

The journey continued as the Japanese crew of the *Yomei Maru* steered the ship toward European shores. In the evenings movies were shown and dance contests were held on deck. Lenya Yakobson was chosen as the best boy dancer.

The autumn of 1920 was mild. The children kept daily logs on the distance that was covered and the distance they still had to go. Every minute took them closer to their homes, and this made the children's eyes sparkle with joy. On September 24, 1920, the captain of the ship made the following entry in his log:

We've covered 13,005 miles from Vladivostok, 2,902 from New York. It's 186 miles to destination.

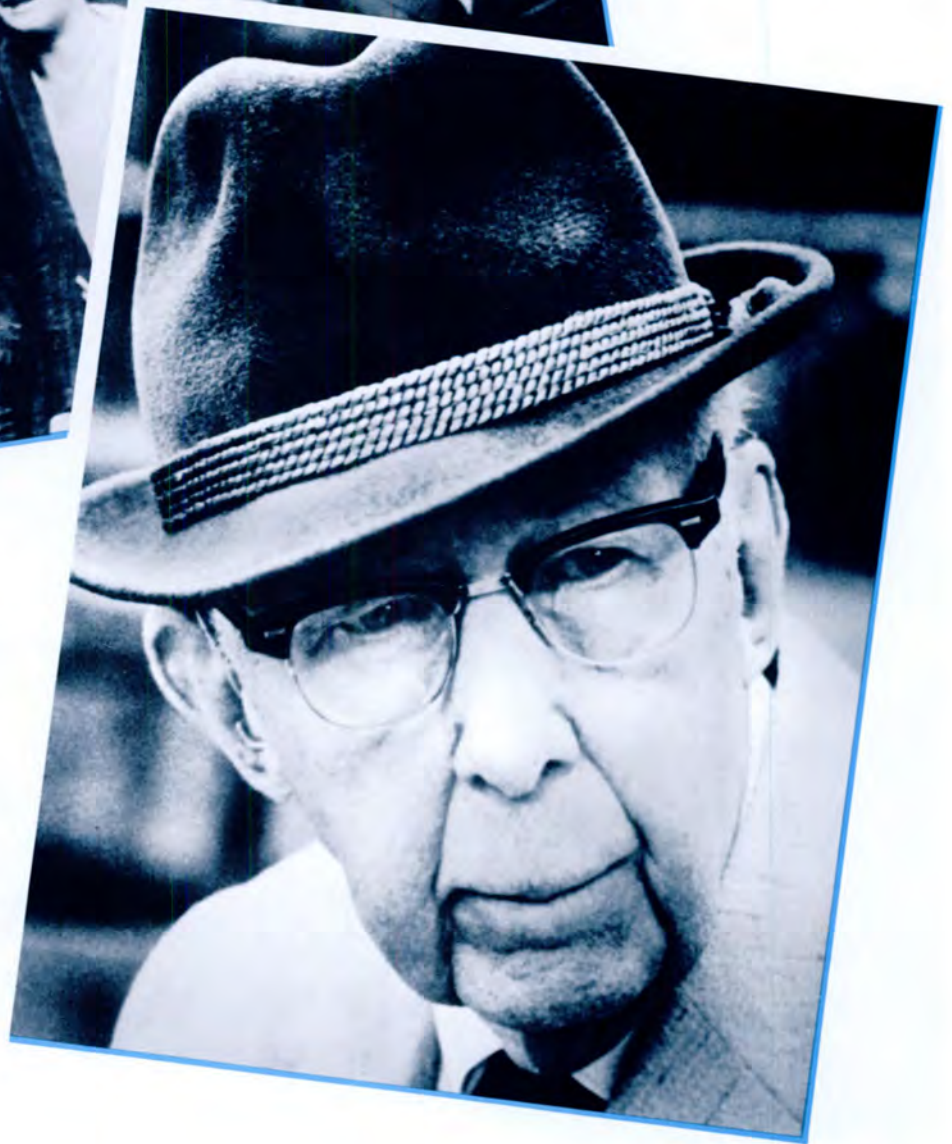
But the *Yomei Maru's* destination wasn't Petrograd, as the children had hoped; it was the Finnish port of Koivisto (now Primorsk).

Finnish authorities accommodated the youngsters at a sanatorium, while Railley Allen announced that the children wouldn't be sent to Petrograd until their parents had been notified. The Americans believed that the Civil War might have forced some of the families to leave the city. The Red Cross wanted to faithfully fulfill its obligation of returning the children only to their parents.

Finally, late in October the long-awaited letters from Petrograd arrived. Allen read all of the correspondence himself in order to be the one to break any sad news to the children if need be. Happily, most of the news was good, and the parents asked to be reunited with their children as soon as possible.



Happy parents gathered to welcome their loved ones home. Below: This elderly gentleman fondly remembers those fateful years with the Petrograd Children's Colony.



Distributing the letters, Allen later said he experienced an immense, incomparable joy until he saw a little girl who looked *so* sad. When he took her in his arms to comfort her, she burst into tears. In a few minutes she told him what worried her:

"I don't remember what my mother looks like. How will I recognize her?" she asked.

Allen looked her straight in the eye and said: "Don't worry, little one. You'll know who she is. There's no other person in the world like your mom."

On November 10, 1920, seventy youngsters from the Petrograd Children's Colony arrived at the Soviet-Finnish border. The first child to be united with his parents was Petya Alexandrov, whose name headed the alphabetical list.

The last group of children returned to Petrograd in early February 1921. They arrived at the same railroad station they had left from nearly three years before. Only now the youngsters were older and stronger.

"That experience taught me a lot," reminisced Alexandrov years later. "I've never forgotten the lessons I learned."

Many of the children grew up to be talented adults. Alexandrov went on

to become a famous engineer, and Yakobson, who had a great influence on Soviet choreography, went on to win a State Prize.

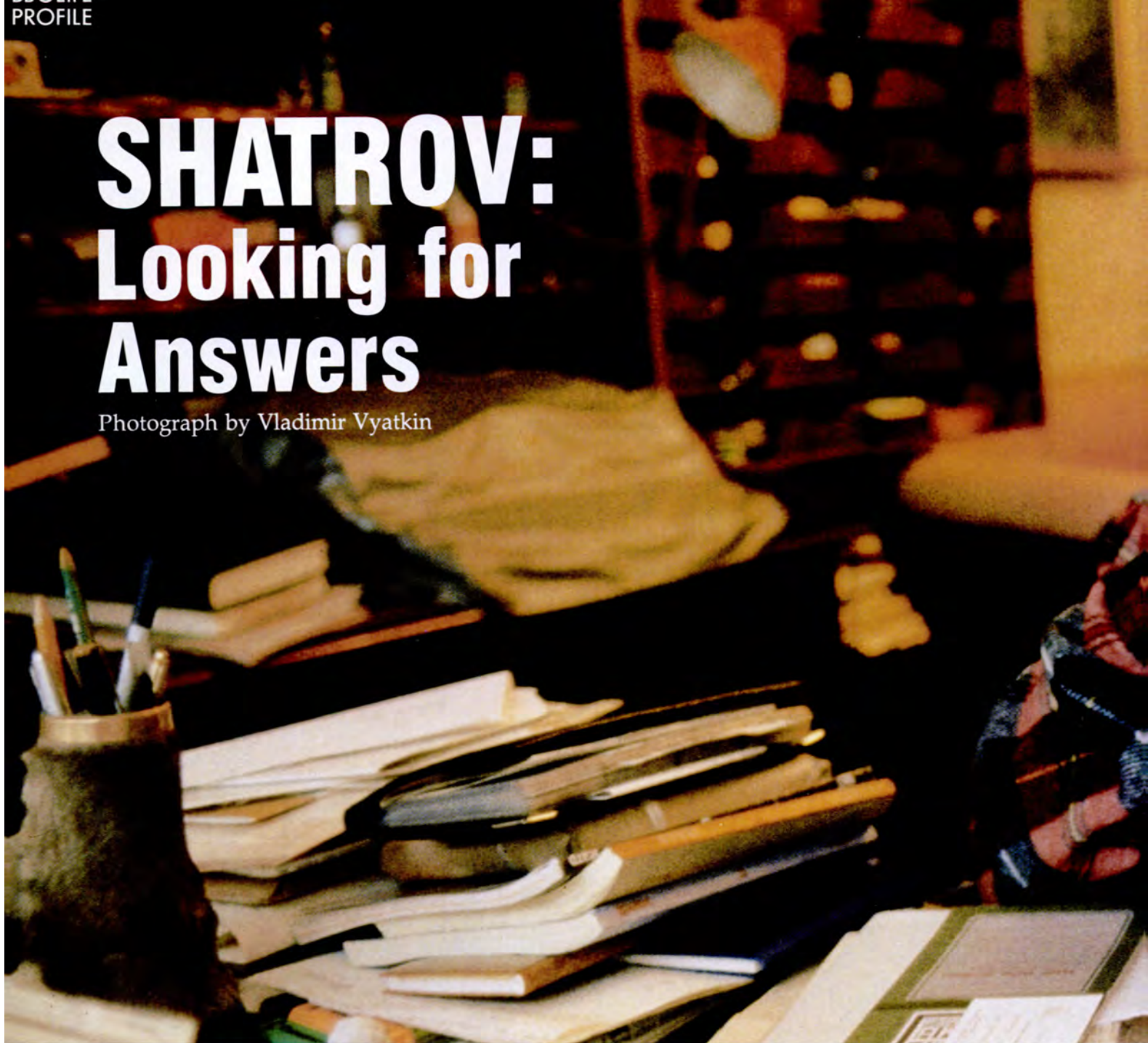
Though many of these people are no longer with us, their letters, memoirs, and voice cassettes remain. "It would be great if everyone knew our story." Hearing these words over and over again gave me the idea for a Soviet-American film about the adventure. Work on the script is nearly

complete. My material-gathering trips have taken me to San Francisco and New York, where the children had come ashore, and to Seattle and Honolulu where Railley Allen and Barl Bramhall had lived and worked.

Years have a tendency of erasing events from human memory, but some stories warrant remembering. How a group of American volunteers stepped in to help a group of Russian children is one such story. ■

SHATROV: Looking for Answers

Photograph by Vladimir Vyatkin



Dementyeva: To a greater or lesser degree, everything you write has something to do with the revolutionary year 1917. Why?

Shatrov: Because we'll never understand our history and social prospects without a proper analysis of the Revolution. Answers to the burning questions of today lie buried in our history.

I first realized this in 1956, after the Twentieth CPSU Congress, which denounced Stalinism. I was 24 then, and like other young people—for that

matter, older people too—I racked my brains trying to figure out why the tragedy could have occurred at all. But none of us came up with a convincing explanation, nor could we, as I realized later. Public awareness was too underdeveloped, to say the least. The Leninist methods of analyzing social troubles were widely advertised but never practiced.

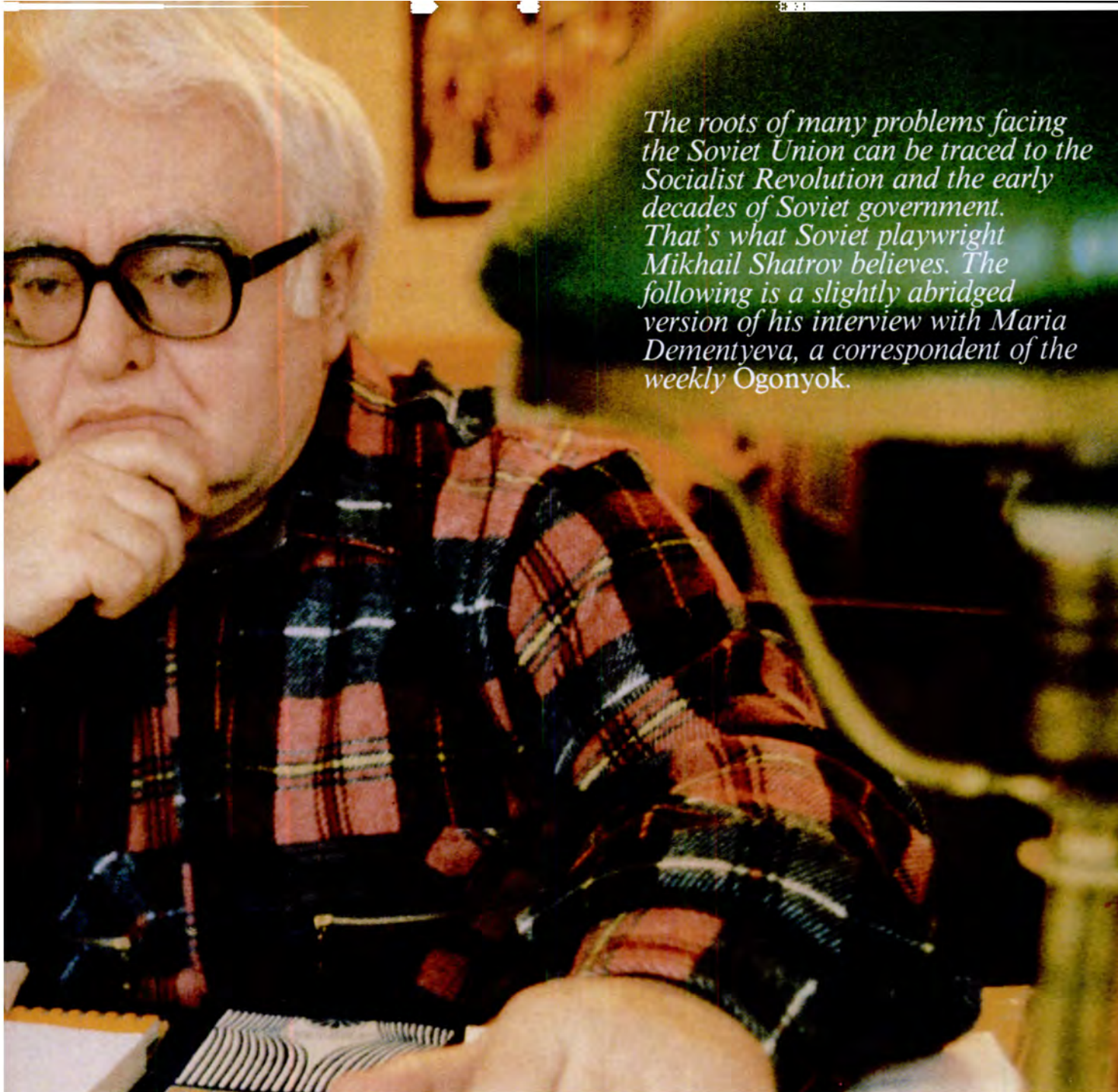
Seven plays make up my "Revolutionary Dramas" cycle—*The Sixth of July*; *The Bolsheviks*; *Blue Horses on Red Grass*; *That Way, We'll Win!*; *The Brest Treaty*; *Dictatorship of Con-*

science; and *Onward, Ever Onward*—plus scenarios for the four episodes of the made-for-television movie *Sketches for a Portrait*.

But answers to only a few of the lingering questions were found, and our search for the truth becomes more profound with every passing day.

I don't want to give too many details. I'll just touch on a few of what I consider the principal points.

People were dissatisfied with the outcome of the revolutionary effort—the deviation from Lenin's concept of socialism. The result was a nostalgia



The roots of many problems facing the Soviet Union can be traced to the Socialist Revolution and the early decades of Soviet government. That's what Soviet playwright Mikhail Shatrov believes. The following is a slightly abridged version of his interview with Maria Dementyeva, a correspondent of the weekly Ogonyok.

for the past, which we idealized the way all nostalgic minds do. We deified Lenin and turned the history of our revolution into a sweet-sounding Christmas carol.

To idolize a political leader is the best way to kill his cause, Lenin once said. In that sense, Lenin was Stalin's first victim. As Lenin was deified, his ideas were deformed and emasculated in a brazenly primitive way: His quotations were taken out of historical context and turned into something akin to religious commandments. Lenin's words were used to sanctify ev-

ery cruel doing of the 1930s: the forced agricultural collectivization, which brought with it horrible famine; Stalin's reprisals, which assumed the scope of warfare against the nation and its Communist Party; and much more. Stalin and his stooges played on the nationwide reverence for Lenin. This practice occurred quite recently too. Our country was going to the dogs. Just think, *Following Lenin's Course* was the title of Leonid Brezhnev's collected works!

Much of the blame for turning Lenin into an idol, for painting him as

a Stalin-like figure, goes to art and literature.

We ask again and again if Lenin ever erred: a healthy response to his idolization. But that response shows how little and superficially we read Lenin. We don't realize what formidable brain work it takes to read him properly.

After Stalin and his stooges usurped power in 1929, they needed an ideological fig leaf. They wanted authors to be their flunkies and to present history as they prescribed, and they found a flock of double-talk- ►

ing toadies who painted the truth as slander, heroes as spies and saboteurs, and vice versa. They made the Revolution and the Civil War an idyll, with adventure-seeking Red knights out to slay White dragons, whatever happened.

However, many crucial questions remain unanswered for the man in the street. Here are just some: Was the October 1917 Revolution a Bolshevik plot or a Bolshevik-led grassroots movement? Our historians wrote books by the ton on this topic. Willingly or not, they supported the plot interpretation. It is high time to discover the roots of the spontaneous mass movement of 1917 and to analyze what bred the Revolution: the deep political crisis sweeping Russia at the time. Did the October 1917 Revolution have political prerequisites as well as the well-studied economic ones? Why didn't the ferment stop with the February Revolution? Because the Bolsheviks wanted it that way—or because the nation failed to fulfill the tasks of that revolution?

We traditionally think that Bolsheviks treated Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries as enemies. But Lenin said that an understanding of the three parties prior to the Revolution would have spared Russia from a civil war. Where does that premise fit into the picture?

We let many things go unquestioned. We praise Red Terror and ignore the White. We hide our heads like ostriches from truthful accounts of the price Russia paid for its Revolution and Civil War. Another vital topic that scholars never took up is the correlation between the Russian revolution and an international one, to which the Bolsheviks looked forward. As we know, their forecasts of impending global revolutionary developments proved all wrong.

The Revolution isn't a sweet story for fireside reading. It was a tragedy. Counterrevolutionary forces responded to every revolutionary action in kind.

Today the party has started a mighty and consistent movement toward socialism as Lenin saw it. As eyewitnesses, we can't fully appreciate the turn. We fail to see the gulf that already separates us from our

past and gets wider with each day.

Dementyeva: You have a personal interest in the reappraisal of our past. Right?

Shatrov: Yes. I come from a family of revolutionaries. That's the source of my writing. My home was always imbued with the spirit of revolution, even after our bereavement in 1937, when many of my relatives died. Rehabilitation for us started in 1956 and ended several months ago when the last of my relatives, Alexei Rykov, a prominent statesman and one of the foremost Communists, was posthumously exonerated. You aren't of my generation, and you can't fully understand what it was like to be related to an opposition leader then. My mother, a woman of courage, brought up my brother and me to revere innocent suffering and commiserate with the humiliated and the insulted. Later she, too, was arrested.

Dementyeva: Was the cult of Stalin objectively inevitable in socialist development?

Shatrov: Stalin is one of the foremost figures in twentieth century history. Stalin, who was also a Communist himself, was a patent criminal. Not that he strangled the Communist movement with his atrocities. But he drove it into a crisis from which it hasn't yet emerged.

Were we doomed to Stalinism? History is a fantastic interplay of objective trends and subjective factors. Of that I'm positive. We often read now that regularities of the historical process never depend on personal volition. As I see it, what we have here is a misinterpretation of the Marxist concept of the laws of history. The Marxist concept concerns vast periods. We apply it to tiny stretches of time, a decade or two, and the result is ludicrous, to say the least.

Another extreme concept explains everything by Stalin's demoniac personality. But objective factors do exist, even if they are ignored. Lenin saw them as clearly as we do now. He was aware of Russia's backwardness and the youthful weakness of its democracy. He charted a democratic way to achieve socialism in his works of 1922 and 1923. Stalin chose the opposite path. He and other members of the Central Committee made that

choice freely. It was not dictated by objective negative factors. They were fully responsible for that choice. Even though Stalin crushed his opponents in the Central Committee in 1929, that does not free them from responsibility. Too much was at stake, and the results were too dire. Stalin wasn't the only one to blame—we just use his name to denote hundreds of his followers in the upper echelons. But these are all preliminary notes for the public debates that, I hope, will take place someday.

Dementyeva: How will the Soviet Union develop from now on? And what would you say in a play about our future if you were to write one?

Shatrov: Our future depends on the success of *perestroika*. If *perestroika* fails, reactionaries of the most rabid sort will take the upper hand, I'm sure. We have no guarantees that *perestroika* is irreversible, Mikhail Gorbachev said recently. The current developments bear out his point. Everything depends on the correlation of social forces. That's always the case in history. So I won't engage in vain guesswork. But at last we are seeing some hopeful developments. Now a lot depends on updating and new blood. The Central Committee of the party provides an inspiring example for us. So it's high time that we grow more responsible. If the rank and file doesn't support the change for which the upper echelons are working, *perestroika* will fail. Updating is vital in the Communist Party and everywhere else.

As for a play about the future, I'm sure I'll never write one.

Dementyeva: We sometimes fail to see the Revolution as part and parcel of Russian history. What do you think?

Shatrov: Our Revolution arose out of our past. Many processes that began in the nineteenth century got bogged down by circumstances and needed a revolution to push them forward. So the Revolution was an inevitable stage in our history. It's wrong to say that our history started from scratch in 1917. We must view it as one inseparable whole.

Dementyeva: You justified revolutionary terror in *The Bolsheviks* and

Continued on page 60

NEMUKHIN'S Cards and Other Subjects

By Yelena Sokolova
Reproductions by Sergei Ivanov

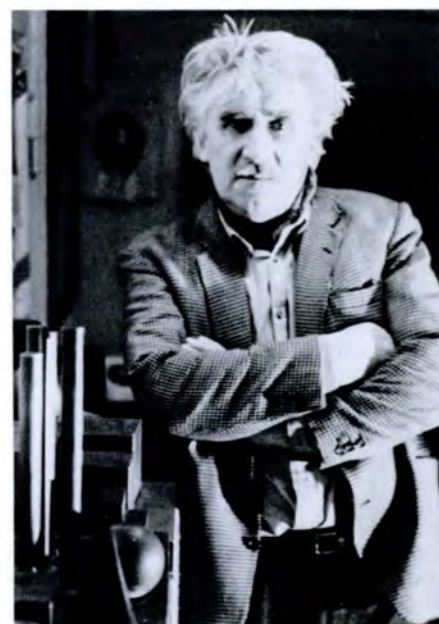


Vladimir Nemukhin's life has been as thorny as that of Soviet visual arts in general. His very birth (in 1925 at a railroad station as his mother was going to Moscow) turned out to be a kind of omen of the trials that lay in store for him and his fellow artists.

Nemukhin began to draw when he was very young. While he was still in school, he won first prize in a competition for his drawing depicting public merrymaking. The prize was a box of water colors—a real treasure for a boy whose family was not well off.

Soon after the war with Nazi Germany broke out in 1941, Nemukhin's father joined the army and went to the front. Nemukhin left school and got a job in a factory. By that time he had already decided to become an artist. In 1943 he entered the only art school that remained in Moscow during the war. The school was run by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

"Those years were unusual for the Moscow art community," ►



The artist in his studio.
Top: *Joker*, 1966, oil on canvas.
Left: *Dedicated to Painter Dmitri Krasnopevtsev*, 1985, bronze.



Nemukhin reminisces. "Some of the officials had been evacuated, while those who remained concentrated their attention on the war effort. So we artists enjoyed more freedom than usual. We even managed to organize a major show of works by Mikhail Larionov, Ilya Mashkov, and Natalya Goncharova in the Petrovsky Passazh Department Store. Though the names of these avant-garde artists were well known, their works were banned."

About the same time Nemukhin met Pyotr Sokolov, a talented artist who became his mentor. Sokolov introduced his pupil to the world of the French impressionists, the Russian constructivists, and the other trends

and schools of twentieth century art.

When the war ended in 1945, the great joy of victory and restored peace swept the land. However, the Stalin leadership once again plunged the country into a nightmare of reprisals. All art that did not conform to socialist realism was suppressed as "having no esthetic value" and "being ideologically harmful."

Only in 1957, at an international exhibition held during the 6th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow, were Soviet artists introduced to the new Western art. Ideas first conceived by Russian avant-garde artists in the twenties and thirties had been developed by American,



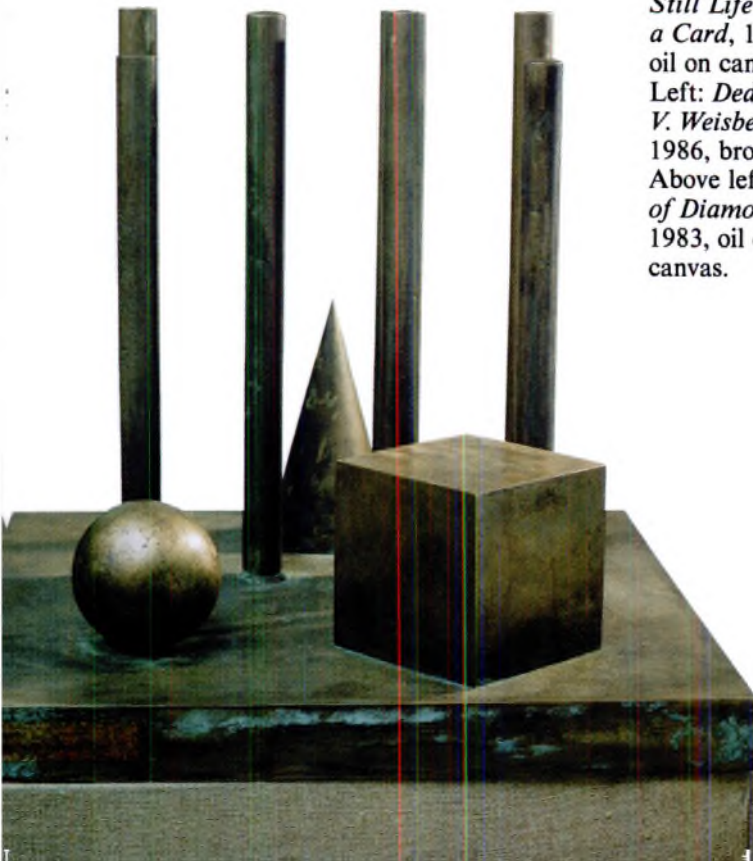
Composition with a Card, 1988, oil on canvas. Top: *Spring. The First Verdure*, 1983, oil on canvas.



Nemukhin's cards are somewhat geometrical and attractively spatial. His use of color is also appealing: yellow for the sun, blue for the sky, and, of course, white—always white!



Still Life with a Card, 1982, oil on canvas.
Left: *Dedicated to V. Weisberg*, 1986, bronze.
Above left: *Jack of Diamonds*, 1983, oil on canvas.



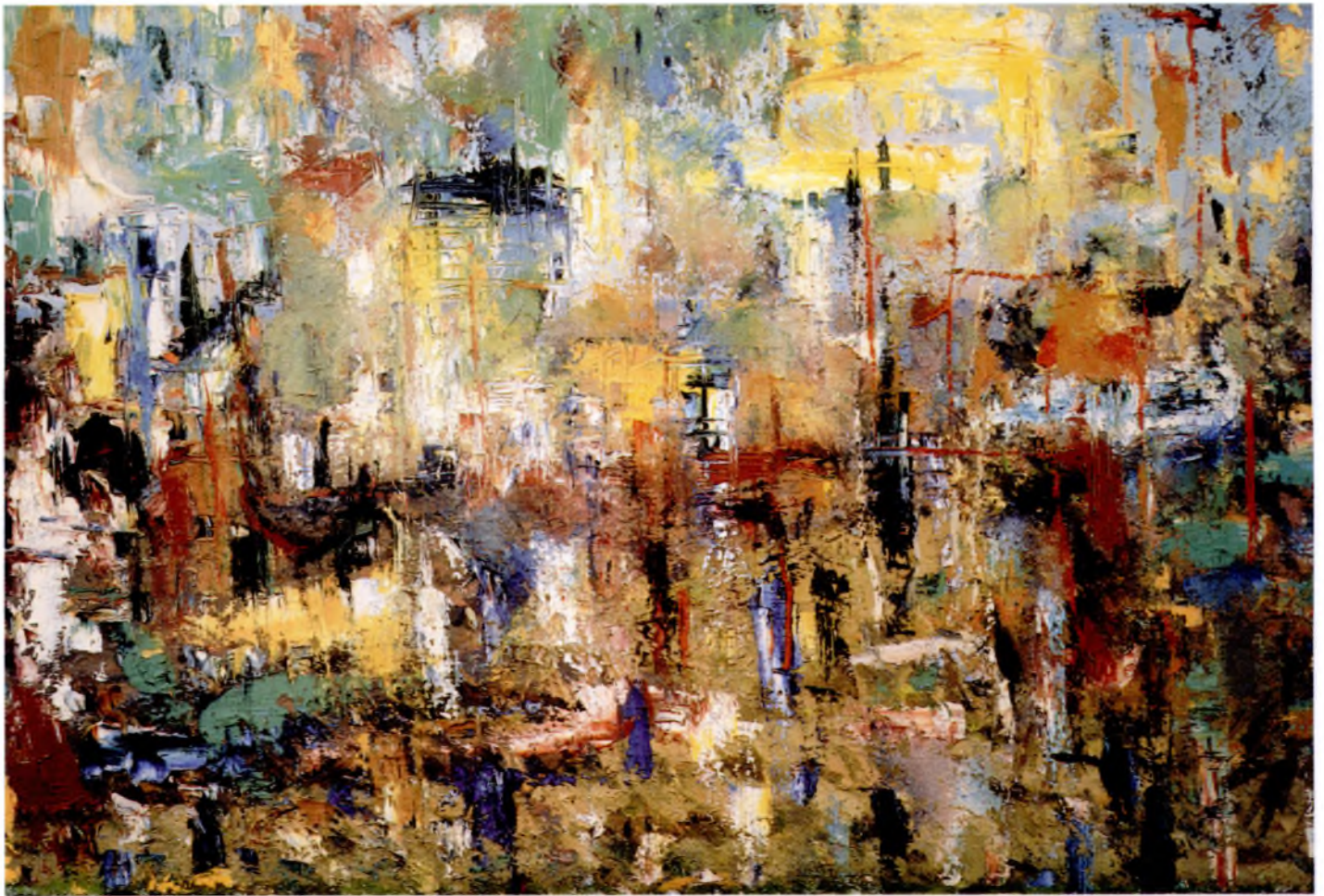
French, Norwegian, and Danish painters. To most viewers, even artists, the paintings were a real shock.

It is hard to overestimate the significance of that exhibition. It stirred the Soviet artistic community and inspired some artists to carry on the Russian artistic tradition that had been suppressed but was not dead. This was the beginning of a "new wave" in independent art.

That exhibition influenced Nemukhin too. In 1958 and 1959, he gave up painting conventional landscapes and created his first abstract works.

At that time he became friends with many other avant-garde artists. Particularly close was his friendship with Lydia Masterkova, a talented artist and charming young woman, whom he eventually married.

The young couple worked with zeal, greatly benefiting from their mutual association. ►



True, none of their countrymen ever bought their works, but more and more often the artists arranged small shows for foreign visitors in their own home and in the homes of their friends. The sums that their works brought them seem ridiculous today, but even that little money went a long way in helping the couple make ends meet.

Urban Landscape,
1959, oil on canvas.
Below: *Nostalgia*,
1985-1988, bronze.

In Vladimir's and Lydia's eyes, all that was unimportant. The "thaw" that began with Nikita Khrushchev's rise to power brought them hope. But that hope for a brighter future was dashed in 1963 by Khrushchev's criticisms of an exhibition of young artists' works that was held in the Central Exhibition Hall. The subsequent campaign against avant-garde art waged in the press was another crushing blow. Nemukhin and his friends went "underground."

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IDEA SEARCH

By Darya Nikolayeva
Drawing by Valeri Bochkov

Opening a newspaper, I see the following headline: "How to Satisfy the Book Craving and Throw Five Billion Rubles into the Bargain." An intriguing idea. As an avid reader, I have an insatiable appetite for books, and the possibility of adding five billion rubles to our economy, which is struggling with a budget deficit, doesn't sound bad either.

However, as I read on, my initial joy gives way to gloom. The author of the idea—Ninel Kizub, an economist from the Ukrainian city of Poltava—is proposing that book prices be raised. This, she contends, will make people think twice before buying. If they really want a particular book for their personal library, they won't mind paying the higher price.

As a librarian, I know the number of sought-after books runs into the thousands. And the suggested increase, almost to black market prices, will most likely produce billions in profit. But still... Experience has taught me that the promise of how much better off we'll be, which usually accompanies a price increase, never comes true. That's why I'm against our book trade following the sad experience of our auto and other industries, whose performance remains below standard even though they are charging more.

I decide to contact Kizub. I'm lucky. She's in Moscow preparing to defend her doctoral thesis. She sets the place for us to meet—at a convention of social innovators where she will speak.

"About your concept for restructuring book sales," I begin timidly.

"Book sales?" she bellows. "My idea embraces the entire Soviet economy!"

Her comment gives me the shivers. What if she's one of those radical economists? And who are these social innovators anyway? I decide I'd better do some homework.

By lunch time I'm finished. Actually, it's all very simple. A telephone, for instance, is a technical invention, but a telephone hotline—the number people in distress can dial for help—is a social invention, and the men and women who invent such things are called "social innovators."

Not long ago the national youth daily *Komsomolskaya pravda* announced a contest for social inventions. Anyone who had an idea that would foster humane attitudes in people was invited to enter. The newspaper also asked other publications to name the social innovators who, they believed, had made the greatest contribution to *perestroika* over the past four years. The names of 150 people were received.

One such social innovator is Dr. Svyatoslav Fyodorov, the famous Moscow eye surgeon who



invented the artificial crystalline lens and developed a new surgical technique to correct nearsightedness. Mikhail Bocharov, another social innovator, is the leader of a workers team at a plant manufacturing construction materials near Moscow. When the plant was ailing, the team leased it from the state and turned it into a prospering business.

When I arrive at the Moscow Chess Club where the social innovators convention is being held, I see the faces of many people who have been in the news lately: journalists, writers, stage and film directors, and educators. The speeches cover a broad scope of topics.

Yuri Krasnov, a cattle breeder from Moscow Region: "After a year of working according to a lease-farm arrangement, we've surpassed all of our expectations. But we only have a two-year lease on the land, and everything depends on whether or not we'll be able to extend it."

An unknown speaker: "I propose that by revising the Russian alphabet, we'll be able to increase the number of books published every year."

Professor Soltan Dzarasov, a political scientist: "Our party is either a political party with strict discipline and no room for dissension—if so, those who don't agree should be able to create their own parties—or a party with broad political freedom guaranteed within it and no alternative parties. This is the variant Lenin had in mind."

Finally Ninel Kizub speaks. I do not like her plan. It's beyond me. But my attending the convention isn't a total loss. Most of the other social innovators I hear are very encouraging.

Later the convention adopts its bylaws, and a new public organization—the Foundation for Social Innovation—is born.

Later that evening, my husband, son, and I are gathered around the dinner table.

"Have you read the article criticizing the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences?" Igor, my son, asks. "I think they should..."

My husband and I exchange quizzical glances. Igor hasn't even graduated from high school, yet he's ready to tackle the academy. What next?

Cards

Continued from page 58

Without the possibility of putting their works on display in public galleries and exhibition halls, the artists had absolutely no chance of winning public recognition. If somehow they did manage to arrange a show in a neighborhood community center, the show would be closed immediately.

In 1967, during the fiftieth anniversary of the October 1917 Revolution, another small ray of hope appeared. In an effort to show the world that Soviet artists had ample opportunity for free creative expression, the wife of an American correspondent was permitted to exhibit 80 Soviet paintings, including six or seven works by Nemukhin, in the United States. That exhibit, which was held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, drew keen public interest and received rave reviews in the American press. The museum purchased many of the paintings.

Although that was truly an event for Soviet artists, it did nothing to change their situation. The authorities were not receptive to world opinion, and they continued to pursue their restrictive policy toward "these nonconformists."

When the vacuum around the independent artists became intolerable, Nemukhin and some other artists decided to take their works outdoors and display them in the open air. After receiving permission (no small feat), the artists assembled on the appointed day in September 1974 in a vacant lot of a new residential neighborhood in Moscow. However, much to their shock, they were met by bulldozers and water sprinklers.

After that incident, which came to be known as the "bulldozer exhibition," Nemukhin's wife and many of his friends emigrated.

Nemukhin, too, had an opportunity to emigrate. By then he had won recognition in the West, and collectors began seeking out his works. Also, studies of his art were published in many countries. The critics singled him out for his exquisite technique and mastery of color. Exhibits of his paintings and drawings were held in

Japan, Norway, France, and Switzerland, all the exhibited works were taken from private collections.

And yet, Nemukhin did not leave. He figured that if things were bad in his country, they would still be worse abroad. Nemukhin says that a recent six-week stay in Paris proved to him that he'd been right all along to remain in Moscow during those tough years. No, he's not against living in Paris for a time, he says, but his greatest inspiration comes to him when he is home.

"My trip to France helped me put a lot of things in perspective, and I could really see the differences between the Roman and the Slavic cultures," Nemukhin says.

When he first began abstract painting, Nemukhin searched a long time for something through which he could express himself as a Russian artist. Quite unexpectedly, a deck of ordinary playing cards caught his attention. Later the cards began to haunt him. "That's it!" he thought. Cards are sophisticated and yet very trivial, objects familiar to everyone, ancient and modern, and very Russian. Also, through the cards he felt he was continuing the tradition started by the Knight of Diamonds, one of the early twentieth century groups of Russian avant-garde artists.

Nemukhin's cards are somewhat geometrical and attractively spatial. His use of color is also appealing: yellow for the sun, blue for the sky, and, of course, white—always white! "Everything is white; it's riveting!" a viewer wrote about one of Nemukhin's pictures in the Visitors Book at an exhibition.

Nemukhin's sculptural compositions, which are dedicated to fellow artists, are a harmonious combination of cubes, spheres, and cones. The artist says that he is attempting to convey the character of his subjects through the use of abstract elements.

Today Nemukhin has great popularity and takes part in many official Soviet exhibitions. Museums also bid for his works. With such new-found success, Nemukhin could easily rest on his laurels, but that's not his style. He is now working with a committee to establish a museum of modern Soviet art in Moscow or Leningrad. ■

SHATROV:

Continued from page 54

appealed to humanism in *Dictatorship of Conscience*. So your views have changed, haven't they?

Shatrov: I never justified terror! I wanted to explain why the Bolsheviks reverted to it. I showed how unwilling they were to start it. Oleg Yefremov, head of the Arts Theater, directed the first production of my play. He and I wanted a serious discussion of Red Terror from today's viewpoint. We knew into what it had degenerated by the 1930s. I based my play on a humanist idea: The Revolution didn't need the terror. But we know, at the same time, that revolutionaries unable to defend their gains are a bunch of starry-eyed idealists whose cause is doomed. Red Terror was a drastic measure to which the Bolsheviks were forced. We can't accept it now. Our humanist instinct revolts against it.

Dementyeva: "Shatrov monopolized the Lenin topic," a critic once said. Any comment?

Shatrov: I have to work all alone. Artistic rivalry is tonic and invigorating like economic competition. But I'm a lone wolf. There are reasons for it. My younger colleagues know how I was harassed and persecuted for 30 years because of my plays, and they aren't too eager to deal with the topic.

All those years, the Lenin theme existed in Soviet drama at a simplistic, officially recognized level. The best achievements were suppressed by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and lukewarm things that disturbed no hearts were welcome—and it concerned no one that such potboilers discredited Lenin.

Now I want to write a play about Lenin's last fight. *Abdication*, I'll call it. The action will take place in Stalin's office in 1923. Lenin will always remain behind the scenes. It'll be a story of the ailing leader's desperate effort to thwart the tragic developments that he foresaw better than anyone else. Many of his comrades in arms betrayed him without knowing it. It's a gripping topic, moral and political, projected into today and tomorrow. ■



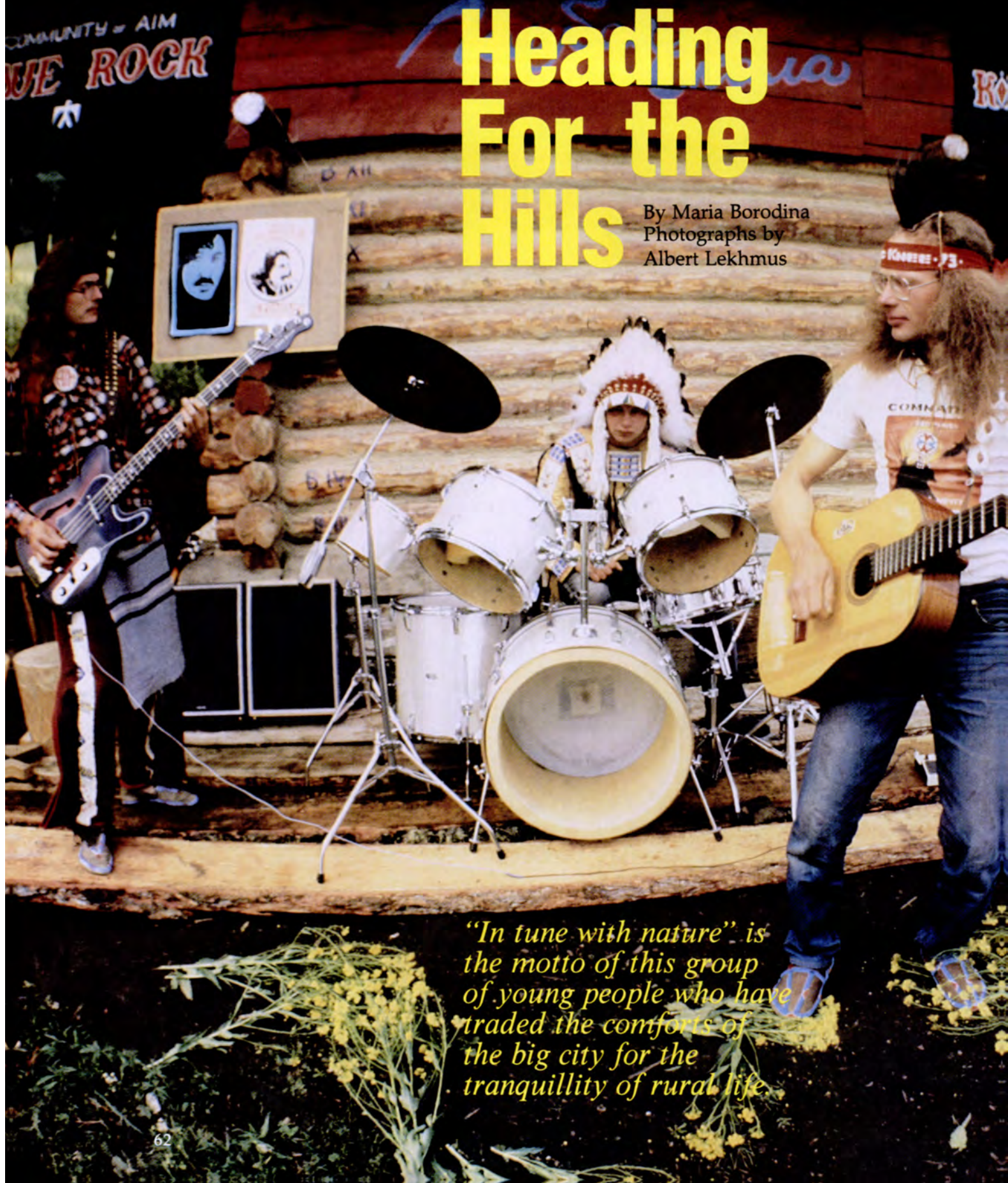
PORTRAIT OF THE "RED TAPIST"

*This is the way 30-year-old Moscow painter
 Dmitri Kantor sees the many faces
 of bureaucracy, the experts in red tape.*

Giving up the hustle and bustle of the big city and . . .

Heading For the Hills

By Maria Borodina
Photographs by
Albert Lekhmus



"In tune with nature" is the motto of this group of young people who have traded the comforts of the big city for the tranquillity of rural life.

The bank of the rushing stream seemed ideal for their would-be home, the young people thought at first. But perhaps it should be farther from the water. After all, Altai winters are merciless, and temperatures too often plunge to minus 30 degrees Celsius. Still . . . It was August, and the rustle of the slender poplars peering down on the stream seemed to invite the young people to nestle in the comfort of their shade. The setting brought to mind sweet remembrances of youth and visions of the forest primeval. The young people decided to build their log cabin right there, though later another cabin did appear a little farther away.

Who are these young people? And what brought them together? Coming from various parts of the country, Vladimir and Vera Koshelev, Sergei Luzin, and several others met at a camp outside Leningrad that caters to people interested in American Indian culture and customs, and every sum-

mer people gather there to live Indian-fashion for several weeks. For most people the experience is rewarding and a welcome break from the daily routine, but it changed the lives of the Koshelevs and their friends.

What was impossible in the city seemed to them feasible in the wilderness, and they decided to forsake convenience for pastoral life. The young people had no delusions. They were well aware of the challenges rural life presented to urbanites, but the promise of a simpler, more meaningful existence made the sacrifice worthwhile. And they have no regrets.

Today the young people are in charge of a herd of 240 state farm and several privately owned cattle, and they're doing quite a good job.

"Our environment, with wildlife just outside our door, is perfect for raising children," says this member of the group. Facing page: When work is done, the newly formed men's band begins practicing.

It wasn't long before other people like Andrei Chikunov of Novosibirsk, Valentin Busko of Zaporozhye, and Valentina Romanenko and Alla Sabat of Kharkov gave up their jobs as an accountant, confectioner, and electricians and joined the original group in the village of Verkh-Kukuya.

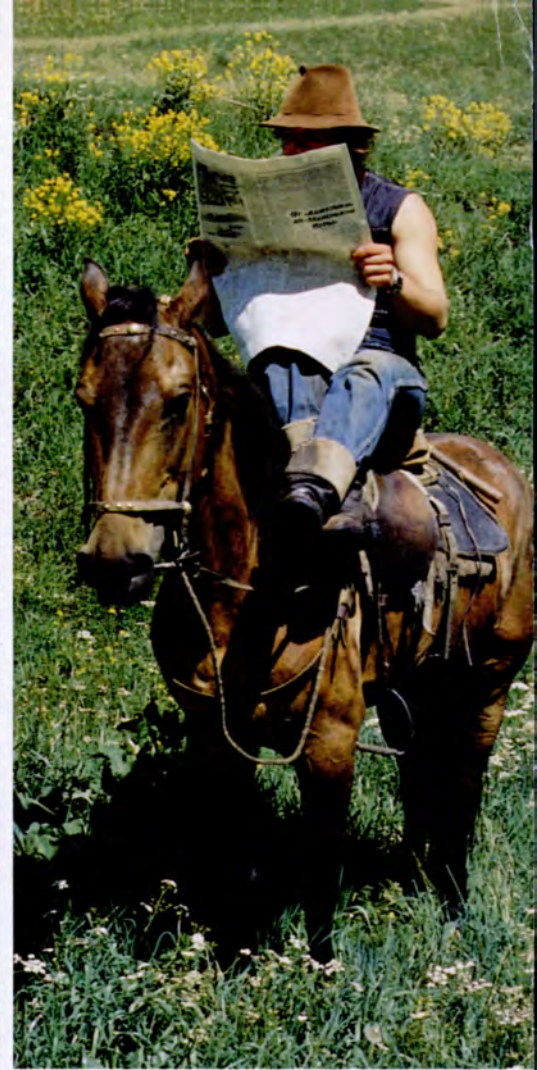
The members of the group share expenses, even the cost of the musical instruments and sound system for the men's newly formed rock band. The men hope that with practice they will be good enough to perform regularly in public.

The band's guitarist, Sergei Luzin, has the most experience with planting. A city boy by all accounts, he grew up in a suburb with his family, which had a large household garden.

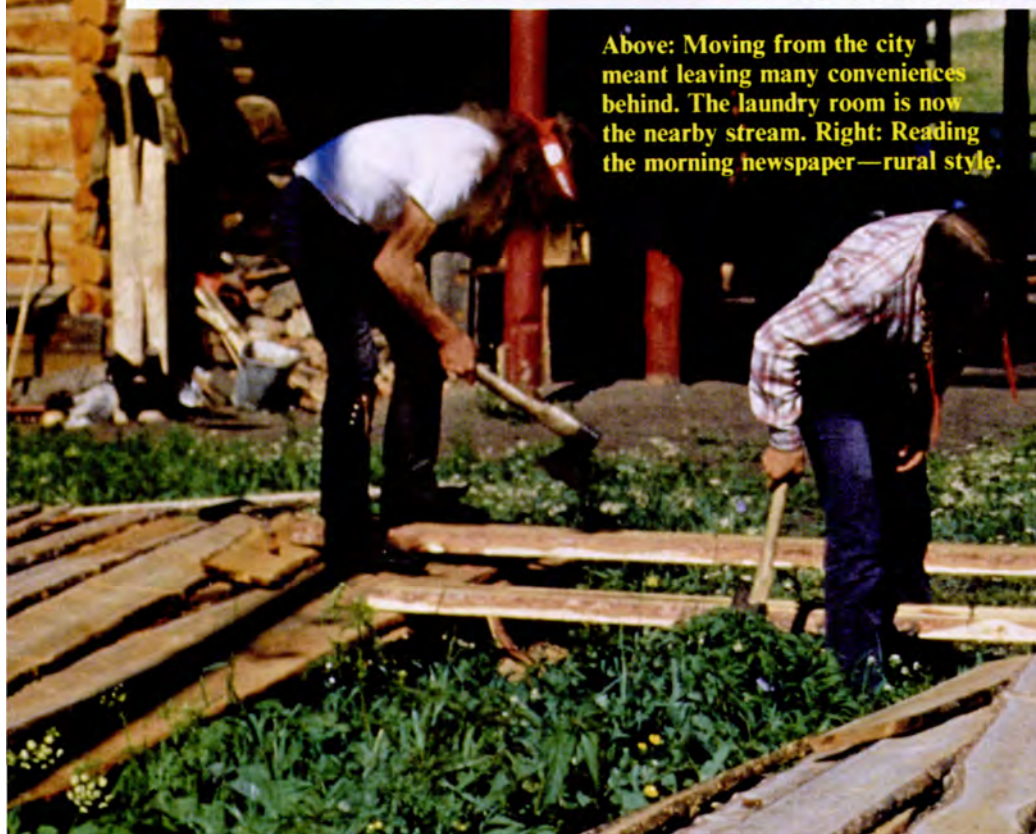
"Doesn't the city still beckon you?" I asked Sergei.

"You know, besides attending two colleges, I've held a lot of jobs. But since coming here three years ago, I've never been happier. I have no desire to leave."





Above: Moving from the city meant leaving many conveniences behind. The laundry room is now the nearby stream. Right: Reading the morning newspaper—rural style.



Things weren't always rosy for the young nature lovers, especially when they first arrived in the village. The local residents greeted their undertaking with disbelief, and the young people had to prove that they were serious. Only after a favorable article about them appeared in *Izvestia* last year were they able to find real jobs. The men enrolled as cattle breeders at the Altai Experimental Farm, Valen-

tina became a letter carrier, and Alla started working as a projectionist and the head of the village club.

"In a sense, we've been a constant headache for the local officials," said Vladimir. "We're always pointing out the inadequacies in the current situation in agriculture and pressing for changes. Now we're pestering the local authorities to reopen a school in the village. There used to be one here

years ago, but it was closed when the number of children in the village decreased. The Altai Experimental Farm Administration, within whose jurisdiction our village lies, has recently decided to review their decision."

Also, not long ago the local Komsomol officials have offered the young people help in setting up a co-operative to make beaded souvenirs and traditional Altai folk ornaments.



Recent arrivals put up a new log cabin near a teepee that now functions as an informal guest house. Below left: Vera Pavlova with two of the younger members of the group, which keeps growing.



"Everything in the world has a purpose, and all things are interconnected. The more alienated you are from your environment, the weaker these links. The stronger the connection, the happier your life," Vladimir Koshelev writes in his introduction to a collection of his songs. So far it's the only copy, but with nature as the source of inspiration, there's sure to be more. ■



RECORD-BREAKING PLANE

The Mriya (the Ukrainian word for "dream") cargo plane, developed in Kiev, has a wingspan of eighty meters and can fly 4,000 kilometers in five hours. It has a cargo capability of 250 metric tons and can even carry loads piggyback. For example, the Mriya has been used to transport the Soviet space shuttle *Buran* to the launch pad.



OFFICIAL TURNED FARMER

Harald Mannik, a man from a rural background, held ranking positions in the Estonian Government for 20 years. When he retired from his last job as the republic's Minister of Agriculture, Mannik returned to his father's homestead, leased 42 hectares of land from a nearby collective farm, and began farming. An article about the reverse migration from city to country appears in July.

COMING SOON

Soviet and American
Schoolchildren Meet

Day begins early in the Altai Mountains for these former urban dwellers. They get up at five o'clock in the morning to milk the cows and tend the fields. Who are these young people, and why have they chosen to forsake the city and move to the country? The story begins on p. 62.



Photograph by Albert Lekhmus