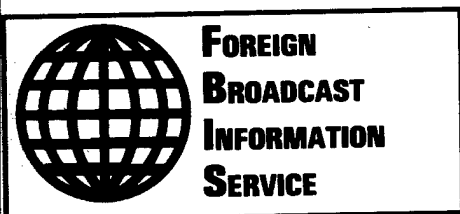


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Political Affairs

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**Armenian First Secretary Addresses Republic
CP's 6 Apr Plenum**

*90US0952A Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian
10 Apr 90 p 1*

[Speech by V. M. Movsisyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on 6 April 1990]

[Text] Comrades!

I am deeply grateful for the trust shown in me. I fully recognize the whole burden of responsibility placed on me during these fateful and difficult days for the republic. Today, it is necessary to consolidate as much as possible the efforts of the people, the party and all public organizations and movements in order to endure the trials that have fallen to our lot and bring the republic out of its crisis condition.

I believe in the profound meaning and logic of the radical transformations in our life, linking the future of our people with them. I am thoroughly convinced that, having been radically renewed and permeated with the nation's highest interest, the Armenian Communist Party will have a moral right to take the historic responsibility for the people's fate upon its shoulders.

A time of alarm and hope—this describes our times, especially for the Armenian people.

Along with the large social shocks, misfortunes, which entailed the death of thousands of people, destroyed cities and villages, hundreds of thousands of people without a roof over their heads and refugees, and thousands of shattered fortunes, have entered our home. The chronicle of our people's history has been filled with new tragic pages.

Under extremely difficult conditions, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Buro and S. G. Arutyunyan, its first secretary, have exerted great efforts to solve the questions troubling the people and prevent a further aggravation of the crisis.

Today as never before, clear and decisive actions are necessary.

Today, we are faced with a deadly dilemma: Either a national rebirth or a further aggravation of the economic crisis, a moral collapse and the regrettable displays that already exist. Let us be realists. There is only one way out: United and through joint efforts, we must rebuild our home and back up the people's growing activity with a sober and well considered nationality program that insures for our people a sovereign and worthy position within the Soviet federation, which is being renewed.

Yesterday's approaches cannot help us today. Today, the rethinking of values should not simply be a slogan but a deed and a political and nationality program. Not only tactical approaches but also many strategic reference-points are required in this review.

Democratic thinking and a new line of action have become genuine requirements for the people and the party and we must today deepen this process and transform it into real actions.

Of course, we must form a qualitatively new national economic complex and define the nature of the ties and mutual relations with union republics and foreign countries more precisely.

Ahead of us are serious social and economic reforms. For a long time it has been necessary to think not only about implementing local programs under the conditions of existing production relations but also about transforming these relations radically. This is not possible without a new approach to property, without land reform, without the bringing of public and economic structures into accordance with life's objective requirements, and without the consistent introduction of market relationships.

We must firmly move along the path of strengthening the republic's sovereign rights and its economic independence, transforming the policy of free enterprise into real actions.

The situation, which has taken shape in our republic, requires a qualitatively new form of national unity and agreement. In accordance with the will of the historical fates, Armenians seemingly exist today as three entities: Armenia, Artsakh, and a domestic and foreign diaspora. This situation of separation should grow from a source of weakness into a source of strength for our nation. Therefore, one should act in a way that would make our ties—both with the domestic and with the foreign diaspora—more organic. Today, perhaps, the need has matured for convening an all-Armenian forum which would develop a national program for consolidation and rebirth.

Our people cannot and should not reject their historic reference-point that has been achieved through much suffering over the centuries. The comprehensive ties with the Russia people and the other peoples in our country should be filled with a new content. We should strengthen these ties with a sober recognition of our people's interests and dignity.

Furthermore, we should continue the noble task of cleansing our history of distortions and arbitrary and exaggerated treatments. Our highest task should be the establishment of all conditions for the normal functioning of our national wealth—the Armenian language as the language of the state—and the further flowering of our science and culture. You see, the opportunities for our spiritual development are limitless.

The Artsakh problem, which has actually arrived at an impasse, remains an important one. The tension between the two republics has been extremely aggravated. The estrangement of the two neighboring peoples has acquired a dramatic nature. An extremely tense situation has taken shape in the border rayons. We have

defended and will defend the right of the Armenians in Artsakh to national self-determination. The problem of Artsakh should be solved by constitutional means, in a civilized manner and in accordance with international norms for respecting individual rights—a policy which our country has adopted today.

Fate has arranged it so that the Armenian and Azerbaijan peoples live side by side; they can and should jointly search for a way out of the crisis not by means of fruitless confrontations but by means of stable and constructive discussions, without waving the interests, honor and dignity of the Armenian people.

In order to get out of the serious situation that has taken shape, we should primarily prevent further bloodshed at any cost and stabilize the situation in the republic's border rayons.

The situation, which has taken shape in the disaster zone, deeply alarms all of us. Our outlined plans have been actually disrupted and the approved tasks need to be adjusted. One must decisively improve the state of affairs, concentrate our forces and capabilities as much as possible, and use the unselfish help of the country and the entire world effectively in order to extract the people from this extremely serious situation more rapidly.

Taking into consideration the fact that the tempo of restoration work in the disaster zone is basically determined by the stability of deliveries of the required resources, one must do everything to put the state railroad in order and to remove the disgraceful blockade of the republic.

The situation of the refugees is no less alarming. No matter how difficult it is for us, one must urgently solve the questions of their housing, job placement and the settlement of abandoned villages.

The people are seriously concerned about the unimpeded violent outburst of crime and the displays of anarchy. The maintenance of law and order is, of course, the decisive factor in regulating this alarming situation. It is impossible, however, to achieve results without the people's active support. The law should respect the citizen and defend his rights but the citizen, in turn, is obliged to respect the law. There is no other way.

One other important question. One of the main reasons for our failures and the people's justified dissatisfaction is the mistakes in personnel policy. Here, also, the absence of clearly thought out mechanisms, displays of subjectivism, voluntarism, localistic tendencies, and protectionism are the basic reason. A reliable way to eradicate these phenomena is to establish objective conditions for self-expression, self-assertion by the individual and the strengthening of continuity.

I am thoroughly convinced that we will achieve success only when literally every one recognizes the importance of his contribution to the common task, is able to rise above personal or group interests and lives with the pain

and concerns of the people. Today, this is not simply words. Essentially, it is our only way. Our people have lived and endured thanks to their wisdom and industrious and conscientious spirit. We should evaluate this at its true worth and be ready to cooperate with all national public organizations and movements whose mode of thinking and actions satisfy the fundamental interests of the Armenian people.

The restructuring and transformation of society are not coming easily. Today, a multitude of mutually exclusive and contradictory processes are coming together. The struggle of the new with the old has a fundamental nature. However, the common human values, which are today acquiring priority, are unshakable and eternal. It is they that should be the cementing force of all currents, movements and organizations. The birth of the new cannot be painless; however, it should not be destructive. We do not have the right to make mistakes.

We are on the threshold of very important public political events—the 28th CPSU Congress and the 29th Armenian Communist Party Congress. The nomination of candidates as republic people's deputies has begun. In the very near future, much will depend on who will be elected to our new parliament and how successful they will be in performing their new and extremely crucial state management functions.

All of us want to have a motherland, of which we can be proud, and have a value system, in which we can believe, and laws, under which we can live.

All of our actions should be directed toward achieving this. Each inhabitant of the republic should be confident of his social protection.

Unfortunately, the reality is such that we find ourselves near a line beyond which is a precipice. Our entire people are permeated with this alarm. That is why urgent decisive actions, the consolidation of all healthy forces and a deep belief in the future are required.

In shifting to this crucial work and knowing well the situation that has taken shape in our republic, I will use all my strength and capabilities, counting on the support of the people—on your support—and I will do everything to lead the republic out of the economic, political, social, and psychological crisis.

Once again, I thank you for your great trust.

Armenian Authorities Issue Appeal for Surrender of Weapons

*90US0968A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
21 Apr 90*

[Appeal by Armenian CP Central Committee, Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Armenian SSR Council of Ministers: "Appeal to the Citizens of the Armenian SSR"]

[Text] Dear Fellow Countrymen!

Our republic is experiencing hard times. The tense situation in the border regions, attempts by destructive forces to inflame the situation and bring about a state of chaos and anarchy in the republic, the unsatisfactory pace of work to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake, the refugee problem and the railroad blockade all have had a negative influence on the stability of the political and economic situation. It is especially alarming that in the last few days the noble impulse to defend the honor and property of one's own people has been clouded by an unprecedented increase in armed lawlessness.

In their numerous appeals to the Armenian CP Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, working collective and social organizations and movements express their acute anxiety about illegal possession of weapons and misappropriation of transportation by criminal elements, and by the upsurge in licentiousness; and they justly point to the passiveness of the law-enforcement organs and the failure to observe the laws. In their appeals, citizens are clamoring for guarantees of their personal security, and creation of normal living and working conditions.

The majority of the populace has accepted and understands the numerous appeals by the republic leadership and the law-enforcement organs to voluntarily give up the weapons. A portion of the misappropriated weapons and transportation have been voluntarily returned. By 18 April 1990, 268 pistols, 31 assault rifles, 91 rifles and 1,640 shotguns and other kinds of combat weapons, ammunition, military equipment and transportation had been turned over. But the process is going slowly. We believe that with the adoption of effective measures to strengthen law and order in the border regions and the restoration of complete control of the state borders of the USSR, and the creation of local militia detachments, will provide a guarantee of security, and that voluntary surrender of weapons by the citizens of the republic will be a conscious act, directed at normalization of the situation.

The fact that certain people having nothing in common with protecting the interests of the people are in possession of some of the misappropriated weapons represents a clear danger. They are most often used in assault and robbery. There are increasing cases of manufacture and use of home-made explosive devices and weapons. And the blood of innocent people is being shed. This aggravates the situation even more, and gives rise to the formation of negative public opinion in the country about our people, and about their hopes and aspirations.

The Armenian CP Central Committee and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, who share the concern of the population of the republic, appeal to the citizens with the urgent proposition to turn in weapons, ammunition, explosives and transportation held illegally, by the end of April.

We appeal to the working collectives, to social organization, to young people and to all the citizens of the republic to whom the honor, dignity and interests of our people, and peace and quiet in every home are dear—to accept this appeal with understanding and render assistance in the voluntary turnover by the citizens of unlawfully acquired weapons and misappropriated transportation.

Armenian First Secretary Sees Possibility of 'Civil War'

90US0968B Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
21 Apr 90 p 1

[Armenpress report: "From the Conference of the Republic Party-Economic Aktiv"]

[Text] As already reported, on 17 April a meeting of the republic party-economic aktiv was held, which discussed the situation in the Armenian SSR and the tasks of party and Soviet organs for its stabilization. Armenian CP Central Committee First Secretary V.M. Movsisyan delivered a speech at the conference.

Evaluating the situation in the republic, Movsisyan noted that it is truly very complex and alarming. "I would be taking liberties with the truth," said he, "if I were to try to lighten the colors even a little bit, or gloss over the actual situation. It is not easy to admit, but our people are going through critical times today.

"The reality is, that while an interethnic war has dragged on for more than a year now, today we are faced with a new emergency—there are dangerous trends for domestic interethnic strife which could lead to civil war. And this danger occurs under conditions of profound political, social, psychological and economic crisis in nearly all areas.

"This complex situation has both objective and subjective causes. First of all it would be naive to separate that which is taking place in our republic from the overall situation in the country. We are part of a continuous chain in the country, connected with it in the widest variety of ties, and it is altogether natural that this overall situation would be reflected in our place as well; although, of course, somewhat differently than in other regions.

"And a second, equally objective reason—is the indeterminate state of inter-ethnic relations, and the dragging out of a constitutional decision on the right of the Armenians in Artsakh to self-determination.

"If to all of this one adds the fact that a new burden was laid on the shoulders of our people—the earthquake and the refugees—then the picture is complete. Today, 530,000 people in the disaster zone are without shelter, and over 250,000 refugees are in the very same situation. This means that in a republic with a population of 3.5 million people, nearly one million actually have no place to live, and 350,000 have no opportunity to work. If one

adds to this dramatic situation the protracted immoral blockade, it will not be hard to understand the psychological crisis in which our people finds itself.

"The complex situation which has come to pass has become a blind alley for subjective reasons as well. We must honestly admit that since February 1988 we have not been the leaders of our popular movement. Just as with all profound social processes, our movement has given birth to its own leaders, sometimes spontaneously; to a new way of thinking; and to new paths to national salvation. But we have no right to remain in the role of a passive observer: we must direct these social processes.

"From the very beginning of the movement, we did not attempt to engage in open dialogue; and you see, our opponents might have been able to help solve certain problems. Thus, it has turned out that the popular movement has gradually broken up into separate directions, and our opponents have begun to oppose one another: today there are over 60 formal and informal social organizations in Armenia.

"For your information, we ourselves should have taken an interest in having serious opponents and an opposition; for only under conditions of a clash of varying points of view and alternative examination of various national programs would it have been possible to find the correct way out of the crisis.

"Furthermore, the objective processes being developed in the country could not help but affect the party's authority. The reason for this lies in our 'neutrality,' and our trying to withdraw from the struggle. Even now we are not fighting as we should.

"I shall return to the pre-election situation later, but I will say that today many people who are truly capable of shouldering the responsibility for the fate of the nation and enter the parliament, prefer to remain aloof from the struggle, and thereby create a vacuum which, it is not excluded, could be filled by a significant number of people unfit to bear the title of deputy.

"The following is a subjective reason: Today certain comrades are expressing their dissatisfaction with the fact that we are hearing reports from law-enforcement organs. Actually, these reports will not stand up to criticism, and the irresponsibility and ineptness of the law-enforcement organs have led to a situation in which today proper order does not exist in the republic. There are times in which neither the laws, nor the legislative, executive or judicial authorities function: and order simply cannot exist in such conditions. Certain state authorities are trying to do something, and they are trying to take certain steps, but vainly. In such circumstances, sensing their defenselessness, some of the people no longer believe in us. That means we must all become more sober. We have common cause with the fate of the people, the fate of man and the nation—this realization should sober us. These are not challenges. I apply all these things primarily to myself. We must divest ourselves from the apathy of neutrality: else the people will

turn away from us altogether. As an Armenian I am most alarmed by the fact that for two years now our people have not been learning properly, have not been working, and have not been making creative contributions; whereas for centuries we have supported ourselves by our own labor. I am not suggesting that we put our national problems on the back burner. No, our place is to be in the crucible of these problems. But to tie up the entire nation with only these problems and forget the rest, to bring the republic to the brink of destruction?.. Just how can such a dismembered republic solve any problems? And how can one utter lofty phrases on the magnificence of the nation when one does not have a strong economy?

"How can a wise nation, which was smelting copper during the time of the Sparapets, now cease production of tens of thousands of tons of copper? Meanwhile in the squares speeches are delivered on defense, on self-defense, on the fact that we must depend upon only ourselves. Is this really our wisdom? In this way we can only end up in a blind alley. We must change all our approaches. If the economic mechanisms will not operate, the people will not be able to do anything. If the objective laws of management are not put into action, the people will truly not have anything to do. And if production relationships and attitudes toward property are not fundamentally changed, the people will simply not work. These are problems which must be solved. But it is easier to make speeches.

"What is it that disturbs me most of all?" asked Movsyan. "These processes are not dying down, but are climbing at a dangerous speed. We remember the recent days we lived through—the 6th, 9th and 14th of April. An unprecedented act—the attack on the building of the Supreme Soviet Presidium was in essence a blow to the honor and dignity of our people. But the people should not have to condone this. For a people that has no self-respect, cannot respect another either. I can promise you that all the guilty parties will surely be brought to justice. You are already aware that the procurator and republic minister of internal affairs have been relieved of their duties. It is hard to imagine how the more than 500 policemen on duty that day at the Supreme Soviet Presidium building could have simply been bystanders. In a situation of such political and social defenselessness how can one inspire trust in the people? We must come to our senses. And today I would like to say with all sincerity: those who attempt to encroach on the honor, good name and dignity of our nation shall be punished, regardless of who or what they are.

"Clearly, today one can say that what happened on 9 April was a provocation. Apparently, the programmed behavior of certain elements directed the popular agitation into the channel of anti-state, and I would say, antinational provocations. The incident of 14 April—the attack on the Committee for State Security building—testifies to this as well.

"This is an alarm signal and, unfortunately, not the first. The goal of these sinister forces is to create chaos and anarchy in the life of the republic.

"The situation is truly alarming. But no matter how rivers overflow, they still need banks. We shall restore these banks; the moreso since the waters have become too turbulent. Rivers which overflow their banks either cause destruction, or turn into a swamp. The sooner we restore the banks, the better for our people. Everyone must bridle his passions. This concerns both the formal and the informal organizations and all national-socialist movements; for I am convinced that all of us have a single, higher goal.

"If the paths to achieving these goals vary, which is altogether natural, that means we must be able to listen to one another and cooperate," Movsisyan continued. "In order to find a way out of the crisis and consolidate all the vigorous forces of the nation, it is necessary to establish a council of national harmony. Its members must be our well-known people, and representatives of all movements and social organizations. You are aware that there are plans to convene a general national forum as well, with high-level representation from Armenia, Artsakh and the internal and external diaspora. This form will discuss and draw up a program of national renaissance. I think we must create without delay an appropriate commission or organization committee, to take up the practical work of convening the forum commencing tomorrow.

"Further: the Armenian CP must cooperate with all movements and social organizations: With all. And this is not a retreat from our principles. Certain of our comrades are also in the national movement and we should work with them. These negotiations should begin immediately, with tact and patience, taking support from everything that unites us; and there is a great deal that unites us—our concerns, the problems of our people, and establishing its honor and dignity.

"As we enter into negotiations with all social organizations, we shall be guided by only one principle: the extent to which the programs and actions of these movements correspond to the fundamental interests of our people. We are not opposed to dissidents, to other opinions, to other political views, and we certainly are not striving for complete identity of views. Everyone is entitled to his own opinion, but in the given situation any point of view and any opinion must serve the interests of the people. Our republic must be a member of a Soviet federation, with the Soviet peoples, with the Russian people, and we have no basis for re-examining our historical orientation. Such is the orientation of the diaspora, the external and internal, and all the political currents of Spyrnk.

"Freedom without responsibility—is death; and democracy without self-awareness—is anarchy. If there is no self-awareness, no self-discipline, no political culture, what sort of democracy can one talk about?"

Speaking about the situation in the republic's border regions, the Armenian CP Central Committee secretary noted: "The situation that has come to pass dictates the necessity for establishing all along the border of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijan SSR at an identical depth a so-called special-regime zone of neutrality, where units of the internal forces and the Soviet Army will be stationed under a common command; in this zone there will be procuracy stations (USSR Procuracy) and investigation of persons committing violations of the laws will be accomplished on the spot, and not in Baku, Yerevan or Rostov. We are specifying the borders now. I believe that these borders must penetrate deeper in areas of pasturage, to preclude bloody conflicts among the people.

"I think it is entirely normal and necessary to set up a local police in all border regions also, for the sake of security. But this must be done in an organized manner, consolidating the now-dispersed groups. Please do not take my remarks as too extreme. But sometimes groups in political confrontation can become a cause for bloodshed. Order must be maintained.

"I wish to report to you that we have clearly expressed our position in Moscow, before the central authorities: until the Nakhichevan sector of the state border is restored, our efforts to confiscate weapons will hardly provide positive results. And we were assured that the border would be restored in the very shortest period.

"True, quite a few weapons were found among criminal, outlaw elements—these weapons must be confiscated at all costs. We are late, but we can delay no longer. What should be done with a man with a weapon in Yerevan? Those who walk the streets with a weapon in their hands, who enter a restaurant with an assault rifle, or terrorize innocent people—what kind of patriots are they? We need patriots who are sensible and wise."

Concern was expressed in the speech over the mass information media: "I think," said Movsisyan, "that many articles are not sufficiently serious, and sober analysis of the situation is lacking; certain newspapers are vying for cheap popularity, while raising extreme tension among people whose emotions are already stained. Our approaches must be well-thought-out. Over the last two years 'decorative' national heroes have appeared among us. And others have been made a target for attacks.

"Let there be criticism, even the most severe criticism; but no one can reserve to himself the right to insult the dignity of the person criticized. Today we must bridle our passions.

"I have a request of the intelligentsia. To be an intellectual means to be in the vanguard of the people. We have splendid representatives of the intelligentsia. They must be able to distinguish the fundamental interests of the people from transient values. Unfortunately, even among the intelligentsia there are people who have given themselves over to deceptive slogans. An intellectual

must proceed from the fundamental interests of the nation. I think the intelligentsia must reject neutrality, and express their well-considered ideas about ways to emerge from the crisis.

"A few words about the election of republic people's deputies. The list of candidates nominated provides food for serious thought. Our future parliament shall largely determine the fate of the people, and the opportunity to create a rule-of-law, sovereign republic.

"We are very disturbed by the probability that certain worthy candidates, in order to avoid the prospect of a tense and high-strung struggle, might withdraw from the election campaign. I call upon them to be perspicacious, and to be guided not by their personal comfort, but by their responsibility for the fate of the nation. And the election campaign—that is a political struggle, which one need not fear nor retreat from."

Movsisyan went on to inform the conferees of proposed measures to lift the blockade of the Armenian SSR, on holding talks with neighboring republics, further improvement of our transportation links, creation of necessary mechanisms for regulating the republic's foreign economic relationships, and the solution of a number of other questions.

In conclusion, Armenian CP Central Committee First Secretary V.M. Movsisyan stated, that "In order that history and the next generation do not condemn us tomorrow, we must work painstakingly today—and work at the highest intensity. Let us together, arm in arm, out of concern for the whole nation, step by step find solutions to the problems burdening the republic. We most soberly take into account the fact that individually we are weak, and we can be strong only together, only if we are united. We must answer to our nation for these difficult days in its history."

Armenian Supreme Soviet Decree on 10 Oct 89 Stepanakert Violence

90US0980A Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
5 May 90 p 1

[Article, under rubric "Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Decree": "The Results of Studying the Circumstances Surrounding the Tragic Incident That Occurred on 10 October 1989 in the City of Stepanakert"]

[Text] Having listened to and having discussed the report of the ArSSR Supreme Soviet's Committee to Study the Circumstances Surrounding the Tragic Incident That Occurred in the City of Stepanakert on 10 October 1989, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. To feel that the use of weapons against the civilian population of the city of Stepanakert by the military personnel in the USSR MVD troops on 10 October 1989

was not necessitated by the exceptional nature of the situation or by any possible encroachments upon their safety, and was a crime.

2. The behavior of the military personnel of the USSR MVD troops on 10 October 1989 on the territory of the city of Stepanakert was completely arbitrary and was directed against the life, rights, and interests of the residents of the city. It was an instance of the abuse and exceeding of power, an instance fraught with dangerous consequences, as was confirmed by subsequent similar events with the use of weapons, the killing and wounding of people (2 January 1990 and 26 April 1990), and therefore must be viewed with all the stringency of the laws currently in effect within the confines of the USSR and the generally accepted principles of international law.

3. To note that the investigation of the criminal case is being conducted slowly, with violations of the standards established by legislation pertaining to criminal proceedings.

To request the USSR General Procurator to take steps to speed up the investigation, and also to authorize a group of jurists from Armenian SSR to participate as observers to monitor the investigation of the facts pertaining to the criminal cases that have been initiated as a result of the use of weapons against the peaceful population by the military personnel of USSR MVD in the city of Stepanakert.

4. To make a persistent request once again to USSR Supreme Soviet to send to NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh AO] a deputy commission to investigate all the instances of the use by military personnel in the USSR MVD troops of weapons against the peaceful population and of violations of the 28 July 1988 USSR Supreme Soviet Ukase entitled "The Duties and Rights of the USSR MVD Internal Troops When Defending Public Order."

G. Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

N. Stepanyan, secretary of the Presidium of Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

3 May 1990, Yerevan.

Armenian Supreme Soviet 3 May Decree on NKAO Situation

90US0980B Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
5 May 90 p 1

[Article, under rubric "Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Decree": "The Situation That Developed in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the Tasks of Settling It"]

[Text] Recently in and around Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast there has been a sharp aggravation of the interethnic tension and an unprecedented expansion of the conflict.

The new escalation of tension is the result of the fact that the Azerbaijan leadership, who have come to believe in their impunity, have changed over, with the silent consent and support of the USSR central authorities, to programmed gross actions with the purpose of restoring their colonial oppression over Armenian Artsakh, which had thrown them out more than two years ago. And this is after the mass pogroms and the deportation of Armenians in Sumgait, Baku, and other parts of Azerbaijan, which actions were carried out under the indifferent gaze of the Soviet authorities, when the blockade of Artsakh and Armenia is continuing and there has been no letup in the threats and provocations against the Armenian nation.

Under conditions of martial law, having actually occupied the oblast, the internal troops assumed the role of a punitive force carrying out the will of the Azerbaijani authorities, a force directed against the Armenians of Artsakh. With the aid of gross force, the troops today have essentially liquidated in NKAO the oblast soviet and party authorities and have seized the local media, radio, and television. There are daily broadcasts of statements that are full of threats and of appeals to the Armenian population to subordinate themselves to Azerbaijan or to leave Artsakh, deserting hearth and home. Open violence and terror are being carried out against the peaceful population. Innocent people are being killed. The defenders of the nation's just demands are being arrested or kidnapped and shipped outside the confines of the oblast. All the norms of legality are being encroached upon. With the aid of the military units, roads have been opened to the Azerbaijani settled areas in Artsakh, and columns of trucks carrying various kinds of freight travel unhindered over them, whereas the military personnel have tightly shut down the routes leading from Soviet Armenia and other parts of the Union into NKAO, Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, and Getashenskiy Subrayon. Rigid control has been established on the roads, and the ties between Armenia and Artsakh have been completely broken. Under conditions of the blockade of the motor highways and railroads, there has been a reduction in the number of air flights and the acceptance of freight aircraft or helicopters is banned. In this situation, taking into consideration that the Declaration of the 2nd Congress of USSR People's Deputies is not being fulfilled, the Armenian nation is well aware that the blockade of NKAO and Armenia by the Azerbaijani authorities is being carried out with the connivance and protection of the central authorities with the purpose of stifling the democratic movement of the Armenian nation. While formally calling both sides to negotiations, the central authorities simultaneously, by military intervention, are essentially disrupting any possibility of negotiations, by demonstrating very obviously that they have absolutely no self-interest in them. On the other hand, they are providing protection to the Azerbaijani authorities and urging them to engage in all kinds of provocation actions that contradict the standards of international law. This situation has granted the opportunity to the authorities of Azerbaijan to bypass the

constitutional status of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and to make the decision to change its administrative-territorial division. The Azerbaijani authorities at the present time have begun the accelerated change of the demographic balance in the oblast in favor of the Azerbaijani side. This is a circumstance which, without a doubt, will be necessary for them if the republic secedes from the USSR, especially with a consideration of the well-known attempt to secede from the USSR that was undertaken recently by the Supreme Soviet of Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, which is an inseparable part of historic Armenia, but which at present is completely devoid of Armenians.

Baku opposed to the democratic, national-liberation struggle being waged by the Armenian nation a policy of pogroms and bloodshed, of economic *diktat*. Persistent efforts to conceal or deny the new pogroms of Armenians that occurred in Azerbaijan, which efforts were applied so zealously by the law-enforcement agencies; every failure by the central authorities to give them a political evaluation; and the impunity of the persons who carried out the pogroms encouraged violence throughout the country. Everything is being done to present the just, democratic movement of the Armenian nation to the Soviet and world public as being a struggle directed against perestroyka. The authorities probably assume that by virtue of the geopolitical situation of Soviet Armenia, the Armenian nation has no other way out than to bow down its head to the violence, to yield to military pressure, to bear all blows without making a murmur, and to reconcile itself to the trampling of its national dignity. It must be recalled that the situation that has been created at the present time in the area is the direct consequence of the predatory Russo-Turkish Treaty that was concluded behind the back of the Armenian nation, and the illegal resolution of the RKP(b) [predecessor of CPSU] Caucasian Bureau in 1921, by which the Armenian republic was dismembered and the Armenian nation lost more than 80 percent of its territory. The hopes of being able to use violence to break the will of the Armenian nation have been in vain. The Armenian nation will never reconcile itself to the cruel position in which it has proven to be, it will not be reconciled to colonial oppression or exploitation.

Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, expressing the single will of the nation of Soviet Armenia and Artsakh, appeals to the USSR President:

1. To cancel the state of emergency in Nagornyy Karabakh. To withdraw from the territory of NKAO the subdivisions of the MVD internal troops, and to deploy them in zones of demarcation in the oblast and adjacent rayons of Azerbaijan SSR.
2. To carry out the decision of the oblast Soviet of Nagornyy Karabakh concerning the restoration of the complete powers of the soviet agencies of authority.

3. To annul immediately the unconstitutional and essentially provocational 21 April 1990 Ukase of the Presidium of Azeri SSR Supreme Soviet, which has the goal of changing the demographic situation in Nagornyy Karabakh and of disrupting the implementation of the right of the Armenian population in the oblast for self-determination. To eliminate the consequences of the illegal actions that have been committed until the present time by the Azerbaijani side.

4. In execution of a number of decrees of the 2nd Congress of USSR People's Deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the lifting of the blockade of Nagornyy Karabakh, to guarantee the free communication between the oblast and Armenian SSR along the Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert road, in order to prevent any possible enforced undesirable actions aimed at lifting the blockade there.

5. Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet decisively re-emphasizes that the basis for resolving the problem of NKAO and the adjacent Armenian Shaumyanovskiy Rayon and Getashenskiy Subrayon is the implementation of the principle of the free self-determination of nations in conformity with our country's Constitution and the standards of international law.

6. Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet expresses its decisive protest against the fact that USSR Supreme Soviet is continuing to ignore the 22 November 1988 Decree of ArSSR Supreme Soviet concerning the censuring of the 1915 genocide of the Armenians in the Ottoman empire, which led on 24 April 1990, the Day to Remember the Victims of the Genocide, to new illegal actions in Stepanakert, which were expressed in the violence directed by the troops against the participants of a memorial rally, and in new manifestations of the trampling of the national dignity of the Armenian nation on the day of its great grief.

Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet asserts that the entire Armenian nation in the country and in the Diaspora is firmly resolved to rise up to defend its national rights, to defend its honor and dignity, and to carry out to its conclusion the struggle to implement the right of Nagornyy Karabakh to self-determination.

In the event of failure to take the steps that evolve from this appeal, the entire responsibility for the further complication of the situation lies on the central agencies and personally upon the USSR President.

G. Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

N. Stepanyan, secretary of the Presidium of Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

3 May 1990, Yerevan.

Armenian CP 5 May Plenum on Election Issues, Party Program

Information Report

90US0982A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
6 May 90 p 1

[Information Report on the Armenian CP Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] The regular plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee was held on 5 May 1990. Department chiefs of the Armenian CP Central Committee, first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms, ispolkom chairmen of city and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies, ministers and chairmen of Armenian SSR state committees who are not central committee members, the Auditing Commission of the Armenian CP, secretaries of major primary party organizations, administrators of a number of industrial enterprises and higher educational institutions, trade union and Komsomol officials, military servicemen, and representatives of the mass information media, were invited to the plenum.

The plenum discussed the question of the convocation of the regular 29th Congress of the Armenian CP and the reporting-election campaign in the republic's party organizations.

Armenian CP Central Committee First Secretary V.M. Movsisyan delivered a report on this question.

Taking part in the debate following the report were A.A. Stepanyan, deputy chief of the Armenian CP Central Committee Ideological Department and chief of the Armenian CP Central Committee Political Education House; Armenian CP Vardenisskiy Raykom First Secretary R.A. Yengoyan, Leninakan Gorkom First Secretary T.G. Sargsyan, Idzhevanskiy Raykom First Secretary Dzh.G. Ananyan, and Kafanskiy Raykom First Secretary K.S. Mkrtchyan. Offering proposals were Armenian Cultural Fund Board Chairman V.A. Petrosyan, Yerevan Computer Science Research Institute Party Committee Secretary S.A. Kaplanyan, and Yerevan Rayon imeni 26 Commissars Party Committee First Secretary R.Kh. Miroyan.

The plenum resolved to convene the regular 29th Congress of the Armenian CP on 22 November 1990 in the city of Yerevan, and adopted a resolution on this question, which is being published in the press.

The plenum considered the question of working out a program for the Armenian CP.

Armenian CP Central Committee First Secretary V.M. Movsisyan delivered a report on this question.

Taking part in the debate were S.M. Petrosyan, equipment operator team leader at the Nairit Scientific-Production Association in Yerevan; A.F. Shaumyan, party committee secretary at the Armelektrodvigatel

[Armenian Electric Motor] Scientific-Production Association in Yerevan; A.A. Kandilyan, chief of the Yerevan Department, Transcaucasus Railroad; and Yu.I. Mkrumyan, party committee secretary at Yerevan State University.

The plenum approved the membership of the commission for drawing up the program and the regulations of the Armenian CP.

The plenum heard a report by Armenian CP Central Committee Second Secretary O.I. Lobov on holding elections for delegates from the Armenian CP to the 28th CPSU Congress, and adopted a resolution on this question.

The plenum discussed the question of the events which took place in Yerevan on 4 May 1990. Armenian CP Yerevan Gorkom First Secretary G.Ye. Asatryan provided information on this question. Taking part in the exchange of opinion were M.O. Muradyan, Aykoop board chairman; E.M. Mirzoyan, board chairman of the Armenian Composers' Union; G.A. Galoyan, Armenian CP Central Committee secretary; and V.B. Agayan, Armenian CP Yerevan Gorkom second secretary.

The plenum took under advisement information from the Yerevan party gorkom, and instructed the bureau of the Armenian CP Central Committee to take urgent and decisive measures to normalize the situation and beef up law and order in the republic and its capital.

Armenian CP Central Committee First Secretary V.M. Movsisyan delivered the concluding remarks at the plenum.

With this the Armenian CP Central Committee Plenum completed its work.

R.V. Yengibaryan, a responsible official on the staff of the CPSU Central Committee, also took part in the work of the plenum.

First Secretary on Election Campaign

90US0982B Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
9 May 90 pp 1-2

[Report by Armenian CP CC First Secretary V.M. Movsisyan at the 5 May 1990 Armenian CP CC Plenum: "On Convening the 29th Armenian CP Congress and Holding Reports and Elections in Republic Party Organizations"]

[Text] Comrades!

Our nation is going through what is perhaps the most complex and dramatic period of its recent history, which is characterized by extreme severity and an intensive search for solutions to urgent political and socio-economic problems.

Perestroika is accompanied by exceptionally large complexities—legislation is being renewed, but often the laws do not operate. Innovation is making its way with great difficulty. Avoiding their responsibility, people are

passively playing a waiting game. It is a sad situation when disorder and licentiousness become the norm in social life, when we begin to speak with a note of tolerance about unacceptable phenomena, when we lightly acquiesce to the intolerable, and when practical steps are absolutely inadequate to the situation at hand. And it is already a fact that an extraordinary situation has come to pass in our republic, and everyone must be deeply aware of this.

It is not only a question of an economic and political crisis, but a psychological and perhaps even a moral crisis. The situation is aggravated even more by the fact that, along with the burden of problems from the earthquake and the refugees, new complications in the Artsakh question and inter-ethnic relations, the increasing social dissatisfaction of the people and the weakening of the social and economic structures, we are standing on the threshold of newly-restructured realities. This pertains not only to the interrelations of union republics as members of a renewed federation, it also embraces all aspects and strata of our social system. In such a situation we are obliged to seek the strength and the means not only to overcome the worsening crisis, but also to stand up on our feet and become the masters of our sovereign rights, and begin to solve qualitatively new tasks.

Our stubborn and selfless labor can be the guarantee of our success. Today we are obliged to deeply acknowledge our common national mission and attempt to find a way out of the situation which has come to pass. Everyone must find his place and role in this exceptionally responsible and fateful matter.

Unfortunately, we have not yet formulated an appropriate social atmosphere. The latest extraordinary session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet testifies to this fact. It is unheard of, when during the discussion of questions which are vitally important to our republic and our nation, many responsible officials bearing direct responsibility for their solution—members of the Central Committee and its bureau, deputy chairmen of the government and ministries, leaders of state committees and various departments—displayed impermissible and unacceptable passivity. Understand me correctly, comrades, today no one has the right to hide in the shadows, nor the right not to show one's "self," to conceal one's positions, and not to be guided by definite and firm moral principles. After all the crisis of society begins with the moral crisis.

We shall not achieve any victories with such passiveness and indifference, with such undistinguishable positions, without serious and consistent work with people and with collectives; nor without decisively putting a stop to violations of the law.

The crisis that has embraced the republic is painfully connected with serious conflicts in social development—internal dissension, and the polarization of existing political forces which bear responsibility for the fate of

the nation and the choice of its historic path. These circumstances can be largely explained by the decline in the prestige and role of party committees and organizations, which like everywhere else in the country, at a certain stage lost the initiative in posing and solving the questions which are disturbing the people.

Socialist reform cannot be accomplished without fundamental reform of the party, its every detachment, its structure and leading organs, its style and methods of work. At this stage of crisis we must above all have a highly-principled and organizationally-strong party, which would operate on a broadly democratic basis, and which would sense its great responsibility to the people. And for this, it is urgently necessary for profound changes to take place in the activities of the CPSU and its leading organs. It is necessary not only to reformulate the responsibilities of the party and its position in the political system, but also to work out and assimilate new working methods. The party must resurrect and strengthen the finest traditions and principles of political work, become the most energetic spokesman for the interests of the popular masses, and rid itself of the imperious functions inappropriate to it. The February (1990) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which examined the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th Party Congress, held a thorough and intense dialogue on this question.

As already mentioned, the perestroika process is following a difficult, contradictory and at times painful path. The situation was complicated by the extended period of acute inter-ethnic relations. Political and social tensions are increasing in society. All these things are on the agenda for the convocation of the next Armenian CP Congress. A number of primary party organizations, profoundly concerned about the political situation in the republic and the urgency of the tasks of restructuring the Armenian CP, made similar proposals. Various periods were proposed for convening the congress, and a demand was stated to immediately convene an extraordinary forum of the republic's communists.

After studying all the proposals, the Central Committee Buro supports the idea of convening the regular 29th Congress of the Armenian CP, and proposes holding it in the latter half of November 1990.

What is behind this proposal? First of all the necessity to make in-depth and all-round preparation for the congress, which will qualitatively differ from the others—both in its goals and tasks, and in the interest displayed in it.

Secondly, in the near future, we are faced with a complex and responsible campaign—election of People's Deputies of the Armenian SSR and deputies for local Soviets, which requires concentrating the efforts of all party committees and organizations.

Thirdly, in the opinion of a number of committees and organizations, the necessary conditions have come to pass to adopt the program of the Armenian CP, which

will contain the fundamental ideas which reflect the current state of the Armenian CP, its goals and tasks, and ways to resolve them. Our current plenum will approve the membership of a commission to draw up the draft program.

Having said that, we propose the following agenda for the 29th Congress of the Armenian CP:

1. Report of the Armenian CP Central Committee.
2. Report of the Auditing Commission of the Armenian CP.
3. On the Draft Program for the Armenian CP.
4. Election of the Leading Organs of the Armenian CP.

Concerning the procedure for electing delegates and the norms of representation at the congress, today we can instruct the Bureau of the Armenian CP Central Committee to prepare the corresponding proposals, and submit them to the Central Committee Plenum for examination.

Comrades! Comprehensive preparation and successful conduct of the Armenian CP Congress will, of course, be conditioned by the situation in the primary, rayon and city organizations, by their energy and initiative in the reporting-election campaign. Today the problem of holding a reporting-election campaign in the lower elements of the party is rather acute. You are aware of the arguments in favor of convening assemblies and conferences prior to the party congress. However, a large number of primary organizations, gorkoms and raykoms find, that they should be held after the CPSU Congress, and many specifically point to the optimal periods—namely, August to October of the current year. They base their positions primarily on the fact that the reports and elections will actually coincide completely with the elections of People's Deputies of the Armenian SSR.

Party organizations are speaking out in favor of holding the assemblies and conferences after the 28th CPSU Congress, and reach the following important conclusions:

- the Communists will come to their own assemblies already having the Platform of the CPSU Central Committee and the Party Regulations adopted at the CPSU Congress, and also the draft program of the Armenian CP.
- At the same time, holding the reports and election after the CPSU Congress will not interfere with holding political discussions in the party organizations on the draft Party Platform and Regulations.
- Election of People's Deputies to republic and local Soviets will be a decisive test not only for the party as a whole, but also for party cadres. The manner in which the cadres pass this test will permit the assemblies and conferences to determine their attitude toward them. New people will be entering the social arena.

—In May we must hold election of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress, and this is an important political campaign which requires a great deal of organizational work.

—Finally, as already noted, the election of People's Deputies to local Soviets will be held in July.

The Armenian CP Central Committee Bureau believes that in the given situation it would be proper to extend to the party gorkoms and raykoms themselves, the right to determine the period for holding the reporting-election campaign. They could resolve this question on the basis of local conditions, and in consideration of the time the Armenian CP Congress is held as well. The new quality of political, economic and spiritual life of the republic into which we entered in 1990 is the point of reference for working out the tasks for our development prior to the forthcoming Armenian CP Congress.

Allow me to touch upon them briefly.

The logic of development of the political situation and the events demand, that communists play the decisive role in the fundamental reform of the style of activity of the party organizations, gorkoms, raykoms and lower links; in the persistent search for new forms and methods of work; in working out a specific program of actions; and in solving urgent cadre problems. It is exceptionally important to focus attention on practical solution of those problems which cause universal dissatisfaction in the working collectives and actually provide the basis for just criticism addressed at party organizations. At this critical stage for the republic it is necessary that every party organization and committee have a clear-cut program of actions, appropriate to the specific conditions and tasks for socio-economic development of the working collective, the rayon, and the city, oriented toward solution of the contemporary problems of perestroika.

Not long ago an open letter from the CPSU Central Committee to the country's communists was published. The party central committee is for rallying the party ranks on principled positions, and for the solid unification of all those to whom the goals of perestroika and the ideals of democratic socialism are dear.

Cases of passive, indifferent attitudes by certain individual CPSU members who bring discredit upon the title of Communist must be discussed from serious and principled positions. We must also disclose the specific reasons for the lapse in prestige of a number of elected party organs and responsible officials, and take the necessary steps. In the course of perestroika the party has already purged itself of many elements foreign to it. It will get rid of the rest as well. And this is a necessary, healthy process. It should reliably carry out the task of ensuring unity of action in carrying out adopted decisions and in strengthening state discipline.

I would also like to focus attention on the following question: a number of incidents have occurred in the city

of Yerevan in recent days which are cause for serious alarm. That which is taking place in the capital today is not only a display of complete anarchy, but is fraught with the most complex and far-reaching consequences. The attack on the building of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and then on the Republic Committee for State Security; the destruction of the monuments to Shaumyan, Chekhov and others, and the arbitrary re-naming of streets; and yesterday's attempted armed assault on the buildings of the Yerevan city party committee and the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee, bear witness to the fact that there are forces which are openly trying to achieve confrontation, blood-letting and the creation of an unstable situation. Such actions have nothing at all in common with democracy, nor with patriotism. Taking advantage of a complex situation, some people are trying, through show of force, provocations, and misuse of patriotic feelings, to pit socially-dissatisfied elements against the authorities, and are even further complicating the situation in the republic. Our nation and our people today are not in such a position that we can look indifferently upon adventurist actions. They must be halted in the most decisive manner. Everyone must acknowledge that the state authorities cannot long remain indifferent to such phenomena. Law enforcement organs, the Yerevan city committee of the Armenian CP, and the gorsoviet ispolkom must display the proper adherence to principle and responsibility.

What has taken place once again proves that weapons in the hands of certain people hardly ensures the security of the Motherland. The situation is more than clear: through terror and arms certain persons are trying to force their own will and seize power. Arms must be taken away from such people, and from the criminal elements, immediately. In this matter too, our people must have the last word.

Comrades! While rejecting the previous practice of direct involvement in the administration of the economy, at the same time the party organizations cannot slough off responsibility for the state of the economy; after all, therein lies the vital interests of the people.

Questions of establishing and affirming the rule of the Soviets require special attention. Party organs must implement their political decisions in the organs of popular rule via the communists working at these organs—it goes without saying, having chosen democratic forms of action. In the course of the coming elections to republic and local Soviets of People's Deputies, it is necessary to lead the communists in a most energetic struggle, to ensure a high degree of responsibility in all party organizations and their leading organs, in order to implement political reform. We must thoroughly understand that the coming elections can have decisive significance for the fate of our nation. Today, many people still do not recognize the towering importance of their position in the nomination and election of one candidate or another. Not everyone yet has a sense

of personal responsibility that meets the demands of the times. In such conditions, party organizations must properly orient their people, and strive to ensure that the new parliament is capable of taking upon its shoulders the heavy burden of responsibility for leading the republic out of the present situation.

Cadre work is becoming especially important. Here matters have been neglected for a long time. Because of the lack of clear-cut mechanisms, many confirmed, competent and active comrades remain in the shadows, and do not find proper application of their strengths and capabilities. And quite often the people holding the rudder are found to be the type who cannot completely orient themselves, and do not know in which direction to turn.

Without establishing precise order in this question, without affirming natural cadre succession, we shall not be able to change the situation in one single sphere.

But we must also put an end to the groundless notions that we are allegedly suffering a cadre "famine." In actual fact this is simply a case of short-sightedness. We do have competent, principled specialists, devoted to the Motherland and to their cause, whose strengths must be utilized wisely and purposefully.

Comrades! The preparations for the Armenian CP Congress must become the stimulus for further democratization of the party and energizing its entire structure. Members and candidate members to the Armenian CP Central Committee, primary party organizations, and communists who are People's Deputies of the USSR, must effectively take part in preparations for the forum. Commissions and departments of the Armenian CP Central Committee must take into consideration all remarks and suggestions which they receive in the course of preparing the materials for the congress.

The situation that has come to pass persistently demands that we undertake the solution of the urgent problems responsibly, with initiative, boldly and confidently, and do everything to bring the republic out of the deepening crisis.

To delay might have fatal consequences.

Movsisyan on Republic Party Program

*90US0982C Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
9 May 90 p 2*

[Report of Armenian CP CC First Secretary V.M. Movsisyan at Armenian CP CC Plenum of 5 May 1990: "On Drawing Up the Program of the Armenian CP"]

[Text] Comrades!

The democratic processes being unfurled in our land become deeper day by day, and are embracing all aspects and layers of our lives. In difficult, contradictory conditions, public consciousness is being liberated from the stereotypes that had been embedded for decades, and

from the sluggish, rigid thinking of the past. Step by step, we are beginning to orient upon common human values. There is serious ferment in the ranks of the Communist Party. On the one hand, those accustomed to unilaterally resolving ideological, economic and cadre problems, the adherents of the command-administrative methods, are stubbornly and firmly resisting, hoping to return to bygone days. And on the other hand, the adherents of instant perestroika, seized with panic because of the present troubles, see the way out in creating new political structures—moreover, as a rule, outside the party. If one adds to this the often unobjective criticism aimed at the party from both the right and the left, which turns into complete rejection of the party, then perhaps the hapless position of what was once the leading force in Soviet society becomes clear in general outline.

These and other questions were touched upon as early as the 19th Party Conference and at CPSU Central Committee Plenums; and, it goes without saying will be thoroughly analyzed from all sides at the 28th CPSU Congress. From the ensuing discussions, including the opinions expressed in the press, one can come to the conclusion that the union republic communist parties, which are considered the battle detachments of the CPSU, require greater self-administration than that which they had. The necessity of adopting independent programs has become an agenda item. Under conditions of reforming the federation so to speak, such aspirations are understandable. Similar opinions and proposals are also being expressed in Armenian party organizations.

At our preceding plenum we remarked and now reconfirm our profound conviction of the fact that, only by means of fundamental transformations, permeated with the recognition of the highest interests of the nation, will the Armenian CP have the moral right to assume the historic responsibility for the fate of the nation.

In these circumstances it is vitally necessary that the Armenian CP work out its own program.

No matter how all-embracing and thoroughly considered the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union may be, it cannot embrace and give meaning to all those fundamental, fateful tasks which this severe and dramatic period in the history of our people has presented to the communists of Armenia.

On the other hand, major measures are being taken to reform our federation, for allocating to the union republic truly sovereign rights, and conclusion of new agreements both with the center, and between republics. Under such conditions it is altogether right and proper that the Communist Party of a sovereign republic has its own program.

Since the February and March (1990) CPSU Central Committee Plenums, and the third Congress of People's Deputies of the Soviet Union, a new situation has been created, in which it must be able to provide its vanguard role in conditions of competition with other political parties, maintaining an honest political dialogue with

them, not avoiding the ideological struggle, and also cooperation, when it is a question of the root interests of the people. This is a complex situation to which the Communist Party is unaccustomed, but only by such means shall we be able to once again earn the confidence of the people.

The necessity for fundamental restructuring of the Armenian CP, to include the creation of its own program, was also dictated by the situation in which our republic finds itself. Not long ago I had occasion to touch upon, specifically, the passive, contemplative position taken by our party organization. We communists were unable to immediately, from the very beginning, find a fitting position in the general, national movement, and did not enter into open dialogue. It is time to reject the apathy of neutrality and establish a broad program of ideological and practical work which can unite the best forces of our people.

Today there is no longer any doubt of the fact that the fundamental positive achievements in the socio-political life of the country and the republic and the growing crisis in the economy and the ecology, the unacceptably slow pace of eliminating the consequences of the destructive earthquake and the severe situation of the refugees, and the numerous problems in satisfying the material and spiritual needs of the populace, have faced the Communists of Armenia with the necessity to work out a rational, comprehensive and well-considered program for further action.

I think there is no need to go into the details of this program. Its draft must actually be drawn up only now, naturally, including the basic tenets of the text of the Central Committee platform which has been drawn up by commissions of the Armenian CP Central Committee, advance copies of which have been distributed to you, and which will be the subject of special discussion at the coming central committee plenum. At the same time, this should not delay the preparation of a party program, taking maximum consideration of the suggestions of the primary organizations and a number of already-prepared drafts, and the peculiarities of the situation which has come to pass among us.

We propose that first of all we must clearly formulate the basic goals of the Communist party, the most important of which is—building a society capable of ensuring the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of all citizens, the entire nation, and guaranteeing the security of their lives. A guarantee of the success of this goal is the sovereignty of the republic as a member of a reformed Soviet federation.

While expressing the opinion of the communists in the republic, the Armenian CP must stand for freedom from distortions, for reform of socialism, and in favor of a social system, the basis of which are principles of democracy, liberty, humanism and social justice.

In this part of the program it is also necessary to clearly and properly characterize the path taken by the Armenian CP, and its present position with respect to the various national and socio-political movements and parties.

Understandably, the program will consider the national, historical, ethnic, cultural, socio-economic, geographical and other peculiarities of Armenia.

I believe it would be proper to reflect in the party program our impressions on the creation of a rule-of-law state, the rejection of dogmatic interpretation of Marxist-Leninist theory, an orientation on common human values, a decisive turn towards democracy and other founding ideals. The Armenian CP will fight for its role and position in the social life of the republic by means of a clear-cut, respectable policy which serves the interests of the people, by the ability to bring people together, and by being faithful to the moral values of our people. In the area of socio-economic policy, the program goal of the Armenian CP must be to ensure the economic independence of the republic. Pluralism in the economy must be founded on market relationships, equal forms of property and a mechanism for regulating the market by economic methods.

The most important task, indisputably, is the formation of a national economic complex in conditions of economic independence, making maximum use of our capabilities, while working out practical mechanisms and legislative prerequisites for implementing the new conception of management. Without such programs and clear perspective, we will not be able to exert positive influence on the socio-economic processes, learn the proper lessons from the history of our people and from the present, nor create an environment favorable for actively changing the economic situation.

We do not have the right to forget that in the political situation that has come to pass, even in spite of our own will and desires, we cannot find ourselves in territorial or economic isolation. That means, our tasks lies not only in overcoming the economic crisis, but also in establishing the vitally-necessary prerequisites for independent development.

At the same time we are obliged to soberly evaluate and precisely consider our national peculiarities, the psychology and traditions of the people, and our natural, geographic and climatic factors. It is inappropriate to mechanically copy the models and approaches of other republics and countries.

The program must be also be aimed at implementing land reform, establishing economic ties between the republic and the outside world, establishing a broad network of joint enterprises, as well as consistently implementing the principles of free entrepreneurship.

We must consider the problem of overcoming the consequences of the earthquake a question of special importance, significantly increasing the share of our participation in this matter, making maximum use of the republic's capabilities.

Special attention should be devoted to ensuring social justice and the social security of the citizens, solving the problems of refugees from Azerbaijan, protecting the health of the people and the natural environment, and other questions of great significance to our republic.

The program must reflect the principles of the national policy of the Armenian CP—recognizing the rights to self-determination, condemning chauvinism and nationalism, and recognizing the rights of any nation to freely develop its culture, language and to preserve its national peculiarities and traditions.

The program must stress the idea of the unity of our people in its three constituent parts—Armenia and Artsakh, and the internal and external diaspora. We must accept this unity in its aggregate of national-political, economic and cultural aspects. The national program of our people must be worked out in consideration of the spiritual and economic potential of these very components. It is not a question of ties, but one of organic unity. We must closely cooperate, in particular, with all the political parties and currents of the foreign diaspora, and make *Spyurk* a vital and functioning bridge to the Motherland. The All-Armenia Forum which we plan to convene in the fall of this year, I think, will thoroughly discuss and formulate this overall-national program.

In its program the Armenian CP must express an opinion with respect to the national-territorial structures being formed in the country, and defend the right of the Armenian population of Artsakh to national self-determination, stand up for restoration of historical truth, provide a political and legal evaluation of the unjust decisions and treaties, concluded without the participation of the Armenian people in the 1920s. At the same time the problems existing between peoples and nations must be solved only by peaceful means, and by political methods.

The Armenian CP, condemning the crimes against humanity—genocide, pogroms and deportation, must strive to recognize the genocide of Armenians both on the part of the USSR and on the international level. A special section of our program must be devoted to the policy of the Armenian CP in the area of culture, science and education. It must clearly reflect the attitude toward questions of the preservation, development and wide use of the Armenian language, free development of creativity not conditioned by politics, and preservation and restoration of the monuments of culture, history and architecture of Armenia; moreover, both on the territory of the republic, and beyond.

The Armenian CP attributes great significance to the free development of culture, language, literature and arts of the national minorities who dwell on the territory of the

republic, and to the preservation of national peculiarities and traditions, which also must be reflected in the program.

It is also proper to stress the principle of freedom of religion, and the historically progressive role of religion and the Armenian Church in the moral education and cohesion of the Armenian people. I would like to stress once again, that the first program which we draw up must include all the principal questions of concern to our people, and reflect the principal position of the republic's party organization with respect to them; adequately reflect the present situation; and, it must proceed from the national interests and guideposts of the Armenian people for the future.

Considering the importance of the document, the Central Committee Bureau considered it sensible to discuss this question at the plenum. Moreover, today we must also establish a special commission to draw up the Program of the Communist Party of Armenia. After discussion of this draft in the primary party organizations and in the pages of the newspapers, it will be presented to the 29th Congress of the Armenian CP. It would be desirable to hear your proposals on drawing up the draft program, and your remarks on the make-up of the commission.

Masaliyev Refutes Criticism, Stresses Need for Unity in Republic

90US0948A Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 14 Apr 90 p 1

[Speech by A.M. Masaliyev, chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet, at the first session of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet, 12th convocation]

[Text] Respected people's deputies of the Kirghiz SSR, participants in the session: First of all, I want to thank you for the great trust you have expressed in me by electing me chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet. I am aware that this places an enormous amount of responsibility upon me, which I am obligated to justify. A single person, no matter how energetic and experienced, will achieve nothing if he does not rely upon and consult his colleagues and does not establish friendly and practical relations. Only joint, team work, open discussion of all issues and opinions, and trust in one another will make it possible to advance Kirghizstan's economy and culture. This is exactly how we must work. There is no other way for us.

Certain comrades have reproached me for deciding cadre issues by myself. This does not conform to the reality. We function today in a situation of democracy, and everyone can express his point of view, his opinion, his critical comments. I believe that this is beneficial.

I shall draw the proper conclusions from the discussion. And the comrades who criticize me do not have to worry. There will be no persecution or pressure on my part. I

have worked in positions of leadership around 25-30 years, and I never been one to settle scores. I accept criticism in the proper way.

At the same time, I want to say that I am not free of shortcomings, and as a leader in whom the Communists and the Kirghiz people have placed their trust, I bear responsibility for certain oversights in the republic. No one is immune to errors, of course, particularly in a position of such responsibility. I therefore try to derive lessons and draw the needed conclusions from criticism.

However, at a time when democracy is being expanded here and when there is open, sincere discussion, I do not accept unsubstantiated opinions. I want to say this right off. Some speakers today have said that the Kirghiz people have practically reached the level of poverty in the past 4 years, that their life has grown worse. And they blame Masaliyev for many of the unresolved problems, even make accusations to the effect that he also set up the tobacco production in the republic. And these are comrades who are very familiar with the economy and the state of affairs. Such assertions are not serious, and I reject them.

Consider the results of the last 4 years. Every deputy has information on the development of Kirghizia's economy during the current five-year period. You can assess it and compare what has been achieved yourselves. The credit for the fact that Kirghizia is among the front runners among the republics for rates of growth of a number of areas of socioeconomic development clearly does not go to Masaliyev personally. It is a result of the work of 155,000 Communists and a population of more than 4 million. This includes almost 2.5 million Kirghiz, a million Russians, more than 500,000 Uzbeks and members of other nationalities and ethnic groups who live and work in the republic in a spirit of fraternity, comradeship and mutual understanding. It is their joint labor.

It has been said here that Masaliyev differs not at all from former leaders. Judge for yourselves. I absolutely disagree with the accusation which has been made that I personally advanced Comrade Sadykov to his high position. I shall frankly say that he was nominated by comrades Amanbayev and Kulmatov and by other members of the Central Committee bureau. We no longer decide cadre issues individually. And when they say the opposite, this is obvious slander and an attempt to attribute to us what existed in the past. I repeat: We do not advance a single person to a position of responsibility without joint discussion.

This is our firm position. And in the future we shall decide cadre issues collectively. We shall not deviate from this principle. We shall not split up the people by valley, clan or nation. The Kirghiz Communist Party CC occupies a clear and principled position in this matter.

It was claimed that I "made" Yu. Sadykov a people's deputy of the USSR. Such statements are also lies designed for ignorant people. Today no one can make

anyone a deputy. Comrade Sadykov was elected by the residents of Gzhungalskiy and Kochkorskiy rayons. I did not influence anyone to vote for him. Comrade Sadykov has deficiencies, of course. He is in the auditorium today, and I believe that he will derive the proper conclusions from the criticism.

I now return to problems in the life of the Kirghiz people. The assertion that they have reached the point of poverty is incorrect. If we take the average indices for standard of living in the USSR as a whole, in the Kirghiz SSR and the Central Asian and Transcaucasus republics, Kirghizia has had higher rates in recent years. This did not simply occur by itself. I shall cite an example. Four years ago the livestock raisers in the Naryn zone, in the Issyk-Kul area and in Osh Oblast had 20 sheep in their personal herds. After conferring with the Council of Ministers, the Supreme Soviet and local party and soviet organs, the CC Bureau decided to increase the number to 30. The Supreme Soviet issued a special ukase. Once again, after conferring, they decided to permit the people to keep more than 30 head. During the 4 years since then the number of sheep on the personal farms has increased by 45 per cent, horses by 39 per cent and cattle by 30 per cent, and the total herd of other livestock has also grown. We therefore assess statements to the effect that the population's life has deteriorated as slanderous.

Let us look at some other areas. Average annual rates of housing construction have grown by 28 per cent during the current five-year period over the past one. Many other areas do not have this kind of growth. Twice as many schools and hospitals are being built as in the past. To say that we could resolve all of the problems accumulated over many years within 1 or 2 or even 4 years would be to indicate a total lack of understanding of reality.

I say this because in the future we need to work harmoniously and honestly, exchanging thoughts and know-how with one another and not engaging in groundless accusations. The republic can then advance even further. We will not progress if we split up into northerners and southerners, according to region, into these and those. One comrade has stated that not a single academician has come out of the southern area in 73 years. Is Masaliyev alone to blame for this as well? I believe that those who engaged in accusations against Masaliyev are also to blame. Why have they not yet trained such cadres? Is there not a single person from the southern part of the republic worthy of becoming an academician?

I call upon you once again, comrades, to stop dividing ourselves up into northerners and southerners—or more correctly, to stop basing our relations on this. Let the Kirghiz people live in harmony. The other day I was told this joke. One man asks another: Why are there no Kirghiz cosmonauts? The latter answers: As soon as the Kirghiz start to fly, their fellow-countrymen pull them back to earth. That is why we have no cosmonauts.

Let us not act this way. Let us do the opposite and support one another. To those comrades who voiced criticism, I say once again that I do not plan to create any obstacles for them and there will be no persecution of them. Let them work as they have been working and freely express their thoughts. Recently, by the way, they wanted to expel from the party one of today's speakers who leveled accusations at me. As first secretary of the CC, I came to his defense. I said that even though he does have some infractions, he also has certain merits.

We should not engage in unfounded, fabricated accusations and harm the unity of the people. On the contrary, we should think about their fate, about Kirghizia's fate as one of 15 sovereign Union Republics. We shall achieve nothing by making false, unsubstantiated statements about one another. We must all derive the needed conclusions.

Today you have elected me chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet. I accept this as more than just great trust. It primarily involves further developing the Kirghiz people, improving their lives, and uplifting the republic's economy and culture. By uniting the efforts of the Kirghiz Communist Party CC and the Supreme Soviet, we shall resolve most of these issues and achieve the goals we have set. We need to find new work forms and methods, focus our organizational actions on enhancing production effectiveness and raise the prestige and honor of Kirghizstan even higher.

The Kirghiz people have many unresolved problems. During the past four and a half years we have made a considerable effort and have accomplished some things. Despite this, it was stated today that the republic's current leaders are not engaging specifically in resolving these issues. This does not conform to the truth. We are not sitting idly by. More than once, while in Moscow, Comrade Dzhumagulov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Akmatov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and I have been received by Comrade Gorbachev, Comrade Ryzhkov and other national leaders, where we raised issues pertaining to the republic and achieved the adoption of specific measures.

Many of Kirghizia's cultural workers have been awarded honorary titles, including people's artist of the USSR, and have been singled out for high awards. The republic, many of its rayons, enterprises and farms have been awarded honorary certificates and Red Banners. Among those working toward this were leaders who have today been referred to as people who "play it safe." They have focused attention on problems of the Kirghiz people and brought up issues at plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, sessions of the Supreme Soviet and other All-Union meetings.

New comrades are presently joining the leadership corps. We understand that we must help and support them in every way. I would also like to ask you, the people's deputies, for practical support. If you have valuable and serious ideas, express them. Point out specifically where

the Central Committee is not doing a complete job, what kind of omissions the Council of Ministers is guilty of, what the Supreme Soviet is doing, what issues are not being resolved by Masaliyev and Dzhumagulov personally and what kind of deficiencies the other leaders have. Openly share your thoughts. If we organize the work thusly, we shall successfully accomplish the tasks facing us. If we only bide our time until a convenient moment merely to make accusations, conflict with one another and form unhealthy relations, our work will not get off the ground. Our elders put it very wisely: Where there is agreement, there is success.

It is important to ensure harmony and mutual understanding in the work and base everything on principle. First of all, the Kirghiz people themselves must be in harmony. This does not mean that they need to toady, however. I absolutely cannot tolerate this, and I tell a toady this to his face. We must base our agreement on principle and be candid with one another, as comrades, brothers and fellow countrymen. We must raise issues in a timely manner and not just from session to session, plenum to plenum, congress to congress. The Kirghiz must set a worthy example of harmonious, united work. It has already been mentioned that around a million Russians, more than a half-million Uzbeks, more than 100,000 Germans and numerous representatives of other nationalities work in the republic. If we all live in strong friendship and jointly resolve our problems, our republic will advance more rapidly and more certainly.

As first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party CC, I have recently been receiving many letters. Representatives of the Russian people and our elders say and write more than the others. They ask us to work even more persistently for a tranquil situation in the republic and to ensure continued stability and tranquility in order to prevent the riots and conflicts which have occurred in other regions of the nation. In other matters, the people stress, you can count on us. We shall make every effort toward the further development of Kirghizia. Permit me to speak for you and express our gratitude to all those who write such letters and who demonstrate concern for the republic's fate. We firmly promise to do everything possible to strengthen discipline and order and to preserve our friendship.

One more matter. If we do not provide the people with an adequate quantity of food and do not increase food production by at least 4-5 per cent annually, no one is going to understand us. On the contrary, they will say that there is no restructuring in Kirghizia. Certain advances have been made with respect to the food supply during the past 4 years. Milk yields have now dropped somewhat because of a shortage of feed, however. But we can make up these losses if we perform well during the summer season. We have other reserves as well.

I have already stated that the number of livestock kept by the population has increased, and a number of kolkhozes and sovkhoses have begun using leases and other progressive forms of production organization more

vigorously. This is creating the realistic preconditions for markedly improving the supply of food for the people by 1995. I want to assure you that the Kirghiz Communist Party CC, the Supreme Soviet and the republic government, whose members you will approve at this session, will work persistently toward this aim. We shall work out a special program and implement it on a specific basis. All of the regions and every rayon and city must make their contribution to the resolution of this problem. Only then can we move forward.

One other matter pertaining to this: The living conditions of the Kirghiz people continue to be unsatisfactory in many mountain regions. And it needs to be frankly said that there is no nationalism whatsoever involved. I have spoken out on these problems in the past. It would be incorrect to attribute them to the former leaders alone, however, since such problems cannot be resolved rapidly. The former leaders do bear some blame, of course, but objective circumstances must also be taken into account.

Practical action is needed. Comrade Tuleberdiyev, our chief power engineer, recently made a good suggestion: to provide remote settlements with electricity within the next few years and use the electricity for heating, for cooking, for heating water in baths and so forth. The matter will be considered by the government following this session. We shall work out specific programs for providing the mountain regions with electricity and specify deadlines for accomplishing them.

The implementation of these programs will make it possible significantly to enhance labor productivity, improve the ecological situation and stop hauling in coal. The use of electric power will be highly beneficial in general. One kilowatt-hour now costs 1 kopeck in certain rayons. But it is not easy to provide this. It will cost 155 million rubles to lay the electric power lines. Comrade Tuleberdiyev assures us that the money can be found. And if the agro-industrial complex, the economically strong farms and large industrial enterprises become involved, we will unquestionably accomplish this task. We are considering it not just in the economic respect, but on the political level as well.

I want to bring up one other problem: the battle against child mortality. It has dropped in the republic in the past 2 years. The situation was previously worse. The local soviets and medical personnel have now improved the work in this area. Specialists from Belorussia, the Ukraine and other areas of the nation have helped. They have shared their know-how and ideas. We are going to have to fundamentally alter our handling of the protection of motherhood and childhood, however, and specifically, to improve the diet of children, working and living conditions for mothers and the situation of large families. The Supreme Soviet and the people's deputies must keep their attention on these problems.

We must also improve the supply of drinking water for the population and build water lines in many villages.

Two or three years ago Apas Dzhumagulovich Dzhumagulov and I studied the situation and found that half of the villages do not have water lines. It seems that this problem was never defined as acute in the past. We took the problem on. Comrade Dzhumagulov has issued specific instructions to comrades Kozhomkulov and Sulaymanov and is demanding that they be carried out, and the Central Committee has begun monitoring the matter. We intend to resolve it.

There are many difficulties, to be sure. We need pipe, pumps and certain funds. Providing each village with a water line and resolving other problems will enable us to reduce child mortality even more and to establish proper condition for the people.

One other matter: In order to develop Kirghizstan's economy and culture, we need to reinforce friendly relations with neighboring republics, resolve problems jointly and not engage in confrontation. Alma-Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan, for example, is only 240 kilometers from here, but we previously almost never met with the leaders of that republic. In recent years we have begun holding meetings with leaders of the Communist Party central committees, the governments and state planning committees of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, seeking and finding common approaches.

Certain problems remain, however, including those pertaining to pasturage. Some comrades see Masaliyev's guilt in this as well. I was asked the following question at a Komsomol conference with respect to pasture lands turned over to neighbors on a long-term basis 20-30 years ago: "Comrade Masaliyev, Kulatov gave Shakhimardan to another republic, and now you want to give away Batken"?

I want to repeat my explanation so that you know what actually happened. These are not serious accusations. Kulatov was chairman of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet, but issues were resolved by other agencies and their leaders, of course.

At the present time Uzbekistan uses 450,000 hectares of pasture land which was turned over to it by the former leaders. The situation was different at that time, and this needs to be taken into account. Tajikistan uses around 79,000 hectares of pasture land. We use around 600,000 hectares of Kazakhstan's land at Kenes-Anarkhay and Chelek. Kazakhstan, in turn, uses 71,000 hectares of our land in the Susamy, Chatkal and Kok-Oyrok areas.

I think it is clear to everyone that such matters are not resolved with a calvary attack. Some people urge us to do just that, however. Our neighbors have their own thoughts and opinions about the problem. They also have their own plans. We need to act without haste, deliberately. We are brothers with the Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Tajiks. We must strengthen our friendship with our neighbors and with all the Union republics and eliminate conflicts through the joint efforts of the governments, in harmony.

Much is said about the language. And very rightly so. I agree with all the ideas expressed here. The Kirghiz language needs to be developed. There is no doubt about that.

This is what I would like to point out, however. Many of the critical comrades speak eloquently and write a lot about the language but do nothing to develop it, even though this pertains directly to them. There are such people among the Central Committee members, in the government and in other places. The people see this and know it. So let us move on from high-sounding slogans to action. Let everyone take on a specific task. If we are patriots of our people, then we must not stand on the sideline. We need to work actively.

As of now, since you yourselves have elected us—once again, many thanks for that—our duties are going to require that we get around to many comrades and hold them strictly accountable for their assigned job. And this should be taken in the right spirit: not as persecution but as demandingness in the work.

I would like to say one final thing. It is about Comrade Tashtanbek Akmatov, who has been accused absolutely without justification. I have known him since I began working in the Central Committee, around 20 years now. I got to know him particularly well when he served as first secretary of the Issyk-Kul Oblast party committee. This is an honorable and intelligent man with an excellent knowledge of sheep-raising, and a good family man. And some people attempt to hurt such a prominent individual, to degrade him with groundless statements, even to the point of saying that he could not address the Komsomol members. This will not do at all.

Tashtanbek Akmatovich has great merits. Based on the situation which has developed and after conferring, we have decided to appoint him as advisor to the Chairman of the Council on Animal Husbandry of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers. I feel that we will need to use his experience and expertise in this matter more than once again and that he will unquestionably do a lot of good.

Today, I want to speak for myself and for all of you and express our gratitude to Tashtanbek Akmatovich for his more than 2 years of honorable service in the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR and to wish him continued success. We have nominated him as a member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I am confident that he will be elected.

Comrade T. Sadykov worked vigorously for 5 years as chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet. Permit me to express our gratitude also to him and to wish him success.

In conclusion, I want to speak for you and thank the former membership of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and all of its workers, who accomplished many difficult jobs, and to wish them continued, fruitful work.

I promise you, comrades, that I shall always work with you.

Voter Turnout in Kazakh Run-offs for People's Deputies

90US0997A Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Apr 90 p 1

[Report of the Central Election Commission on the Results of the Run-offs in the Elections of Kazakh SSR People's Deputies for 1990, by the Central Election Commission for the Elections and Recall of Kazakh SSR People's Deputies]

[Text] Having examined the minutes received from the okrug election commissions on the results of the run-offs in the elections of Kazakh SSR people's deputies, the Central Election Commission reports:

There were on the list for the run-offs 4,674,317 voters; 3,493,534, or 74.7 percent, participated in the voting.

There voted: in Aktyubinsk Oblast, 65.9 percent; in Alma-Ata Oblast, 87.4 percent; in East Kazakhstan Oblast, 65.5 percent; in Gurev Oblast, 71.3 percent; in Dzhambul Oblast, 78.9 percent; Dzhzhakzgan Oblast, 76.9 percent; Karaganda Oblast, 69.9 percent; Kyzyl-Orda Oblast, 85.6 percent; Kokchetav Oblast, 77.3 percent; Kustanay Oblast, 78.1 percent; Pavlodar Oblast, 74.6 percent; North Kazakhstan Oblast, 73.1 percent; Semipalatinsk Oblast, 81.0 percent; Taldy-Kurgan Oblast, 82.5 percent; Uralsk Oblast, 74.7 percent; Tselinograd Oblast, 77.1 percent; Chimkent Oblast, 82.3 percent; Alma-Ata city, 66.4 percent; Leninsk city, 73.9 percent of the voters.

Run-offs were held in 126 okrugs. In them there were 251 candidates for deputy on the ballot. In election okrug number 163 in the city of Leninsk there remained on the ballot on election day one candidate, since the other withdrew his candidacy. There were two candidates for deputy in the remaining okrugs.

Elections took place in all 126 okrugs. Kazakh SSR people's deputies were elected in all of them.

The report of the results of the elections in each election okrug is published by the election commissions in the local press.

On the basis of Article 54 of the Law on Elections of Kazakh SSR People's Deputies, the Central Election Commission registered all the Kazakh SSR people's deputies elected from the okrugs.

In total, among those elected the 126 Kazakh SSR people's deputy in the run-offs were:

women, 7, or 5.6 percent; men, 119, or 94.4 percent; kolkhoz workers, 1, or 0.8 percent. Total workers and kolkhoz workers, 18, or 14.3 percent. Among the deputies, 117, or 92.9 percent are CPSU members or candidate members; 9, or 7.1 percent are non-party members.

Citizens of 10 nationalities residing in the territory of the republic were elected people's deputies.

The elections were held in an organized fashion, and testified to the support for the party's course toward perestroyka.

The list of the elected Kazakh SSR people's deputies is being published in the press.

Information Report on Kazakh Plenum

90US0997B *Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA*
in Russian 24 Apr 90 p 1

["Information Report on the Plenum of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The 21st Plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee began its work on 23 April. Participating in its work are party obkom secretaries and oblispolkom chairmen not in the body of the Central Committee, as well as second secretaries of party obkoms who are not Kazakh SSR people's deputies; leaders of ministries and departments, leaders of the republic People's Control Committee, leaders of the Kazakh SSR Council of Trade Unions, leaders of the Kazakh Komsomol, leaders of creative institutions and organizations, a number of party staffers of Alma-Ata city, Kazakh SSR people's deputies from the Kazakh CP, military servicemen, and members of the republic council of secretaries of primary party organizations.

The plenum examined the following issues:

on the introduction at the first session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet of the 12th Convocation of proposals for individual articles of the Kazakh SSR Constitution;

on the introduction of supplements to the agenda for the 17th Kazakh CP Congress;

on the procedure of the formation of leading organs of the Kazakh Communist Party.

Kazakh CP Central Committee First Secretary N.A. Nazarbayev gave an address on these issues.

Participating in the debates were: Ye.F. Bashmakov, first secretary of the Karaganda Oblast party committee; K.B. Darzhumanov, chairman of the party control commission under the Pavlodar Oblast party committee; P.M. Melnikov, party committee secretary, Mine imeni 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution of the "Karagandaugol" association and deputy chairman of the republic council of secretaries of primary party organizations; Ye.F. Yezhikov-Babakhanov, first secretary, Dzhekazgan Oblast party committee; Ye. Gabdul-lin, horse-herder, sovkhoz imeni T. Masin, Uralsk Oblast; Yu.A. Klochkov, chairman, Dzhabul Oblast ispolkom; Z.L. Fedotova, dean, Alma-Ata Higher Party School; V.N. Zub, chief specialist of the Kokchetav Oblast agro-industrial committee; B.B. Dzhasantsova,

operator, Kazakh gas processing plant (city of Novyy Uzen, Gurev Oblast), and A.A. Shilin, first secretary, Sayramskiy Rayon party committee, Chimkent Oblast.

The plenum adopted a decision to introduce by order of a legislative initiative for the consideration of the first session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet of the 12th Convocation proposals on amending articles 6, 7, and 49 of the Kazakh SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law). The plenum also expressed the necessity of adopting at this session the Kazakh SSR law "On the Establishment of the Office of the Kazakh SSR President and the Introduction of Amendments and Supplements to the Kazakh SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)."

The resolution "On the Introduction of Supplements to the Agenda of the 17th Kazakh CP Congress" was adopted.

The procedure of the formation of leading organs of the Kazakh Communist Party was confirmed.

CPSU Central Committee senior official L.D. Zakharchenko participated in the work of the plenum.

Nazarbayev Speaks at Plenum on Political, Social Changes

90US0997C *Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA*
in Russian 24 Apr 90 p 1

[Speech of N.A. Nazarbayev at the Kazakh CP Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] Comrades! Issues having exclusively great significance both for the further development of the political reform in the republic, the strengthening of the system of administration of state affairs, and for the renewal of the Kazakh CP are being introduced for the plenum's consideration. In their essence, these issues stem from the Central Committee Draft Platform for the 17th republic CP Plenum and the 28th CPSU Congress discussed at the previous plenum, and to a certain degree, their consideration must become the continuation of the major discussion of the role and place of the party in the system of public relations.

I think that I would not be mistaken if I were to say that the political atmosphere in the republic now is in many ways determined by the the elections of Kazakh SSR people's deputies that took place. Despite all the glitches inevitable in such a great matter, they are unprecedented in our practice both by the degree of the democratization, glasnost, and political activity of the citizens, and by the heat of the preelection campaign itself.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that during the course of the election campaign, a unique referendum took place confirming the trust of the masses in the policy of perestroyka. The elections laid the basis for the formation of the new political process based upon democratic principles. Broad strata of the republic were involved in the discussion of urgent problems. Alternative preelection platforms emerged with the nomination

of several candidates for one deputy seat. The population had not only the opportunity but the need to assess and compare them in order to make the appropriate choice. Within the few months of the election campaign, the citizens of our republic gained more political knowledge and experience than over the decades of the previous period.

We evaluate as support for our preelection program the fact that despite the absence of any sort of fulfillment quotas, according to the election results, CPSU members and candidate members comprised 94.7 percent of the Kazakh SSR people's deputies.

The elections of republic people's deputies made possible significant forward movement on the path to the implementation of political reform. And today, there are grounds to say that the new form of people power is acquiring ever more realistic features. As you know, 340 deputies have already been elected to the body of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet; another 20 will be determined in repeat elections. Thus, the republic's new highest organ of state power is practically formed. The results of perestroika in the republic, the forging and implementation of most important legislative acts is to an enormous degree going to depend upon its successful functioning, upon how it works within the overall system of people power.

The first session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet of the 12th Convocation will begin its work tomorrow. The republic's highest organ of state power is faced with expressing its attitude toward the issue of establishing the post of the president, electing a chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet and his deputy, appointing a chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, forming working organs of the republic Supreme Soviet and government, and considering other organizational issues and priority draft laws.

In doing so we are actually proceeding to a new level of the practical separation of the functions of party and state organs. The party is returning to its genuine designation, to be the vanguard of the political force of society, to forge and propose to society programs for long-range development, and to achieve their realization through communists in the state and public structures.

In their pre-congress documents, the republic Communist Party unambiguously expressed a rejection of political monopolism, and expressed its preparedness to defend its right to leadership through substantive deeds. I think that you will support me in the fact that the time has come to define in a new way the place of the Communist Party in the republic Constitution, and on the other hand, to fix the status of the various public organizations operating in political life.

Based upon this, it is advisable for the Kazakh CP Central Committee to put forth at the first session of the republic Supreme Soviet a legislative initiative on amending articles 6, 7, and 49 in the Fundamental Law. As you know, analogous amendments were introduced to

the USSR Constitution at the 3rd Congress of People's Deputies at the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee.

You are in possession of the appropriate documents for the amendment of the Kazakh SSR Constitution. Their essence is a rejection of the statute on the leading role of the CPSU, on the party as the core of the political system. A mechanism is proposed that would guarantee the Kazakh CP, public organizations and mass movements the opportunity to participate through their deputies as well as in other forms in the development of the republic's policy, in the administration of state and public affairs. In this it is necessary to stipulate the impermissibility of the creation and activity of political parties, public organizations and movements having as their goal the violent alteration of the constitutional structure and the integrity of the republic, undermining its security, or inflaming social, national, or religious discord.

It is likewise necessary to fix the Kazakh SSR citizens' right to unite in political and public organizations, to participate in mass movements promoting the development of people's political activity and amateur activity, and the satisfaction of their diverse interests.

Public organizations must be guaranteed the conditions for successful fulfillment by them of their chartered tasks.

Thus, the new redaction of the given articles of the Kazakh SSR Fundamental Law is directly linked with the further development of democracy, the establishment of political pluralism in our society, and the expansion of the participation of the popular masses in all spheres of government.

I would like all those present to understand that the party's rejection of monopoly is an issue that concerns not only communists. It touches upon the foundations of the existence and development of our society. We feel that such a decision is necessary in the current situation.

However, this does not at all mean that the party is rejecting political leadership. Today, every healthy-thinking person understands that the single consolidating and integrating force of our society is the CPSU. And it, as do, incidentally, other parties, will take up that position in sociopolitical life which is predetermined by its genuine political weight, the support of the people. Serious tasks are raised for us communists in light of this. We must learn to work and function under conditions of political pluralism. Having rejected a monopoly on power, we must win the mandate of the people's trust. The proposed amendments and supplements to the Kazakh SSR Constitution are a step toward acquiring this trust.

Another step must be the course toward the profound democratization of intraparty life, maximal independence for the Kazakh CP and its primary party organizations in personnel, financial, and other issues.

The pre-congress draft Platform of the CPSU Central Committee, the Kazakh CP, and the party Charter give a principled basis not only for the discussions, but for practical activities. We are witnesses to the fact that the work for the generalization and analysis of the numerous proposals and comments aimed at enriching the fundamental party documents is proceeding with such concern and intensity. These proposals concern the broadest range of problems of public life; they reflect the profound anxiety of the communists and workers of the republic over the tension in the sociopolitical, economic spheres, and in the area of interethnic relations that has been created. Naturally, the separatist aspirations manifested in certain regions of the country today cannot but trouble Kazakhstaners, the growth of crime, the weakening of discipline and order. All of this is at the center of attention of the participants of the pre-congress discussions.

However, in noting the overall constructive course of the discussion, it is impossible not to see that a portion of the party members, including those in our republic, aspire to exploit the opportunity for open, democratic talk in what is hardly in the interests of the party and the people. On the contrary, speculating on the well-known deformations of intraparty life that took place in the past and are decisively condemned by communists, they take the matter to the collapse of the organizational structures; they strive to discredit our ideological foundations. I will openly say that it is not the resolution of the problems troubling society with which these people are concerned, not the consolidation of party forces on the basis of a major, difficult, universal cause. They are up to their ears in faultfinding, in personal interests and ambitions; for them, they are prepared to lightly sacrifice that which they neither built nor created.

If we take an honest and unbiased look at their program document, the so-called "democratic platform," beyond the scathing phrases and the pointed evaluations you will not see the shadow of concern with how to feed, dress, and shod people, how to give them a roof over their heads, how to defend them against thieves and speculators, to create for the simple toilers the conditions for a normal, quiet life. But surely today, this is the most important thing!

And the Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee to the country's communists quite justifiably indicates that "the moment has come when, without getting into free discussion, strengthening its constructive basis, it is necessary to figure out how to deal with those party members who persistently and purposefully bring the cause to a schism, creating within the CPSU organizationally formed factions, who reject the socialist choice of the Soviet people, who in their views and behavior have in fact placed themselves outside of the party." It is now especially important to stand for CPSU unity, to ensure its close organizational and ideological solidarity. In no way can it be permitted that the party turn into some sort of amorphous sociopolitical tendency with eroded boundaries and formal membership.

Under the new conditions, we are faced with seriously reinterpreting our mutual relations with the state organs and public organizations. Today, it should be directly stated that the previous tactic of dictatorship on all levels with regard to them is completely obsolete. It is unacceptable, and moreover, it can cause only harm to our party.

It is necessary to suffuse with genuine content the thesis that the party organizations operate through communists working in the soviets, in public organizations, elected to the body of their elected organs. A real mechanism for implementing party resolutions is needed. It is important to fully utilize for this purpose the potential of the party groups, to learn to function by means of persuasion, recommendations, democratic agreements, and sensible compromises.

In a word, today, under the conditions of the party's rejection of the monopoly of its status, a genuinely active and well-considered policy, expressing and defending the interest of the working class and all workers is necessary. Only in this way will it be possible to confirm our right to be the political vanguard of the progressive forces of society.

There is one more aspect here. The rejection of the concept of the "ruling party" and the "leading social force" to a certain extent required adequate changes in the state structure of the country as well. After all, to be frank, until quite recently, the CPSU Central Committee not only defined the strategic tasks, but expediently ruled social life. Now, when the situation is decisively changing, the party is making a transition to other forms of work. And in order not to weaken the state order, to not allow a power vacuum destructive to perestroika, the need has arisen for a strong new institution capable of taking upon itself the functions of state administration, of ensuring the implementation of the legislative acts taken by the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The office of the USSR president became the new institution of power. As you know, the widespread discussion of this issue was under way on the eve of the opening of the extraordinary 3rd Congress of People's Deputies and during its work.

It is necessary to note that society, despite the broad spectrum of opinion, on the whole accepted positively such a radical change of the political mechanism of power. And it conforms to natural law that M.S. Gorbachev, the initiator of perestroika, the recognized leader of the party and the state, became the first president.

The Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation were formed; the establishment of new presidential power is under way, and it must first of all become a reliable guarantor of the democratic transformations taking place in society; secondly, it is the instrument of state power by means of which all laws adopted will be steadfastly implemented.

It is natural that questions arise in connection with the function of the new form of administration at the center: How will the new mechanism of power operate in the provinces? How will the common union and republic laws be realized within the territory of the union republics, and how will the ukases of the USSR President be executed? These are hard questions. We have discussed them on various levels, particularly at the 20th Plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee while reviewing the draft Platform of the Central Committee of the 17th Kazakh Central Committee and the 28th CPSU Congress. An analysis of the course of the discussion of the given draft, the speeches of communists at the election report meetings and conferences, the publication in the mass information media, and the letters of workers create a basis to speak of the support for the institution of republic presidency by the broadest strata of the population.

In connection with this, I want to say once more that the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic sees its future only in the body of our union. We do not represent ourselves outside of the federation, although it should be particularly noted, this is the renewed federation, spared the monopolistic dictatorship of the center. Nevertheless we feel that the issue of establishing the republic presidency has become urgent and requires an early decision. I ask that you understand me correctly. Here it is not a matter of ambition, nor of prognosticating concepts, but of today's objective realities.

It should be noted here that we are not speaking of copying the structures of the union organs. We base this first and foremost in the very nature of republic sovereignty, dictating the need for an effective mechanism for strengthening state order.

We shall be frank. The situation itself leads to such a decision when it perceives a shortage of executive power. Strong power in the person of the president will make possible the creation of conditions for the further advancement on the path toward the realization of political and economic reforms, the development of democracy, and the implementation of the laws adopted by the republic Supreme Soviet. The steadfast observance of the law will be one of the most important functions of the president.

On the other hand, and this I emphasized at the 3rd Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the creation of the institution of the presidency would allow for a strengthening of republic independence, and the establishment of a sensible correlation of legislative and executive power.

An argument such as the multinational composition of the population of Kazakhstan speaks in favor of this step. The consolidation of society is now particularly important. The renewed mechanism of state leadership must promote this above all. It is the President who must

be the guarantor of observance of the rights and freedoms of the peoples living within the territory of the republic.

In his practical activity, the Kazakh SSR President must create the conditions for the development of mutual understanding and social dialogue among the various sociopolitical movements, support civil peace and interethnic harmony, and be a highly empowered organizer and coordinator of actions under emergency circumstances.

It is necessary to emphasize in particular that with the introduction of the institution of the presidency, the Supreme Soviet will remain the highest organ of state power in the republic, and the government will remain the executive-administrative organ. The President will take upon himself the functions of the connecting link between the legislative and executive power.

A few words on the election of the president. We undoubtedly understand the principal necessity of the election of the head of the republic by general secret voting by all the citizens of Kazakhstan. Yet let us look at this realistically. Is there any sense in such a dynamic situation to conduct yet another election in the republic, the third within a short period? I think that you will support the idea of the need to accelerate this process and conduct the first election of the President at the session of the Supreme Soviet opening tomorrow. Moreover, if he receives power from the hands of the Supreme Soviet, this will become a substantial and necessary guarantee of the preservation of our young democracy, since the power of the President will have a serious counterbalance in the form of the Supreme Soviet. Such a practice of presidential election is not infrequently encountered in the world.

I would also like to direct your attention to the fact that it is proposed that a Presidential Council be formed under the President. The chief task of this organ will be to work out measures for the realization of the fundamental trends of the internal and external policy of the Kazakh SSR, and concern for the strict observance of the USSR Constitution.

Thus are also ensured the close coordination of the functions of the President with the executive-administrative activity, and control over it on the part of the chief of the republic. It is at the Presidential Council that the focal issues of the practical implementation of the economic and political reforms will be discussed, along with other important issues. The Presidential Council will become a chief organizer of the implementation of the legislative acts taken by the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet.

The question may arise, might the institution of the presidency and the Presidential Council weaken the republic government? No, the competence of the government will remain as before. Yet its responsibility may be raised; it will report to the President, who receives the

right to appoint ministers and chairmen of the state committees, with their subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet.

Our position on this issue is simple: Further strengthening of the empowerment of the government as the highest executive-administrative organ of power in the republic is necessary for the cardinal recuperation of the economic situation, overcoming the crisis phenomena, and creating an effective planned-market economy.

I think that along with the creation of the institution of the presidency, it is also necessary to think through the issues of strengthening state power in the provinces. It seems necessary to expand the authority of the chairmen of oblast, city, and rayon soviets.

To sum up what has been said, I would like to note the following. In spending much time on current events, we do not always manage to take a look at the situation from the positions of the historical perspective. But after all, the changes that have taken place here recently are enormous. A renewed socioeconomic and state structure is being born; new institutions of power are being put together. And the task of the party at this phase is to render all possible support to the transformations, to promote the establishment of genuine people power.

Only by this path is it possible to ensure the further advancement of the political and economic reforms, of the entire cause of renewing public life. Amendments to the Kazakh SSR Constitution will require substantial efforts from all state structures and sociopolitical organizations. It is this direct inclusion in the difficult, day-to-day practice of administration of state and public affairs that makes it possible to fill the proposed new constitutional amendments with genuine content.

In connection with this, I would like to hear your opinion on the issues that will be discussed tomorrow at the first session of the renewed republic Supreme Soviet. This is all the more important because among the plenum's participants are more than a few Kazakh SSR people's deputies.

Comrades! I would like to pause upon the immediate intraparty tasks. They concern first and foremost the election meeting campaign within the party organizations unfolding in the republic. This is extraordinarily important, since the party's authority depends not only upon its policy and ideals, but upon the authority of every party member invested with the trust of his comrades. We must boldly nominate really creative people with initiative, capable of defending the genuine interests of the people and the party under the current complicated conditions, capable of solidifying around themselves like-minded people, and who are able to have a dialogue with representatives of other sociopolitical movements favoring perestroika.

The procedure for the elections of the leading organs of the republic party organization acquires particular significance. Relying upon the proposals of communists,

and considering the statutes at the basis of the Platform of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, we feel it necessary to introduce radical changes into this process.

It is proposed that during the course of the pre-congress election-meeting campaign Kazakh CP Central Committee members be elected directly at the oblast party conferences from among candidates nominated in the primary party organizations, and supported by the rayon and city party conferences. This will allow for an expansion of the right of oblast and rayon party committees, grant communists the opportunity to elect Central Committee on a democratic, alternative basis, and control and influence their subsequent activity.

This is one side of the matter. The other is that it will really be possible to alter the faulty system of forming an election organ on the position-holding principle. The most active, competent people dedicated to perestroika must be represented in the composition of the Central Committee as an organ of the collective leadership. First and foremost, this should be workers, peasants, and representatives of the intelligentsia, secretaries of the primary party organizations, party gorkoms and raykoms.

It is also advisable to reject the institution of the Central Committee candidate-members and move for enlarging the body of the Kazakh CP Central Committee to 245 people. Based upon this number, it will be possible to establish a quota for each oblast party organization, depending upon the number of communists, by the decision of the plenum. Kazakh CP Central Committee members from among military servicemen must also be elected at conferences in military units and formations according to this quota.

Apparently, it is necessary today to define ourselves in such an important issue as the procedure for elections of members of the Review Committee. The given issue has been discussed at the Buro on more than one occasion. There have been consultations with Central Committee members, party obkoms, large gorkoms and raykoms, and secretaries of primary party organizations.

As you know, after the 19th All-Union Party Conference, control-review commissions were created in a number of republic party organizations on an experimental basis. The experience of their work showed that under the conditions of an increase in the role of the primary party organizations, the democratization of intraparty life, as well as a reduction of the apparatus, it would be inadvisable to introduce changes into the existing structure.

Considering the proposals of the party committees expressed during the course of the discussion of the pre-congress documents, in addition to relying upon the principles of an expansion of the independence of the republic Communist Party at the basis of the CPSU draft Charter, we have the right to preserve the existing system of control and review work in the republic party organization, all the more so because during the course of the

election report conferences in the city and rayon party organizations, the appropriate organs have already been formed.

It is proposed that a Kazakh CP Review Commission comprising 37 persons be created. Their elections are to be conducted at the oblast party conferences: 2 persons from each oblast, with 5 from Alma-Ata Oblast. If there are no objections, then such an order could be fixed in the resolution of the Central Committee Plenum.

New approaches to the formation of the election organs are finding broad understanding and approval among communists, and are introducing substantive changes in the democratization of intraparty life. All of this is caused by the growth in activity of a number of rank-and-file party members; it gives the party organizations themselves a chance to determine to whom they entrust the fate of the society and the party during this breakthrough period.

It is proposed that the procedure also be discussed for the preelections of the members of the Central Committee and the Review Committee, during the period between congresses, to determine the mechanism of their recall, if a need for this should arise. We are reckoning on a constructive exchange of opinions on these important issues.

Within the framework of the preparations for the 17th Congress, the draft Kazakh CP Central Committee Platform introduces proposals for the further improvement of the organization of the work of the Central Committee. The election of a new organ of the Kazakh CP Central Committee and Politburo is proposed.

Thus is formulated an idea which stems from the renewed status of the republic Communist Party, the expansion of its independence and the increase of its responsibility for resolving issues of internal and external policy under the conditions of the transition of Kazakhstan and its regions to the principles of self-management and self-financing. The implementation of the economic and political reforms assumes a change in the style and methods of the work of the party organs. This is why we view the election of the Politburo both as a significant step in the direction of an actual delimitation of the functions of party and state organs, and as a factor in the actual transition to political methods of leadership.

Finally, it is necessary to have today elective organs such as would bring the fullness of responsibility both for working out political decisions, and for their practical realization. Based upon this, the Politburo will implement leadership of the work of the party committees for the resolution of long-range, long-term programs of the republic's sociopolitical development, as well as of organizational, personnel, and other issues during the period between plenums of the Kazakh CP Central Committee. It is proposed that the numerical composition of the Politburo be confirmed at the congress.

I think that it would be correct if today at the plenum we discussed and adopted the appropriate resolution on the procedure for the election of the first secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee.

A positive response and an approval among communists was elicited by the proposal on direct elections of party committee secretaries at meetings, conferences, and the congress. The past election report meetings and party conferences confirmed the democratic nature of such elections. We must also be consistent in our decision to support the idea of direct elections of party committee secretaries from the primary organization to the Central Committee.

I assume that such an approach will be adopted simply. Therefore, a proposal to elect the first secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee by direct and secret ballot was unanimously introduced by all the congress delegates. Apparently, the Central Committee grants the right of releasing and electing him between congresses to the Central Committee plenum. We must weigh things out here and decide sensibly.

Now, regarding the procedure for the election of the Central Committee secretaries and Politburo members. There will probably be no objections if we decide to elect them by secret ballot at the organizational plenum.

And one other issue. Today, it is necessary to refine the agenda for the 17th Kazakh CP Congress. As you know, it was formulated back in November of last year, and confirmed by the resolution of the 17th Kazakh CP Central Committee Plenum. I remind you of it.

1. The Report of the Kazakh CP Central Committee on the leadership of perestroyka and the tasks of the republic party organizations.
2. The Report of the Kazakh CP Review Commission.
3. On the proposals for the amendment of the CPSU Charter.
4. The elections of leading organs of the Kazakh Communist Party.

After this, the most important pre-congress documents were adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the Kazakh CP Central Committee; these are broadly discussed in all party organizations. Of course, this will be under discussion at the 17th Congress of the republic Communist Party. That is why certain agenda items require clarification. The redaction of the third agenda item may be such: "On the Draft Platform of the CPSU Central Committee," that of the fourth, "On the Draft of the CPSU Charter." As the fifth issue, a discussion of the program of action of the republic's communists is proposed, stemming from the draft Platform of the Kazakh CP Central Committee.

In view of the fact that the members of the Central Committee and the Review Commission of the Kazakh CP will be elected at oblast party conferences, the

Congress must confirm their authority in the event of the need to hold pre-elections. It is proposed that the sixth and seventh items of the new agenda be expounded in the following redaction:

6. The elections of the leading organs of the Kazakh CP Central Committee.

7. On the compositions of the Central Committee and the Review Commission of the Kazakh CP.

It is proposed that the eighth item consider the candidacies to the body of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Control-Review Commission.

If there are no objections, then the agenda for the 17th Kazakh CP Congress may be formulated as follows:

1. The Report of the Kazakh CP Central Committee on the leadership of perestroika and the tasks of the republic party organizations.

2. The Report of the Kazakh CP Review Commission.

3. On the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform.

4. On the draft CPSU Charter.

5. On the Platform of the Kazakh CP Central Committee.

6. The elections of the leading organs of the Kazakh CP Central Committee.

7. On the compositions of the Central Committee and the Review Commission of the Kazakh CP.

8. On the candidacies to the bodies of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Control-Review Commission.

It seems that it will be correct if we agree today not to make separate reports on the third, fourth, and fifth agenda items, but to treat them in the basic address of the Central Committee report.

Such are the fundamental tasks associated with the organizational aspect of the preparation for the congress.

Kirghiz CP CC Proposes Draft Action Program

90US0949A *Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 15 Apr 90 p 1*

[Report of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee: "Action Program of the Kirghiz CP: Draft Approved by the Central Committee Plenum of the Kirghiz CP on 9 April 1990"]

[Text] The CPSU has proclaimed its intention to revitalize socialism through radical economic and political reform, the development of democracy and glasnost, and the assertion of the people's sovereignty.

The Kirghiz CP supports the basic provisions of the CPSU Central Committee's draft platform for the 28th

Party Congress and the CPSU Regulations within the context of the economic, social, national-historic, cultural, and other specific conditions and characteristics of the Kirghiz SSR. These documents have received the support of the Kirghiz people and the representatives of other nationalities and ethnicities residing in the republic. At the same time the Kirghiz CP is gravely concerned by the crises in the economy, the worsening of discipline and order, the rise in crime, and the exacerbation of interethnic relations in many regions of the country.

The complex economic and domestic political situation in the USSR reflects negatively on the authority of the entire Party and its component parts—the Communist parties of the union republics. Their restoration has not responded adequately to contemporary conditions.

The resolution of socioeconomic and political problems depends on each and every one of us. Without our conscientious work and will, no progressive transformations are possible. Only our joint conscious actions—involving Communists, other public organizations, all workers—can ensure forward movement.

Therefore, the Central Committee of the Kirghiz CP feels it is essential to propose the following action program for the upcoming five-year plan.

I. Man and His Interests Above All

The Kirghiz CP places man, his material and spiritual interests, and his everyday material and spiritual needs, at the center of its work.

With this goal, the Kirghiz CP, in close contact with the soviets and other public-political organs, shall concentrate its efforts on the following tasks:

- fulfilling the Food Program, improving the supply of food to the population;
- resolving the housing program, which envisages guaranteeing each family its own apartment or house by the year 2000;
- improving the ecological situation in the cities and industrial centers, making rational use of natural resources, safeguarding the unique riches of Ussy-Kul and other wilderness zones, mountain pastures, and meadows;
- raising the prestige and quality of education, developing a material-technical base for secondary, professional, and higher institutions of education;
- extending the republic's rights in issues of administering higher and secondary special education;
- fundamentally improving the state of health care to the population, protecting motherhood and childhood, and taking measures to lower infant mortality;

- creating social security for low-income population groups population—invalids, war and labor veterans—and implementing major measures to improve working conditions and daily life for women and the material status of mothers of many children;
- activating our work with young people, both students and workers, thoroughly studying their material and spiritual needs and interests, and reacting flexibly to their problems as they come up.

Citizens' rights and freedoms are inseparable from their civic duties. As the masses have become politicized and people have become more politically conscious, the attitude toward labor and observance of state and labor discipline has worsened significantly. The various formations that have arisen on the wave of perestroyka processes have frequently called upon people not to building and finding practical solutions to their problems but to strikes, meetings, and coercion against the organs of power.

Given these conditions, the Kirghiz CP feels it is essential to work toward the organic union of the interests of society, the collective, and each laborer, to cultivate an honest attitude toward labor, the growth of professionalism, the development of independence and initiative, and the revelation of the individual's creative potential.

The Kirghiz CP, sharing people's alarm over the rise in legal offences, is focusing the activities of the state organs and public organizations on realizing a multifaceted fight against crime, improving preventive work, and raising the population's legal literacy.

Party committees and organizations will be working actively to affirm in our life respect for legality, law and order, and common human values, to eliminate abuse of official position, to keep the population systematically informed on a wide range of problems of concern to them, and especially on the production and distribution of material goods, housing construction, the ecology, and the fight against speculation and crime.

II. The Basic Goals of Socioeconomic Policy

The Kirghiz CP considers the further improvement of the economic situation to be one of its highest priorities. Democratic forms of activity based on the principles of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing at all stages must replace the command-management system.

The Kirghiz CP has come out for giving enterprises, associations, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses real independence, for eliminating all administrative tutelage, whatever its provenance: the national department, the republic, or the local authorities. The ministries and departments are called upon to become equals partners with the enterprises. The fundamental criterion of their activity shall be economic effectiveness, the quickest

possible saturation of the market with diverse and necessary goods, and receptiveness to achievements of scientific-technical progress. For these purposes the republic party organization supports all progressive forms of management: lease, cooperation, concerns, associations, and others.

Through initiative, enterprise, and collective and individual stimuli to labor we shall be able to create a different type of relationship among people in productive activity, to shift from the mechanical fulfillment of plans and programs to independent, creative work, to solve these problems by primarily political methods, by means of convincing, to reinforce them by appropriate legislative and other normative-governmental acts. The Kirghiz CP retains the right to call upon Communists responsible for concrete portions of economic construction within the framework of prescribed requirements.

In its relations with the national organs and the union republics, the efforts of the Kirghiz party organization will be directed toward preserving the unitary economic complex of the country on the basis of mutually beneficial agreements ensuring the equality and interests of all participants. We are in favor of rational territorial specialization and cooperation, of each republic finding its own place in the nation's overall division of labor. At the same time we stand decisively against regional insularity and "naturalization" of the economy. Such a path would lead inevitably to economic and eventually political isolation.

The Kirghiz CP and the Congress of People's Deputies shall attempt to achieve:

- a cardinal perestroyka of the pricing system, especially for agricultural production and raw resources. The existing pricing policy distorts the republic's actual contribution to the country's development and creates a false impression of its dependence.
- a fundamental change in the republic's financial situation and the liquidation of unprofitability in enterprises and farms;
- a maximum processing of raw resources at the place of production, an overcoming of agrarian-raw material monoculture, an increase in the proportion of branches producing end products, which will allow us to bring about a structural perestroyka of the economy;
- the completion of productive force distribution policy, the creation of a network of branches and workshops and of small enterprises in labor-rich regions with the goal of providing full employment for the unemployed segment of the population in socially useful activity;
- the development of foreign economic ties and the creation of joint enterprises with foreign firms.

The Kirghiz CP shall strive to bring socioeconomic policy to rest broadly on the results of scientific research. It is concentrating its efforts on:

- developing and deepening democratic principles of science administration and guaranteeing self-administration and independence for the republic's scientific collectives;
- focusing scientific works on and applying achievements in science and technology to the economy and public practice;
- ensuring the competitiveness of scientific ideas and opinions and elevating the role of the Academy of Sciences as a coordinator of academic, VUZ, and branch science.

III. For the People's Democratization and Self-Government

The Kirghiz CP supports the strengthening and development of citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms, the creation of a socialist rule-of-law state guaranteeing the ascendancy of the law in all spheres of public life, the functioning of the political system on the basis of legality, and the equality of each man before the law.

The Kirghiz CP is in favor of the further division of legislative, executive, and judicial powers.

An objective necessity is the institution in the republic of the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR with the rendering to him of the corresponding powers of presidential authority. In the transitional period, while the Party is handing over its ruling functions to the soviets, in order to increase their role and authority, it will be logical to combine the posts of chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR and first secretary of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee. This will prevent duplication in the work of soviet and party organs, will create real conditions for the consolidation of all state organs and public forces supporting perestroika, and will make it possible to establish appropriate relations between the republic and the Union.

Given that the fullness of authority is concentrated in the soviets, the division of functions between the Party and the state shall be the basis for strengthening political authority, and the republic's party organization shall carry out its political line through the Communists in the Congress of People's Deputies.

The Communists of Kirghizia feel that the role of the Party, its authority as a governing political organization, does not require legislative reinforcement but must be affirmed through real deeds.

The Kirghiz CP sees the necessity of reworking the new Constitution of the Kirghiz SSR to reflect fully the principles of the Soviet federation and of creating a revitalized system of civil, land, criminal, labor, housing, and family legislation. Justice in the republic must be carried out only by an independent court acting to guarantee the security of legality in the state.

Party committees and primary party organizations shall direct their efforts toward uncompromising struggle

against crime, drug and alcohol abuse, and the lack of economy and abuses in the sphere of economics, trade, household services, and the cooperative movement. For these purposes they shall utilize opportunities for public formations and expand new forms of participation for workers in safeguarding the public order. This shall require the involvement of the organs of internal affairs, the State Arbitration Committee [Gosarbitrazh], the courts, and the prosecutors' offices.

The process of forming a rule-of-law state is closely linked with raising political culture and the necessity of developing universal legal education for the population.

The Kirghiz CP supports the clause in the CPSU Central Committee's platform for the 28th Party Congress with respect to ensuring the country's defense at the level of a reasonable sufficiency, taking into account at the same time the need for military reform. The republic's Communists are going to work toward raising the prestige of military service and toward expressing their concern for improving the living conditions of servicemen and their families.

The Kirghiz CP sees its task as being to draw increasingly broad masses of the working population into exercising their democratic rights and freedoms, to extend the scope of this process, and to develop in each worker a taste for political activity, for practical participation in resolving the problems of public-political life.

IV. Activity in the Sphere of Interethnic Relations

In the sphere of interethnic relations, the Kirghiz CP supports the CPSU platform "The Party's Nationality Policy in Contemporary Conditions," comes out against nationalism and chauvinism, and rejects outdated theoretical postulates on forced rapprochement between people and the thesis about the so-called full and final resolution of the nationalities issue.

In its practical activity the Kirghiz CP shall:

- deal on a daily basis with questions of interethnic relations, resolving them democratically, openly, in the interests of all nationalities and ethnicities residing in the republic, resolutely cutting off any attempts to sow ethnic strife between people;
- work to attain the republic's real sovereignty within the framework of the Soviet federation, the independent resolution of all issues of governmental and public life other than the right, voluntarily transferred to the competence of the Union, to choose economic forms of management, and the transfer to the republic's possession of the land and the mineral, forest, water, and other resources located on its territory;
- conduct its personnel policy on internationalist principles, increase the responsibility of leader-Communists for the state of interethnic relations in the collectives and for creating an environment for

amicable, united work, and strive for the extended participation of all nationalities residing in the republic;

—work to achieve fundamental improvement in the training of ethnic personnel from the working class and the technical intelligentsia, supporting them in production, in the internationalization of labor collectives, in the resolution of the population's employment problems, and in the development of productive forces in the light of the demographic situation;

—organize and work consistently to implement the Kirghiz SSR state language law, to ensure guarantees of freedom of choice of language study and education in preschools and educational institutions, to satisfy the national-cultural needs of students of all nationalities, and to inculcate national-Russian and Russian-national bilingualism in all spheres;

—take measures to improve research into and study of the history of Kirghizia, to fill in its "blank spots," to work out the ethnogenesis of the Kirghiz people, their national liberation and revolutionary struggle, their national-government structure, and their relationships with the fraternal peoples of the USSR. It shall direct public science toward a thoroughgoing elaboration of the theoretical issues of the CPSU's nationalities policy.

It shall facilitate:

—the rebirth, preservation, and development of the national cultural traditions of the Kirghiz and other peoples residing in the republic, their customs, rituals, folkloric and applied art, and their national sports;

—a protective attitude toward the people's cultural legacy, the restoration and preservation of historical-archeological and cultural landmarks, their utilization in aesthetic, moral, spiritual, patriotic, and international education, the development of the activity of national cultural centers and associations, ensuring the full and logical realization of the constitutional principle of equality before the law for all citizens regardless of nationality;

—the creation of the atmosphere and conditions for creative freedom in literature and art, supporting the creative intelligentsia in its affirmation of truth, artistry, and professionalism and in the formation of a spiritually and intellectually developed individual;

—the broad utilization in educational work of the experience of Party, war, and labor veterans, the strengthening of continuity between generations, the enrichment of patriotic traditions, the development of mentor ties with military units;

—the activities of and close collaboration with public resources—children's, cultural, charity, and other—in people's moral and spiritual education.

—the strengthening and deepening of fraternal ties and neighborliness with the republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and other regions of the USSR.

V. Toward Revitalizing the Kirghiz CP

The Kirghiz CP, being an inalienable component part of the CPSU, shall act within the framework of the constitution and laws of the USSR and the Kirghiz SSR and in its activities be governed by the CPSU program and the interests of the people residing in the republic and shall direct the efforts of party organizations toward resolving the problems of the socioeconomic development of the labor collectives, the regions, and the various territories.

It shall independently resolve organizational, personnel, and financial issues, conduct publishing activities, participate directly in the resolution of matters of principle in the life of the whole party, recommending its own representatives to the ruling organs of the CPSU.

The Kirghiz CP, through Communists, the elective organs, and their apparatus, shall elaborate and implement political, social, and economic programs and personnel policy and wage a political campaign to win a majority in elections to the soviets, public organizations, and socialist-oriented movements. It shall firmly reject all political cliches, dogmatism, and formalism and oppose any attempts to denigrate the Great October Socialist Revolution, any wholesale disparagement of the historic path of the Soviet people, any forgetting of its revolutionary, military, or labor traditions.

The Kirghiz CP shall defend the ideological positions of Marxism-Leninism, shall propagandize and agitate for Communist ideas, shall bring new members into the CPSU, shall organize intraparty activities, shall endeavor to strengthen the Party ranks, and shall control the observance of regulations, programs, and discipline.

It shall strive to revitalize the Leninist understanding of the principles of democratic centralism. In doing so, the execution of Party resolutions must remain Communists' primary duty.

Party committees and organizations, rid of outdated forms and methods, shall carry out independent work in forming electoral organs, their apparatus, and making their structure and management functions over into political, prognostic, organizational, and ideological ones.

The Central Committee of the Kirghiz CP, its collective governing organ during the period between congresses, shall conduct its current work through its commissions and the resolution of operational questions through the Central Committee's political organization [buro], bringing scholars, representatives of the creative intelligentsia, specialists, authoritative workers and kolkhoz farmers in on their deliberations.

A soviet of primary party organization secretaries shall participate in the work of the Central Committee of the Kirghiz CP; it shall have the right to introduce for

discussion its proposals and reports on the most important problems of intraparty life.

In order to affirm the authority of the Party masses, the role and authority of the electoral organs shall be elevated. The intention is to elect at them delegates to congresses and conferences in secret, multi-candidate voting, to ensure collectiveness of leadership, conditions for the free and collegial discussion and passage of decisions, and consideration for diverse opinions.

The Party apparatus shall be subordinated to the electoral organ and staffed by competent, professionally trained, and politically mature workers recommended by the primary party organizations.

The primary party organizations, in making a fundamental examination of Communists' attitude toward carrying out the regulations and program of the CPSU, shall disassociate itself from any that are morally impure or compromising to the Party. Perestroyka needs only sincere supporters of the socialist option, only conscientious, honest workers devoted to our state.

The interaction of Party, trade union, Komsomol, and other public organizations shall be given a more democratic character, stress shall be made on collaboration, methods of persuasion, and Party discipline. The party organizations' oversight privilege shall be looked upon as augmenting the responsibility of Communists and those working in administrative and management positions to carry out the Party line in the collectives.

Approaches to resolving personnel problems shall be subject to constant improvement and democratization. Personnel policy shall be carried out strictly on the basis of Leninist principles.

The Kirghiz CP rejects administrative-bureaucratic methods of work, armchair management, and excessive paperwork and shall orient itself chiefly toward active work in the party organizations and labor collectives. Its supervisory organs shall act collegially and openly and shall inform Communists and non-Party members through the mass media about its decisions, which shall take into account the minority opinion. The democratization of intraparty work, even with documents, shall be stimulated by the elimination of outdated norms and postulates and excessive secrecy.

The practice of direct interference in the activities of these or other organs shall cease, and attempts by individual leaders to shift command-management functions to party committees shall be swept aside.

In its work with the mass media, the Kirghiz CP shall ensure the further development of glasnost, pluralism of opinion, freedom of speech, extension of the rights and independence of editorial collectives, strengthening of social principles in their activities, and elimination of imperious administration, dictates, petty oversight, and unfounded interference.

At the same time the Kirghiz CP shall work to achieve responsibility, objectivity, high principle in journalist-Communists and their consistent implementation of the party organizations' line.

The editors of Party publications shall be confirmed at plenums of the corresponding party committees; the editors of the newspapers SOVETIK KYRGYZSTAN and SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Kirghiz CP.

The Kirghiz CP shall take every possible measure to develop criticism and self-criticism, to support and develop glasnost in order that all channels of communication with the masses function, and to study public opinion, critical workers' comments, statements and letters carefully. Under the new conditions the resolution of many problems will be transferred to governmental and other structures, which will have to take on what up until now has been dealt with by the party organs.

The party committees and organizations shall henceforth react to citizens' appeals, facilitate their resolution, but only through those institutions that in accordance with the law are obligated to deal directly with the questions people have raised. They shall try to improve relations between party organs, on the one hand, and governmental and public organizations on the other and encourage sensitive, attentive treatment of the needs of the individual.

They shall hold a frank and direct dialogue with people, take into fuller account the social, professional, national, and other characteristics and interests of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, shall ensure free discussion and the comparison of various viewpoints and opinions, and shall enter into practical contact and collaboration with various public organizations.

The Party's unitary control organs, including the control-review commission of the Kirghiz CP, shall take up the tasks of democratizing party life, improving control-review work, ensuring reliable guarantees against bureaucratism, subjectivism, arbitrariness, and the influence of personal and coincidental circumstances.

The Kirghiz CP shall dispose independently of its own financial means, shall seek out ways to increase its revenues, and shall determine its expenditures on the basis of open oversight from the primary organization on up to the Central Committee of the republic's Communist party.

* * *

In offering its draft action program for broad discussion, the Kirghiz CP's Central Committee is counting on Communists and non-Party members to make suggestions and comments and through joint efforts a document shall be worked out that responds to modern requirements.

Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers Formed

90US0949B Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in
Russian 15 Apr 90 p 1

[Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR: "On the Formation of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR resolves:
To form a Council of Ministers of the Kirghiz SSR made up of the following people:

Dzhumagulov, Apas—chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers

Aseyinov, Mukun Asyyinovich—first deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers

Sydykov, Usen Sydykovich—first deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers—chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Agriculture and Food

Tumenbayeva, Zhanyl Tumenbayevna—deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers—Kirghiz SSR minister of foreign affairs

Jordan, Andrey Andreyevich—deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers

Fisher, Yan Efimovich—deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers

Begaliyev, Sopubek Begaliyevich—deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers—chairman of Kirghiz SSR Gosplan

Dadabayev, Khasanzhan Dadabayevich—deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers—chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Material-Technical Provision

Goncharov, Viktor Vasilyevich—Kirghiz SSR minister of internal affairs

Bazarkulov, Mukash—Kirghiz SSR minister of education

Ismayilov, Bekmurza Ismayilovich—Kirghiz SSR minister of health

Toktosartov, Akun—Kirghiz SSR minister of culture

Rutskiy, Sergey Borisovich—Kirghiz SSR minister of light industry

Sulaymanov, Tashtanbek—Kirghiz SSR minister of land and water management

Nosinov, Mars Umrallyevich—Kirghiz SSR minister of the building materials industry

Tyurebayev, Vil Nadzhimetdinovich—Kirghiz SSR minister of communications

Zheleznov, Aleksandr Nikitovich—Kirghiz SSR minister of trade

Kunakunov, Kerimzhan—Kirghiz SSR minister of finance

Tabaldiyev, Busurmankul Berkutovich—Kirghiz SSR minister of justice

Aldasheva, Shakira Baygazyevna—Kirghiz SSR minister of consumer services

Vasilchenko, Nikolay Nikolayevich—Kirghiz SSR minister of housing-communal management

Abdrayev, Karyke Abdrayevich—Kirghiz SSR minister of local industry

Stelmakh, Petr Grigoryevich—first deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Agriculture and Food—Kirghiz SSR minister

Ablesov, Sydykbek—chairman of Kirghiz SSR Gosstroy—Kirghiz SSR minister

Panasenko, Aleksandr Alekseyevich—first deputy chairman of Gosstroy—Kirghiz SSR minister

Ubyshev, Dzhumakadyr—chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Transportation and Highways

Dolmatov, Vladimir Konstantinovich—chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Security

Orozova, Umtul Sheysheyevna—chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Television and Radio

Muratalin, Iskender Sadykovich—chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Environmental Protection

Ryspayev, Barpy Ryspayevich—chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for the Publishing, Printing, and Book Trades

Asankulov, Dzhumabek—chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Security Committee

Voszhayev, Yuriy Ivanovich—chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Petroleum Production

Karmanov, Ivan Vasilyevich—chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee on Occupational Oversight and Safety in Industry and Mining

Kutmanaliyev, Eshim—chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Physical Fitness, Sports, and Tourism

Akkazyiyev, Bulat Akunovich—chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Statistics Committee

Akunov, Beyshebek—administrator of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers

Signed

Chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet A. Masaliyev

Frunze

13 April 1990

Kirghiz Supreme Soviet Credentials Committee Reports on Elections

90US0931A Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 11 Apr 90 p 1

[Report of Chairman of the Credentials Committee, Deputy K.A. Turganov]

[Text] Comrade deputies! The just-held elections of the Kirghiz People's Deputies, 12th Sitting, have been an important event in the sociopolitical life of the republic. For the first time in many years, we have held truly democratic elections. Hundreds of thousands of voters took a most concerned part in putting up candidates and in the election debates. The elections were an organic part of the perestroika process.

The Credentials Committee of the Kirghiz Supreme Soviet elected with a membership of 15 persons, in being guided by Article 100 of the Kirghiz Constitution, has verified the credentials of the Kirghiz people's deputies elected on 25 February, 4 March and 7 April 1990 and submits the results of this work for your review.

In accord with the Kirghiz Constitution and the Kirghiz Law "On Elections of Kirghiz People's Deputies," the elections of the Kirghiz people's deputies were held in 350 electoral districts.

As is known, the new law has broadened the opportunities of the labor collectives and social organizations to put up deputy candidates. This right was extended for the first time to the voter meetings at place of residence. Conferences of district voter representatives were held for discussing the proposed candidates, their election programs and for taking decisions to put up candidates for registration in 17 electoral districts. The preelection measures, as a rule, were carried out in a situation of openness and glasnost. On election day in the election precincts and at the meetings of the electoral commissions in counting the votes and establishing the election results, present were the agents of the candidate deputies, the representatives of the labor collectives, social organizations and workers of the mass information media. For a total of 350 mandates, 1,040 persons were put up as candidate people's deputies. Here 84 candidate deputies were proposed by a voter meeting at the place of residence. Some 878 persons were registered as candidate Kirghiz people's deputies.

The Credentials Committee of the Kirghiz Supreme Soviet, having verified the protocols submitted to it by the electoral commissions concerning the registering of the candidate deputies and their statement on the agreement of the running in the respective districts, considered the registration of all candidates to be valid. The Republic Electoral Commission from the results of the elections and on the basis of the protocols submitted by the electoral commissions, registered 342 elected deputies.

In the elections of the Kirghiz people's deputies held on 25 February 1990, some 2,106,040 persons participated,

or 91.9 percent of the number included on the voter rolls. For the first time in our electoral practices within a single electoral campaign, there were revotes and run-off elections in, respectively, 84 and 16 districts.

In summing up the results of the elections, it is essential to point out that the Republic Electoral Commission, the district, precinct electoral commissions as a whole, ensured the conduct of the elections in accord with the demands of the Kirghiz Constitution and Kirghiz Law on Elections. At the same time, the Credentials Committee considers it essential to report to the Kirghiz Supreme Soviet that the Republic Electoral Commission during the period of its activities received 284 letters and telegrams and 557 citizens visited the offices on the questions of organizing the elections. The citizens voiced their dissatisfaction with the work of the election commissions and the organizing of the proposing of candidates.

The Credentials Committee has reviewed the information received from the Republic Electoral Commission on the results of verifying the statements and complaints received by it on the questions of the validity of the electing of individual deputies. A number of these questioned the results of the electing of the Kirghiz people's deputies. All these appeals were reviewed by the Republic Electoral Commission. Violations of the law which jeopardized the results of the elections were established by the Republic Electoral Commission in the Lebedinovskiy Electoral District No. 60 in Almadinskiy Rayon, where the election was declared invalid. In line with this, repeat elections were held in this district.

Representatives of 14 nationalities were elected Kirghiz people's deputies. Of all the people's deputies, 81.0 percent was elected for the first time to a higher representative body of the republic level, while 706 people's deputies, for 89.5 percent, are members and candidate members of the CPSU. In the membership of the Supreme Soviet, 59 people's deputies, or 17.4 percent, are workers in industry, construction, transport and communications. Some 93 people's deputies, or 27.2 percent, are agricultural workers. Among the Kirghiz people's deputies, 65, or 19.0 percent, are workers and regular kolkhoz members, that is, those who by their labor and concrete deeds carry out the program of renewal in our society.

Some 16 mandates, or 4.8 percent, were given by the voters to the representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia. Among the deputies, 319 persons, or 93.3 percent, are of an age from 30 to 60 years, 12 deputies are under 30, and one of them is 21 years old. Some 5 people's deputies are members of the Komsomol and 27 women were elected people's deputies.

The educational level of the deputies elected to the superior state body is characterized by the following data: 272 of the people's deputies, or 79.5 percent, have a higher and incomplete higher education, 28 deputies have an academic degree or scientific title, including 5 who are academicians and corresponding members of the USSR and Kirghiz Academies of Sciences, while 69 deputies, or 20.2 percent, have a general secondary and specialized secondary education.

Among the people's deputies, 30 or 8.8 percent are leaders of industrial associations and enterprises, 46, or 13.5 percent, are leaders of kolkhozes, sovkhoses and agroindustrial associations. Among the deputies are 22 workers of science, higher education and general education, 11 from public health, 4 from culture and art, and 4 from the mass information media. Among the people's deputies there are 107 party and soviet workers. Some 9 Kirghiz people's deputies work in the republic law enforcement bodies. The USSR Armed Forces are represented by 8 Kirghiz people's deputies. For the first time, a religious leader was elected a Kirghiz people's deputy.

As can be seen from the given data, the composition of the Kirghiz people's deputies provides an opportunity for effective work in the new higher republic body.

Comrades! The Credentials Committee of the Kirghiz Supreme Soviet expresses confidence that the Kirghiz people's deputies will honorably justify this high title and will always be up to the demands placed on the people's deputies.

The Committee submits for the review of the Kirghiz Supreme Soviet, the following draft decree:

"The Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic, having reviewed the report of the Credentials Committee, in accord with Article 100 of the Kirghiz Constitution, decrees:

"To recognize as duly elected the 342 Kirghiz people's deputies elected on 25 February, 4 March and 7 April 1990."

Information Reports From Kirghiz Supreme Soviet Session

9 April

90US0932A *Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA*
in Russian 10 Apr 90 p 1

[Information Report on the Plenum of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee]

[Text] A plenum of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee was held on 9 April 1990.

Persons invited to the plenum included first secretaries of the party's gorkoms and raykoms who are not Central Committee members, secretaries of a number of primary

party organizations, and administrators of ministries, departments, and other republic organizations.

The plenum considered the following questions:

1. The convocation of the 19th Kirghiz CP Congress; the representation norm and the procedure for electing delegates to the 19th Kirghiz CP Congress and the 28th CPSU Congress.

2. The drafts of the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th party congress, the CPSU Rules, the Program of Actions for the Kirghiz Communist Party, and the Statute Governing the Control and Auditing Commission of the Kirghiz Communist Party.

3. The forwarding to the first session of KiSSR Supreme Soviet of recommendations concerning Article 6 and 7 of the KiSSR Constitution.

4. The first session of KiSSR Supreme Soviet, 12th convocation.

The plenum participants were given the opportunity to acquaint themselves ahead of time with the drafts of the Program of Actions and the Statute Governing the Control and Auditing Commission of the Kirghiz Communist Party. An editorial commission to modify those documents was created at the plenum.

A report from the Central Committee buro on the questions to be discussed was given by A. M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee.

The following persons took part in the discussion: T. S. Daykanbayev, secretary of the primary party organization of the Ilbirs Production Knitwear Association in Frunze; U. K. Chinaliyev, first secretary of the party's Frunze gorkom; N. I. Baylov, party committee chairman, Stankostroitelnyy Zavod im. V. I. Lenina Production Association; I. Zhusubaliyev, first secretary of the party's Kyzyl-Kiy gorkom; Z. Sarbagyshev, party committee secretary, Pobeda Kolkhoz, Tyupskiy Rayon; A. D. Sulaymankulov, first secretary of the party's Leninskiy raykom, Frunze; R. Ya. Shchekoturova, equipment operator, Ak-Suyskiy Sugar Combine, Moskovskiy Rayon; V. M. Semenishchev, machinery operator, Kolkhoz imeni Shopokov, Sokulukskiy Rayon; N. Ismalov, party organization secretary, Chuyzapvodstroy Trust; Zh. Saadanbekov, head of the Ideology Department, Kirghiz CP Central Committee; A. Kydrymayev, first secretary of the party's Talasskiy raykom; N. Kaparov, party committee secretary, Chuyskiy Poultry Factory; B. Ryspayev, chairman of KiSSR Goskomizdat; A. P. Khrestenkov, member of Kirghiz CP Central Committee; E. Ormonov, first secretary of the party's Kirovskiy raykom; B. Osmonov, first secretary of the party's Toktogulskiy raykom; and A. Dzhumagulov, chairman of KiSSR Council of Ministers.

The plenum passed the resolution "Deadlines for Convoking the 19th Kirghiz CP Congress, the Representation Norm, and Procedure for Electing Delegates to the 19th Kirghiz CP Congress and the 28th CPSU Congress."

The plenum also passed the resolution "Drafts of the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress, the CPSU Rules, the Program of Actions for the Kirghiz Communist Party, and the Statute Governing the Control and Auditing Commission of the Kirghiz Communist Party."

That resolution states that the drafts of the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress and the CPSU Rules, which drafts were approved by the February and March 1990 Plenums, are political landmarks under the conditions of the transitional period and a good basis for pre-congress discussion and for conducting a campaign to hear reports and hold elections. It is necessary to use the discussion of them in order to increase the combativeness of each party organization, to consolidate the Communist Party members, and to renew the forms and methods of political work. Recommendations and additions made by Communists and party organizations to the drafts of the pre-congress Platform of the Central Committee and the party Rules will be summarized and submitted to CPSU Central Committee.

A report from the editorial commission for modifying the drafts of the Program of Actions of the Kirghiz Communist Party and the Statute Governing the Control and Auditing Commission was given by its chairman, T. Ishemkulov, editor of the SOVETIK KYRGYZSTAN newspaper. The plenum basically approved the drafts of the Program of Actions of the Kirghiz Communist Party and the Statute Governing the Control and Auditing Commission and instructed the Central Committee buro, with a consideration of the incoming comments and the discussion that occurred, to modify those documents, and then to publish them in the press.

A decision was made to introduce, as a legislative initiative for consideration by the first session of KiSSR Supreme Soviet, 12th convocation, the draft of the KiSSR Law entitled "The Making of Amendments to Articles 6 and 7 of the KiSSR Constitution (Basic Law)"

The plenum nominated the candidacy of A. M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee, for the position of chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.

The final speech at the plenum was given by A. M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee.

Participants in the plenum's work included G. A. Shipilov, section head, Department of Party Construction and Cadre Work, CPSU Central Committee; and B. Ch. Ashirov, V. I. Ivanenko, and V. I. Cheremukhin, responsible workers at CPSU Central Committee.

Thereupon the plenum of the Communist Party Central Committee concluded its work.

10 April

90US0932B Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA
in Russian 11 Apr 90 p 1

[Information Report on the Session of KiSSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text] On 10 April the first session of the KiSSR Supreme Soviet, 12th convocation, began its work.

The session was opened by M. Ibrayev, chairman of the Republic Electoral Commission for Elections of KiSSR People's Deputies.

The Credentials Commission of KiSSR Supreme Soviet was elected at the session. After a 40-minute break in the work of the session, the floor was given to deputy K. A. Turganov, chairman of the Credentials Commission, who reported that the powers of the 342 elected KiSSR people's deputies had been recognized. The Supreme Soviet enacted a resolution dealing with the commission report.

The presiding officer put on the agenda the question of electing a chairman for KiSSR Supreme Soviet. The floor was given to deputy K. A. Aknazarov (Kek-Dzharskiy Electoral Okrug No. 189), who, speaking in the name of the party group of the Supreme Soviet and the conference of representatives of deputies from the regions, recommended the selection of deputy A. M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee, as chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.

Comments on procedural questions were made by deputy K. Akmatov (Temirskiy Electoral Okrug No. 183).

The following deputies took part in the discussion of A. M. Masaliyev's candidacy: S. Abdrakhanov (Barskoon-skiy Electoral Okrug No. 174); V. V. Sivachev (Severnnyy Electoral Okrug No. 239); Z. Kutmanova (Ala-Bukinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 242); A. Yunusov (Blagoveshchenskiy Electoral Okrug No. 314); V. K. Kandakov (Kyrpyuldekskiy Electoral Okrug No. 116); M. T. Baydzhiev (Karakolskiy Electoral Okrug No. 160); V. I. Artemov (Toktogulskiy Electoral Okrug No. 30); Dzh. Akimaliyev (Orokskiy Electoral Okrug No. 127); N. I. Isakov (Dzheti-Oguzskiy Electoral Okrug No. 168); Ch. Baygazakov (At-Bashynskiy Electoral Okrug No. 163); B. Osmonov (Kyzyl-Ozgeryushskiy Electoral Okrug No. 328); K. Bobulov (Kyrkelskiy Electoral Okrug No. 301); and U. K. Chinaliyev (Chon-Arykskiy Electoral Okrug No. 12).

At the session, the candidacies of deputies R. S. Kulmatov and Dzh. Akimaliyev were also recommended for the position of chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet. R. S. Kulmatov withdrew his candidacy, and the candidacy of Dzh. Akimaliyev was rejected during the vote for inclusion on the election ballot.

As a result of a secret vote, an overwhelming majority of votes elected deputy A. M. Masaliyev (Rudnichnyy Electoral Okrug No. 231) as chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.

A. M. Masaliyev gave a speech to those present, thanking them for the high trust placed in him.

Deputy E. Duysheyev (Bark-Aryskiy Electoral Okrug No. 98) spoke in the name of the party group of the Supreme Soviet and the conference of representatives of deputies from the regions, with a recommendation concerning the agenda. The following deputies took part in the discussion of the agenda: K. Mukambetov (Kok-Yangakskiy Electoral Okrug No. 228); O. Ch. Tekebayev (Akmanskiy Electoral Okrug No. 258); B. Amatov (Saydykumskiy Electoral Okrug No. 257); S. R. Tabaldyyev (Sverdlovskiy Electoral District, No. 41); O. Sharshenov (Suusamyrskiy Electoral District, No. 180); Dzh. Ch. Tashibekov (Kara-Suuskiy Electoral District, No. 166); K. Akmatov (Temirovskiy Electoral Okrug No. 183); and others.

The following agenda for the first session of the KiSSR Supreme Soviet, 12th convocation, was approved:

1. Election of the Credentials Commission of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.
2. Election of chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.
3. Election of first deputy chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.
4. Election of deputy chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.
5. Appointment of chairman of KiSSR Council of Ministers.
6. Draft of the Rules of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.
7. Amendments and additions to the KiSSR Constitution (Basic Law) (recommendations by Kirghiz CP Central Committee for Articles 6 and 7 and other articles of the KiSSR Constitution).
8. Formation of permanent commissions of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.
9. Election of permanent commissions of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.
10. Approval of the statute governing the permanent commissions of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.
11. Election of chairman of the KiSSR People's Control Committee.
12. Appointment of the KiSSR Chief State Arbiter.
13. Draft of the KiSSR Law on the Judicial System.
14. Formation of KiSSR Council of Ministers.
15. Election of KiSSR People's Control Committee.

16. Election of KiSSR Supreme Court.

17. Approval of the board of governors of KiSSR State Board of Arbitration.

18. Election of judges for oblast courts and Frunze city court, and people's judges of rayon (city) people's courts of KiSSR.

19. Election of chairman of KiSSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

20. Election of KiSSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

21. Draft of the KiSSR Law governing constitutional oversight in KiSSR.

22. Draft of the KiSSR Law governing the status of people's deputies in KiSSR.

23. Provisional statute guaranteeing the activities of KiSSR people's deputies.

24. Draft of the KiSSR Land Law.

25. Draft of the KiSSR Property Law.

26. Draft of the KiSSR Law on Rent and Rental Relations.

27. Confirmation of Ukases of the Presidium of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.

A. M. Masaliyev, who occupied the place of presiding officer, recommended electing deputy R. S. Kulmatov, first secretary of the party's Osh obkom, as first deputy chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.

The following deputies took part in the discussion of that candidacy: M. T. Baydzhiyev (Karakolskiy Electoral Okrug No. 160); A. Raimzhanov (Bash-Debenskiy Electoral Okrug No. 339); V. D. Linskiy (Aflatunskiy Electoral Okrug No. 267); and V. P. Rogalskiy (Ak-Burinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 207).

By open vote, the session elected deputy R. S. Kulmatov (Otuz-Adyrskiy Electoral Okrug No. 285) as first deputy chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.

R. S. Kulmatov cordially thanked the deputies for the trust shown in him and assured them that he would apply all his efforts to justify that trust.

On recommendation from A. M. Masaliyev, deputy M. I. Logvinov (Novo-Nikolayevskiy Electoral Okrug No. 77), first secretary of the party's Kalininskiy raykom, was elected as deputy chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.

On recommendation from A. M. Masaliyev, the session appointed deputy A. Dzhumagulov (On-Archinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 202) as chairman of KiSSR Council of Ministers.

A report concerning the program for the forthcoming actions of the republic's government was given at the

session by A. Dzhumagulov. Then he answered the deputies' numerous questions.

On 11 April the session of KiSSR Supreme Soviet will continue its work.

11 April

90US0932C Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in
Russian 12 Apr 90 p 1

[Information report from Kirghiz Supreme Soviet]

[Text] On 11 April the first session of KiSSR Supreme Soviet, 12th convocation, continued its work.

At the morning meeting, the following deputies spoke during the discussion on the report given by A. Dzhumagulov, chairman of KiSSR Council of Ministers: K. Zh. Ashiraliyev (Min-Bulakskiy Electoral Okrug No. 203); A. M. Osmonov (Katta-Taldyyskiy Electoral Okrug No. 279); M. K. Kaparov (Myrza-Akenskiy Electoral Okrug No. 336); M. Mamakeyev (Ak-Bulunskiy Electoral Okrug No. 159); T. Chyngyshev (Stroitelnyy Electoral Okrug No. 58); Z. Kh. Khakimov (Bazar-Korgonskiy Electoral Okrug No. 256); K. Kalinazarov (Debelinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 204); B. Moldogaziyev (Bystrovskiy Electoral Okrug No. 93); and R. Omorova (Sovetskiy Electoral Okrug No. 147).

Then, at the recommendation of a number of deputies, the discussion on A. Dzhumagulov's report was temporarily stopped. The discussion will be resumed after the makeup of KiSSR Council of Ministers is formed at the session.

The deputies then began to deal with the next item in the agenda—the consideration of the draft of the KiSSR Supreme Soviet Rules. A report on that question was given by R. S. Kulmatov, first deputy chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.

The following deputies took part in the discussion: A. M. Teshebayev (Kyzyl-Kiyskiy Electoral Okrug No. 230); A. M. Muraliyev (Panfilovskiy Electoral Okrug No. 35); V. P. Seregeyev (Pamirskiy Electoral Okrug No. 215); F. Sh. Kulov (Belinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 28); S. R. Tabaldyyev (Sverdlovskiy Electoral Okrug No. 41); V. M. Grinko (Ak-Suyskiy Electoral Okrug No. 109); K. Karymshakov (Acha-Kaindinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 164); M. Kasymaliyev (Ibraimovskiy Electoral Okrug No. 139); M. Yu. Abdyldayev (Pionerskiy Electoral Okrug No. 142); and USSR People's Deputy A. A. Patrakhin.

The session passed the draft of the Rules as a foundation. With a consideration of the discussion and the deputies' corrections and additions, it will be sent to the Editorial Committee for modification, and then will be submitted to KiSSR Supreme Soviet for approval.

The deputies then began to discuss the question "Amendments and Additions to the KiSSR Constitution

(Basic Law) (recommendations by the Kirghiz CP Central Committee for Articles 6 and 7 and other articles of the KiSSR Constitution)." A report was given by M. I. Logvinov, deputy chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.

The following deputies made their comments at microphones situated in the auditorium: B. Osmonov (Kyzyl-Ozgeriyushskiy Electoral Okrug No. 328); V. M. Zapol'skiy (Molodogvardeyskiy Electoral Okrug No. 4); and A. Erkebayev (Chon-Alayskiy Electoral Okrug No. 250).

It was decided to conduct the discussion on this question on 12 April.

Then the Editorial Commission was formed at the session.

The deputies then began to form the KiSSR Supreme Soviet's permanent commissions. The following deputies made statements containing recommendations and comments on this question: K. K. Berdaliyev (Leninpol'skiy Electoral Okrug No. 100); Yu. A. Razgulyayev (Yrysskiy Electoral Okrug No. 315); Ch. Baygazakov (At-Bashynskiy Electoral Okrug No. 163); I. D. Kadyrbekov (Leninskiy Electoral Okrug No. 6); V. A. Makarov (Petrovskiy Electoral Okrug No. 113); O. Ch. Tekebayev (Akmanskiy Electoral Okrug No. 258); A. N. Nurmatov (Zavodskoy Electoral Okrug No. 234); B. I. Silayev (Olimpiyskiy Electoral Okrug No. 216); I. V. Zubko (Zapadnyy Electoral Okrug No. 211); Dzh. Ch. Tashibekov (Karsa-Suuskiy Electoral Okrug No. 166); A. Dzhumagulov (On-Archinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 202); K. Bobulov (Kyrkelskiy Electoral Okrug No. 301); K. B. Bakirov (Kepyure-Bazarskiy Electoral Okrug No. 134); L. I. Khodyachikh (Vasilyevskiy Electoral Okrug No. 68); P. I. Patalakha (Mayskiy Electoral Okrug No. 65); and others.

The following deputies were confirmed as chairman of permanent commissions of KiSSR Supreme Soviet: planning, budget-finance, prices, and questions of restructuring the administration of the economy—A. Artykov; science and questions of the development of industry, power engineering, technology and technological schemes, transportation, and communication—I. T. Aytmatov; agriculture and food supplies—O. A. Isayev; construction, architecture, and the building-materials industry—A. K. Kozhomkulov; questions of protecting public health, labor, the family, motherhood and childhood, and the affairs of women, veterans, and the disabled—S. M. Imanbayev; consumer goods, trade, everyday-municipal and other services—Yu. T. Shustikov; questions of the ecology and the efficient use of natural resources—K. Mukambetov; questions of the development of culture, language, national and interethnic relations, and the protection of the historical heritage and traditions—T. Kasymbekov; youth affairs—T. Tabyldiyev; public education, sports, and tourism—Zh. Saadanbekov; questions of legislation and legality—Ch. T. Bayekova; and questions pertaining to the work of the

soviets of people's deputies, the development of self-government and self-financing, glasnost and citizens' appeals—O. Sharshenov.

The makeup of the permanent commissions after the discussion of the candidacies will be approved by KiSSR Supreme Soviet.

On recommendation from A. M. Masaliyev, chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet, the session elected deputy V. K. Kandakov as chairman of the KiSSR People's Control Committee.

A. Sharshenaliyev was appointed KiSSR Chief Arbiter.

M. Alymbekov was elected chairman of KiSSR Supreme Court.

The session then began to form the KiSSR Council of Ministers. The floor was given to deputy A. Dzhumagulov, chairman of KiSSR Council of Ministers, in order for him to give a report.

Statements containing recommendations pertaining to the structure of the government and individual candidacies were made by the following deputies: T. Sultanov (Lipenskiy Electoral Okrug No. 169); Ye. G. Semenenko (Dzerzhinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 153); B. A. Orel (Prigorodnyy Electoral Okrug No. 66); S. O. Boygotonov (Poltavskiy Electoral Okrug No. 78); M. M. Aybalayev (Khaydarkanskiy Electoral Okrug No. 336); A. S. Moiseyev (Chapayevskiy Electoral Okrug No. 7); and others.

The session passed a resolution that gave the permanent commissions the responsibility of reviewing the makeup of the KiSSR Council of Ministers and submitting the proposed candidacies to the Supreme Soviet for confirmation.

Then the floor was given to deputy V. K. Kandakov for recommendations dealing with the makeup of the KiSSR People's Control Committee. The permanent commissions were given the responsibility of reviewing the proposed candidacies and submitting them to the Supreme Soviet for confirmation.

M. Alymbekov, chairman of KiSSR Supreme Court, nominated candidates for positions of Supreme Court members. The permanent commissions were given the responsibility of reviewing the candidacies and submitting them to the Supreme Soviet for confirmation.

A. Sharshenaliyev, KiSSR Chief State Arbiter, nominated candidates to make up the board of governors of the KiSSR State Board of Arbitration. The permanent commissions were given the responsibility of reviewing the candidacies and submitting them to the Supreme Soviet for confirmation.

The session considered the question "The Draft of the KiSSR Law on the Judicial System." A report on that question was given by M. Alymbekov, chairman of KiSSR Supreme Court. Then he answered the deputies' questions.

On 12 April the session will continue its work.

12 April

90US0932D *Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 13 Apr 90 p 1*

[Information report from Kirghiz Supreme Soviet]

[Text] On 12 April the first session of KiSSR Supreme Soviet, 12th convocation, continued its work.

The meeting was opened by A.M. Masaliyev, chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.

Deputy R. N. Abdysamatova, chairman of the Editorial Commission, gave a report on the incoming suggestions and comments with regard to the KiSSR Supreme Soviet Rules.

The following deputies took part in the discussion of the rules: K. Tukeshev (Kerege-Tashskiy Electoral Okrug No. 158); A. Moydunov (Kargalykskiy Electoral Okrug No. 324); O. Abdykalykov (Energeticheskii Electoral Okrug No. 227); O. Ch. Tekebayev (Akmanskiy Electoral Okrug No. 258); S. R. Tabaldyyev (Sverdlovskiy Electoral Okrug No. 41); N. M. Kendzhiyev (Vostochnyy Electoral Okrug No. 61); M. T. Baydzhiyev (Karakolskiy Electoral Okrug No. 160); L. N. Kalashnikov (Ananyevskiy Electoral Okrug No. 185); P. I. Patalakha (Mayskiy Electoral Okrug No. 65); G. S. Kuznetsov (Frunzenskiy-Severnnyy Electoral Okrug No. 37); A. Mamyrov (Tash-Kumyrskiy Electoral Okrug No. 240); A. N. Grebenyuk (Stroitelnyy Electoral Okrug No. 52); G. G. Shchelochkov (Predgornyy Electoral Okrug No. 20); and V. A. Opalev (Ivanovskiy Electoral Okrug No. 72).

By open vote the session enacted a resolution putting the KiSSR Supreme Soviet Rules into effect.

Then the deputies began to discuss the question "Amendments and Additions to the KiSSR Constitution (Basic Law) (recommendations by the Kirghiz CP Central Committee for Articles 6 and 7 and other articles of the KiSSR Constitution)," the discussion on which had begun on 11 April, but postponed until the next day.

The following deputies made statements including their comments and suggestions from the session rostrum and from the microphones that were situated in the auditorium: A. Erkebayev (Chon-Alayskiy Electoral Okrug No. 250); E. Abdyraimov (Kyrgyz-Atinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 305); V. M. Zapolskiy (Molodogvardeyskiy Electoral Okrug No. 4); U. Mukambetov (Alayskiy Electoral Okrug No. 246); M. A. Esenaliyev (Tokktogulskiy Electoral Okrug No. 146); A. Khamrakulov (Frunzenskiy Electoral Okrug No. 307); K. T. Ukeshov (Kerege-Tashskiy Electoral Okrug No. 158); and V. A. Makarov (Petrovskiy Electoral Okrug No. 113).

The session enacted the Law on the Making of Amendments and Additions to the KiSSR Constitution (Basic Law).

Then the deputies continued to form the permanent commissions of KiSSR Supreme Soviet, which process had been begun at the previous meeting. Deputy B. B. Ishimov was confirmed as chairman of the KiSSR Supreme Soviet's Permanent Commission on Questions of Law and Order and the Fight Against Crime.

A report on the review of the incoming suggestions concerning the makeup of the permanent commissions was given by M. I. Logvinov, deputy chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.

By open vote the session confirmed the makeup of the permanent commissions, consisting of 241 deputies.

The evening meeting was held separately for three groups of permanent commissions that were formed according to branch principles. The deputies discussions the candidacies to make up the Council of Ministers.

On 13 April the session will continue its work.

13 April

90US0932E *Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 14 Apr 90 p 1*

[Information report from Kirghiz Supreme Soviet]

[Text] On 13 April the first session of KiSSR Supreme Soviet, 12th convocation, continued its work.

The meeting was opened by A. M. Masaliyev, chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet. He gave the floor to A. Dzhumagulov, chairman of KiSSR Council of Ministers, who presented the makeup of the republic's government for confirmation by the session.

The following deputies took part in the discussion of the proposed candidacies: K. O. Shayymbetov (Pristanskiy Electoral Okrug No. 148); K. S. Sakiyev (Priozernyy Electoral Okrug No. 141); A. Erkebayev (Chon-Alayskiy Electoral Okrug No. 250); A. A. Satalinov (Pervomayskiy Electoral Okrug No. 71); N. Bakhramov (Komsomolskiy Electoral Okrug No. 210); M. S. Umetaliyev (Shamaldy-Sayskiy Electoral Okrug No. 241); L. I. Alymkulova (Ala-Archinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 3); Z. Tursunaliyev (Chon-Alyshskiy Electoral Okrug No. 135); D. M. Kuramayeva (Talasskiy Electoral Okrug No. 54); O. Suranov (Kalininskiy Electoral Okrug No. 18); T. Z. Abdiyev (Mantyshskiy Electoral Okrug No. 191); L. I. Khodyachikh (Vasilyevskiy Electoral Okrug No. 68); Z. Akmataliyev (Min-Kushskiy Electoral Okrug No. 179); Sh. Aydarbekov (Dzhooshkiy Electoral Okrug No. 284); K. M. Bakirov (Kepkyure-Bazarskiy Electoral Okrug No. 134); and others.

As a result of the discussion of the candidacies and the subsequent open voting, the following appointments were made: first deputy chairman of KiSSR Council of Ministers—M. Aseyinov; first deputy chairman of Council of Ministers, chairman of KiSSR State Committee for Agriculture and Food Products—U. Sydykov; deputy chairman of Council of Ministers and KiSSR

minister of foreign affairs—Zh. T. Tumenbayeva; deputy chairman of KiSSR Council of Ministers—A. A. Jordan; deputy chairman of KiSSR Council of Ministers—Ya. Ye. Fisher; deputy chairman of Council of Ministers, chairman of KiSSR State Planning Commission—S. Begaliyev; and deputy chairman of Council of Ministers, chairman of KiSSR State Committee for Material-Technical Supply—Kh. D. Dadabayev.

The following were appointed as KiSSR ministers: internal affairs, V. V. Goncharov; public education, M. Bazarkulov; public health, B. I. Ismailov; culture, A. Toktosartov; light industry, S. B. Rutskiy; land reclamation and water management, T. Sulaymanov; building-materials industry, M. U. Nosinov; communication, V. N. Tyurebayev; trade, A. N. Zhelezov; finance, K. K. Kunakunov; justice, B. B. Tabaldiyev; everyday services for the public, Sh. B. Aldasheva; housing and municipal management, N. N. Vasilchenko; and local industry, K. Abdrayev.

Other appointments: first deputy chairman of KiSSR State Committee for Agriculture and Food Products, KiSSR minister—P. G. Stelmakh; chairman of KiSSR State Construction Committee—S. Ablesov; first deputy chairman of KiSSR State Construction Committee, KiSSR minister—A. A. Panasenko; chairman of KiSSR State Committee for Transportation and Motor Roads—Dzh. Ubyshev; chairman of KiSSR State Committee for Labor and Social Security—V. K. Dolmatov; chairman of KiSSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting—U. Sh. Orozova; chairman of KiSSR State Committee for Environmental Protection—I. S. Muratalin; chairman of KiSSR State Committee for Affairs of Publishing Houses, the Printing Industry, and the Book Trade—B. Ryspayev; chairman of KiSSR State Security Committee—Dzh. Asankulov; chairman of KiSSR State Committee for Providing of Petroleum Products—Yu. I. Vozzhayev; chairman of KiSSR State Committee for Overseeing the Safe Working Conditions in Industry and for Mining Oversight—I. V. Karmanov; chairman of KiSSR State Committee for Physical Culture, Sports, and Tourism—Z. Kutmanaliyev; chairman of KiSSR State Committee for Statistics—B. A. Akkaziye; and business manager of KiSSR Council of Ministers—B. A. Akunov.

On instructions from the permanent commissions of KiSSR Supreme Soviet, a statement was read at the session by Zh. Saadanbekov, chairman of the Permanent Commission on Public Education, Indoctrination, Sports, and Tourism. He conveyed to the republic's government a number of recommendations from people's deputies for resolving certain socioeconomic and cultural problems in the republic.

Then the discussion on the report made by A. Dzhumagulov, chairman of KiSSR Council of Ministers, was continued. The following deputies spoke at the session: Z. V. Cherkashchenko (Issyk-Kulskiy Electoral Okrug No. 199); S. Dobulbekov (Dzhany-Dzholskiy Electoral Okrug No. 268); D. M. Sabirov (Oshskiy Electoral Okrug

No. 206); D. M. Nazarmatov (Kulanakskiy Electoral Okrug No. 205); A. A. Satalinov (Pervomayskiy Electoral Okrug No. 31); A. S. Zhamanbayev (Kyzyl-Oktyabrskiy Electoral Okrug No. 331); S. Kamalov (Osmonkulovskiy Electoral Okrug No. 43); O. Ch. Tekebayev (Akmanskiy Electoral Okrug No. 258); N. M. Kendzhiyev (Vostochnyy Electoral Okrug No. 61); V. A. Makarov (Petrovskiy Electoral Okrug No. 113); Sh. Aydarbekov (Dzhooshkiy Electoral Okrug No. 284); and K. Akmatbekov (Kochkorskiy Electoral Okrug No. 187).

Then a report was given by Ch. T. Bayekova, chairman of the KiSSR Supreme Soviet's Permanent Commission on Questions of Legislation and Legality. She discussed the results of the discussion of the makeup of the Supreme Court and the board of governors of KiSSR State Board of Arbitration. The session selected the KiSSR Supreme Court and confirmed the board of governors of KiSSR State Board of Arbitration.

A report on the question "Election of Judges for Oblast Courts, the Frunze City Court, and the People's Judges of Rayon (City) People's Courts in KiSSR" was given by B. B. Tabaldiyev, KiSSR minister of justice. It was decided to transfer the proposed candidacies for discussion in the permanent commissions.

The Supreme Soviet formed an ethics commission, and T. Akmatov was elected its chairman.

At the end of the evening meeting there was an exchange of opinions on the agenda, the rate of work performed at the session, and other questions of interest to the delegates.

On 14 April the session of KiSSR Supreme Soviet will continue its work.

14 April

90US0932F Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 15 Apr 90 p 1

[Information report from Kirghiz Supreme Soviet]

[Text] On 14 April the first session of KiSSR Supreme Soviet continued its work.

Ch. T. Bayekova, chairman of the Permanent Commission on Questions of Legislation and Legality, reported on the results of the commission's review of the makeup of the oblast courts, the Frunze city court, and the rayon (city) people's courts in KiSSR. The deputies unanimously elected the judges of all those courts.

The session then began to deal with the question of electing the chairman of the KiSSR Constitutional Oversight Committee. On recommendation from A. M. Masaliyev, chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet, M. T. Tilekeyev was elected to that position.

Then there was a discussion in which the following deputies took part: F. Sh. Kulov (Belinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 28); Dzh. Sadykov (Kichi-Keminskiy Electoral Okrug No. 91); and S. R. Tabaldiyev (Sverdlovskiy

Electoral Okrug No. 41). Following the discussion, the session passed a legislative bill dealing with constitutional oversight in KiSSR.

The deputies then began to deal with the question "The Draft of the KiSSR Law Governing the Status of People's Deputies in KiSSR." A report was given by deputy O. Sharshenov, chairman of the Permanent Commission for Questions Pertaining to the Work of the Soviets of People's Deputies, the Development of Self-Government and Self-Financing, Glasnost, and Citizens' Appeals. The following deputies made statements that included their comments and suggestions: O. A. Bek-turov (Narynskiy Electoral Okrug No. 145); P. I. Patalakha (Mayskiy Electoral Okrug No. 65); S. R. Rustamov (Sovetskiy Electoral Okrug No. 14); V. I. Dil (Chaldybarskiy Electoral Okrug No. 114); N. M. Kendzhiyev (Vostochnyy Electoral Okrug No. 61); and others. After the discussion, the legislative bill was passed.

Deputy R. S. Kulmatov, first deputy chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet, spoke on the question "Provisional Statute Guaranteeing the Activities of KiSSR People's Deputies."

Recommendations were made by the following persons: deputies G. G. Shchelochkov (Predgornyy Electoral Okrug No. 20); and V. V. Kazachenko (Kaindinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 117); K. K. Kunakunov, KiSSR minister of finance; A. Dzhumagulov, chairman of KiSSR Council of Ministers; deputy L. N. Kalashnikov (Ananyevskiy Electoral Okrug No. 185); and others.

The Supreme Soviet passed a decree dealing with the question that was discussed.

The session reviewed the draft of the KiSSR Land Law. A report on that question was given by U. Sydykov, first deputy chairman of KiSSR Council of Ministers.

The following deputies made their comments and suggestions for the draft from microphones situated in the auditorium: K. Asanov (Kara-Byurgenskiy Electoral Okrug No. 162); A. G. Khomenko (Yangi-Aravanskiy Electoral Okrug No. 252); N. I. Konkov (Leninskiy Electoral Okrug No. 330); and others.

The following deputies took part in the discussion: V. P. Rogalskiy (Ak-Burinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 207); A. Ibraimov (Kyzyl-Dzharskiy Electoral Okrug No. 311); B. Amatov (Saydykumskiy Electoral Okrug No. 257); B. Kaychiyev (Taldy-Suuskiy Electoral Okrug No. 200); E. Abdyraimov (Kyrgyz-Atinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 305); V. T. Zadera (Sary-Kooskiy Electoral Okrug No. 76); A. N. Kharitonov (Krasnooktyabrskiy Electoral Okrug No. 107); Dzh. Akimaliyev (Orokskiy Electoral Okrug No. 127); L. N. Kalashnikov (Ananyevskiy Electoral Okrug No. 185); M. Kasymaliyev (Ibraimovskiy Electoral Okrug No. 139); O. Kadyrbayev (Bosterinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 182); and Ya. Ya. Vakker (Lyuksemburgskiy Electoral Okrug No. 81).

After lively discussion, the deputies passed the Land Law by a majority.

Simultaneously it was decided to create a special commission to modify the legislative bill with a consideration of the suggestions and comments that had been expressed at the session.

The session enacted a decree to put the KiSSR Land Law into effect as of 1 July 1990.

M. Aseyinov, first deputy chairman of KiSSR Council of Ministers, gave a report on the next question on the agenda, "Draft of the KiSSR Property Law."

The following deputies took part in the discussion: A. Moydunov (Karalykskiy Electoral Okrug No. 324); M. T. Ibragimov (Sakhkombinatovski Electoral Okrug No. 50); V. D. Glushich (Botanicheskiy Electoral Okrug No. 19); and others.

The Property Law was passed by an overwhelming majority. A decree to put that Law into effect as of 1 July 1990 was also passed.

A report entitled "Draft of the KiSSR Law Governing Rent and Rental Relations" was given by S. Begaliyev, deputy chairman of KiSSR Council of Ministers.

The following deputies made statements containing their comments at microphones: D. A. Kalchinov (Saliyevskiy Electoral Okrug No. 40); I. D. Kadyrbekov (Leninskiy Electoral Okrug No. 6); L. I. Khodyachikh (Vasilyevskiy Electoral Okrug No. 68); and others.

The following deputies spoke during the discussion: Yu. M. Duklarov (Gagarinskiy Electoral Okrug No. 56); Ch. Baygazakov (At-Bashynskiy Electoral Okrug No. 163); and V. N. Filippov (Koybagarovskiy Electoral Okrug No. 15).

The session passed the KiSSR Law Governing Rent and Rental Relations. It also passed a decree putting that law into effect as of 1 July 1990.

M. I. Logvinov, deputy chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet, gave a report on the last item on the agenda, "Confirmation of Ukases of the Presidium of KiSSR Supreme Soviet."

The session unanimously passed the appropriate decrees.

The results of the session were summed up by A. M. Masaliyev, chairman of KiSSR Supreme Soviet.

Thereupon the first session of KiSSR Supreme Soviet, 12th convocation, completed its work.

25 April Turkmen CP CC Plenum Information Report

90US0925A Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 26 Apr 90 p 1

[Information Report on the Turkmen CP Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] The 18th Plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee was held on 25 April.

The plenum considered the question of the text of the Turkmen CP Central Committee's report to the 24th Turkmen CP Congress. A report was given by Turkmen CP Central Committee First Secretary S. A. Niyazov.

The plenum approved the text of the Turkmen CP Central Committee's report to the 24th Turkmen CP Congress and instructed the Turkmen CP Buro to modify the report with a consideration of the discussion that had occurred and instructed Turkmen CP Central Committee First Secretary S. A. Niyazov to make a report at the congress.

The plenum also considered an organizational question. For his having committed incorrect actions and making a tendentious evaluation of the activities of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, which actions are incompatible with the rank of Central Committee member, the plenum expelled Ye. G. Rybalov from the makeup of the Turkmen CP Central Committee.

Speakers at the plenum were the following: S. M. Nestrenko, second secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee; V. V. Slushnik, editor of the TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA newspaper; B. A. Ishankuliyev, first secretary of the party's Tashauz Gorkom; K. M. Orazov, first secretary of the party's Mary Obkom; N. Nurklychev, chairman of the board of governors of Turkmenpotrebsoyuz; M. Sopyyev, chairman of the Sovet Turkmenistany Agrocompany-Kolkhoz, Ashkhabadskiy Rayon; A. Charyyev, first deputy chairman of TuSSR Council of Ministers; M. Mollayeva, chief of the Main Archives Administration under TuSSR Council of Ministers; V. G. Otchertsov, chief of the Party-Organizational and Cadre Work Department of the Turkmen CP Central Committee; A. Bayramov, chairman of the Ashkhabad City Ispolkom; N. Alovov, chairman of the TuSSR State Committee for Labor and Social Security; B. Tagandurdyyev, first secretary of the party's Chardzhou Obkom; B. Annayev, deputy chairman of TuSSR Council of Ministers; M. Aliyeva, TuSSR minister of public education; G. G. Chizhikova, secretary of the party's Tashauz Obkom; N. Zazarov, chief of the Central Asian Steamship Company; K. Khanzhayev, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov, Takhta-Bazarskiy Rayon; Kh. Akhmedov, chairman of TuSSR Council of Ministers; V. N. Rebrik, secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee; B. Dovletov, chief of the Political Department of the TuSSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]; V. V. Polyakov, first deputy chairman of TuSSR Goskomvodselstroy; S. Motayev,

first secretary of the party's Oktyabrskiy Raykom; Ye. G. Rybalov, first deputy chairman of TuSSR Goskomsotstrud; O. Khodzakov, first secretary of the party's Tashauz Obkom; K. Abdykerimov, deputy chairman of TuSSR Gosteleradio; G. Abayev, representative of the TuSSR Council of Ministers, under USSR Council of Ministers; and P. I. Polyubay, chief of the Turkmen-gasprom Production Association.

Yu. A. Tomak, responsible worker from the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, took part in the work of the plenum.

Turkmen Presidium Discusses Organizational Changes, Law

90US0925B Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 27 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] On 24 April a session of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers was held. The session considered the question of the socioeconomic development of Turkmen SSR during the first quarter of 1990 and discussed the steps to guarantee the fulfillment of the yearly plan.

It was noted that, during the time that has elapsed, definite positive results had been achieved in the process of turning the economy toward the population's needs and requirements. Fulfillment of the planned assignment was achieved in the production of consumer goods; the overall volume of retail commodity turnover; the rendering of paid services to the public; the activation of apartment buildings, children's preschool institutions, and in-patient and clinic institutions; in shipping freight by rail and motor transportation; and in receiving income into the republic's budget.

However, there was no fundamental turning point in the development of the republic economy. The produced national income increased by 4.9 percent, as compared with the 5.4 percent according to the yearly plan.

Despite the high growth rates in commodity turnover, there has been no improvement in providing the public with food products. In the production of edible commodities, the plan was not fulfilled and there was a reduction as compared with the corresponding period last year. A critical situation was created in the consumer market as a result of the shortages of products of animal husbandry, especially meat products, the receipts of which into the trade system, as compared with the corresponding period last year, dropped by 18.7 percent.

The approved plan for selling paid services to the public was not fulfilled, as a result of which services valued at 3.8 million rubles were not provided.

The growth rate for the overall volume of industrial production was 3.5 percent, as compared with the 3.7 percent stipulated for the year. The contractual pledges

for deliveries of output were fulfilled by 99.5 percent; output with a total value of 5.3 million rubles was undershipped to consumers.

The basic branches of the agroindustrial complex have been functioning insufficiently effectively. The production of meat and eggs has dropped. There has been a reduction in the number of head of cattle, hogs, sheep, and goats.

There has not been any noticeable improvement in the republic's financial situation. Negative tendencies in the economy caused a certain worsening of monetary circulation. The emission of money has not been decreasing.

The existing situation in the republic's national economy has been considerably slowing down the rates of the economic reform being carried out and retarding the process of the social reorientation of the economy.

The Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers instructed the republic's economic agencies, ministries, and departments, and the ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies, with a consideration of a change in the economic conditions in the functioning of all links of the national economy and on the basis of the expansion of the scope of application of the new mechanism of management as a result of the adoption of legislative acts of USSR Supreme Soviet, and primarily the Law Governing Ownership in the USSR, the Principles of the Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics Concerning Land and Its Rental, to guarantee the fulfillment of the measures stipulated by the USSR government for improving the economy, advancing the economic reform more rapidly, and for making the maximum use of its advantages; to lessen the tension in the consumer market by saturating it with consumer goods that have a daily and mass demand; to intensify the social directedness in their activities; to take steps to eliminate the shortages in their work that had been committed in the first quarter of 1990; to increase the effectiveness in production activity; and to mobilize the labor collectives for the strictest fulfillment of the 1990 planned assignments.

Kh. Akhmedov, chairman of Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the session.

Yu. K. Mogilevets and V. N. Rebrik, members of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro, took part in the work of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers session.

Turkmen Council of Ministers Discusses Socioeconomic Problems

90US0925C Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 25 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Presidium of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] A regular session of the Presidium of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet was held on 26 April. It was conducted by S. A. Niyazov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet.

The participants listened to an informational report given by S. N. Muradov, first deputy chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet, concerning the agenda for the second session of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet, 12th convocation. The speaker designated for the first question—"Urgent Measures for Developing the Processing Branches of the Turkmen SSR Agroindustrial Complex"—is Kh. Akhmedov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers; and for the second question—the execution by the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers of the Turkmen SSR Law entitled "The Turkmen SSR State Budget for 1989"—E. K. Nazarov, Turkmen SSR minister of finance.

The participants discussed a number of legislative drafts that will be submitted for review by the session.

They also discussed the drafts of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet's Regulation, and the statute concerning the disciplinary responsibility of judges, and the recalling and preterm release of judges and people's assessors from the Turkmen SSR courts.

The session participants revealed the possibility of creating a republic-level interbranch state public union, Turkmengazsoyuz.

The session approved the makeup of the Commission to Combat Drunkenness and Narcotics Addiction, under the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers.

Informational reports on the questions being discussed were given by G. K. Podalinskiy, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet's Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, Law and Order, and Citizens' Rights and Appeals; and A. Nurmamedov, deputy chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet's Committee for the Economy.

The appropriate decrees were adopted with regard to the questions that were considered.

Uzbek Law on Establishing Post of President, Constitutional Changes

*90US0900A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
4 Apr 90 pp 1-2*

[Law of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic on Establishing the Post of President of the Uzbek SSR and Amending the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Uzbek SSR]

[Text] In order to further develop the democratic processes, expand the political reforms, consolidate the constitutional system and the rights, liberties and security of the citizens and to improve interaction among the highest agencies of state power and management of the Uzbek SSR,

The Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic decrees the following:

I. The establishing of the post of president of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic;

The establishment of the post of president of the Uzbek SSR does not alter the legal status and will not curtail the authority of the Karakalpak ASSR as set forth in the constitutions of the Karakalpak ASSR and the Uzbek SSR.

II. That the following amendments be made to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Uzbek SSR:

1. Articles 6, 7 and 49 to read as follows:

Article 6. The Communist Party of Uzbekistan and other political parties, as well as trade union, youth and other public organizations and mass movements take part in the implementation of the Soviet State's policy and the management of state and public affairs through the deputies they elect to the soviets of people's deputies and in other ways.

Article 7. The Communist Party of Uzbekistan and other political parties and public organizations and mass movements perform the functions specified by their programs and charters within the framework of the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR and Soviet laws.

The establishment and functioning of parties, organizations and movements whose goal is the forcible altering of the Soviet constitutional order or the integrity of the socialist state, the undermining of its security or the inciting of social, ethnic or regional discord are forbidden.

Article 49. Citizens of the Uzbek SSR have the right to unite in political parties and public organizations and to participate in mass movements which promote the development of political activity and initiative and the realization of their diverse interests.

Public organizations are guaranteed the conditions necessary successfully to accomplish their statutory tasks.

2. The addition of a new chapter, 12-1, with the following content to the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR:

Chapter 12-1, The President of the Uzbek SSR:

Article 118-1. The president of the Uzbek SSR is the head of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic.

Article 118-2. Citizens of the Uzbek SSR between the ages of 35 and 65 years may be elected president of the Uzbek SSR. The same person may not serve as president of the Uzbek SSR for more than two consecutive terms. The president of the Uzbek SSR is elected for a term of 5 years on the basis of a universal, equal and direct vote. There are no limitations on the number of candidates for the position of president of the Uzbek SSR. A presidential election of the Uzbek SSR is considered valid if at least 50% of the electors took part in it. The candidate

who receives more than half the votes of the electors participating in the election in the Uzbek SSR as a whole is considered elected.

The procedure for electing the president of the Uzbek SSR is defined in the Law of the Uzbek SSR.

The president of the Uzbek SSR may not serve as a people's deputy of the Uzbek SSR or a deputy of a local soviet of people's deputies of the Uzbek SSR.

The person who is president of the Uzbek SSR receives only the salary for that position.

Article 118.3. Upon assuming that position, the president of the Uzbek SSR takes an oath at a session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 118.4. The president of the Uzbek SSR:

- 1) ensures that the rights and liberties of Soviet citizens within the republic and the Constitution and laws of the Uzbek SSR are observed;
 - 2) takes the steps necessary to protect the sovereignty, the security and the territorial integrity of the Uzbek SSR and to implement decisions on matters of the national-state structure under the jurisdiction of the Uzbek SSR;
 - 3) represents the Uzbek SSR within the nation and in international relations;
 - 4) ensures interaction among higher agencies of state power and management of the Uzbek SSR;
 - 5) reports to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet on the state of affairs in the republic; informs the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet on the most important issues of domestic and international life;
 - 6) recommends to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet candidates for the positions of chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the Uzbek SSR People's Control Committee, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court, and Main State Arbitrator of the Uzbek SSR; makes recommendations to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet for relieving individuals from these positions, with the exception of the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court.
- In certain cases, at the demand of a majority of the people's deputies of the Uzbek SSR, the president of the Uzbek SSR may recommend to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet alternative candidates for the position of chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers. In this case the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet appoints a chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers based on secret balloting;
- 7) brings up in the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet the matter of retiring or of accepting retirement from the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers; with the agreement of the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers,

removes and appoints members of the Uzbek SSR government, with subsequent submission to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet for approval;

8) signs laws of the Uzbek SSR; has the right to return a law within a 2-week period to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet for further discussion and voting; if the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet approves his decision with two thirds of the vote, the president of the Uzbek SSR signs it into law;

9) has the right to suspend decrees and regulations of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers;

10) confers honorary titles of the Uzbek SSR and awards the Certificate of Honor of the Uzbek SSR;

11) grants citizenship of the Uzbek SSR and decides on the granting of asylum; grants pardons to citizens convicted by courts of the Uzbek SSR;

12) decides other matters placed under his jurisdiction by legislative acts;

Article 118.5. The president of the Uzbek SSR has a Presidential Council of the Uzbek SSR, whose job it is to work out measures for implementing the main lines of domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet State and for ensuring the security of citizens.

Members of the Presidential Council of the Uzbek SSR are appointed by the president of the Uzbek SSR. The chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers is a member of the Presidential Council of the Uzbek SSR in accordance with his position.

The chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and the chairman of the Karakalpak ASSR Supreme Soviet have the right to participate in sessions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 118.6. Based on and by way of implementing the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR, the president of the Uzbek SSR issues ukases with mandatory force throughout the republic.

Article 118.7. The president of the Uzbek SSR enjoys the right of immunity and may be replaced only by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet if he violates the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR or laws of the Uzbek SSR. Such a decision must be approved by a vote of at least two thirds of the total number of Uzbek SSR people's deputies at the initiative of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and taking into account the conclusion of the Uzbek SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

Article 118.8. The president of the Uzbek SSR may turn over his duties specified in Point 10 under Article 118.4 to the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet or the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, and his duties specified in Point 11 of Article 118.4 to the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 118.9. If for any reason the president of the Uzbek SSR can no longer fulfill his duties, his authority is turned over to the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet until a new president of the Uzbek SSR is elected; if this is impossible, to the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers. The election of a new president of the Uzbek SSR must be held within a 3-month period.

3. In connection with the addition of Chapter 12.1, The President of the Uzbek SSR, to the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR, the following amendments are to be made in the following articles of the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR:

1) Part 1 of Article 72 to read as follows:

"The Uzbek SSR participates in the resolution of matters under the jurisdiction of the USSR at the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, in the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet of the Federation, the Government of the USSR and other agencies of the USSR."

2) Part 1 of Article 101 to read as follows:

"The highest agency of state power is the permanent Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, which performs legislative and monitoring functions as a part of its work."

3) In Article 102:

—change words "first deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet" in Point 7 to read "deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet";

—points 8, 10, 13 and 21 to read:

"8) appoints at the recommendation of the president of the Uzbek SSR the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers; approves at the recommendation of the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers the composition of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers and changes in it; at the recommendation of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, establishes and abolishes ministries of the Uzbek SSR and state committees of the Uzbek SSR;

"10) elects the Constitutional Oversight Committee of the Uzbek SSR at the recommendation of the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet;

"13) legislatively regulates within the authority of the Uzbek SSR the procedure for realizing the constitutional rights, liberties and duties of citizens, ownership relations, the organization of management of the economy and social and cultural development, the finance and budget system, wages and price-setting, environmental protection and the use of natural resources, as well as other public relations;

"21) has the right to repeal decrees and regulations of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers."

4) Parts 1, 2 and 3 of Article 105 to read as follows:

"The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet is convened by the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet for regular sessions at least three times a year.

"Special sessions are convened by the chairman of the Uzbek SSR at his initiative or at the recommendation of the president of the Uzbek SSR, the highest agency of state power of the Karakalpak ASSR or by a vote of at least two thirds of the people's deputies of the Uzbek SSR.

"The first session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet following the elections is opened by the chairman of the Central Election Commission for the Election of People's Deputies of the Uzbek SSR. The procedure for conducting subsequent sessions is defined by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet."

5) Articles 107 and 109 to read as follows:

"**Article 107.** The right to introduce legislation in the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet is exercised by the people's deputies of the Uzbek SSR, the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, permanent and other commissions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, the president of the Uzbek SSR, the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, the Constitutional Oversight Committee of the Uzbek SSR, the Karakalpak ASSR in the person of its highest agency of state power, the People's Control Committee of the Uzbek SSR, the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court, the Uzbek SSR procurator and the Main State Arbitrator of the Uzbek SSR.

"Legislation may also be introduced by public organizations in the person of their republic agencies and by the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences."

"**Article 109.** The Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet headed by the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet is convened for organizing the work of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

"The composition of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet includes by virtue of their positions the deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, the deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR, the deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Karakalpak SSR Supreme Soviet and the chairmen of permanent commissions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

"The Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet makes the preparations for sessions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, coordinates the work of permanent commissions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and organizes national discussion of the more important issues of state life.

"The Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet sees to the promulgation of current laws of the Uzbek SSR and other acts of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and the president of the Uzbek SSR in the Uzbek, Russian and other languages, and in the Karakalpak language for the Karakalpak ASSR."

6) Delete Article 110.

7) Renumber Article 111 as Article 110, to read as follows:

“Article 110. The chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet is elected by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet from among the people’s deputies of the Uzbek SSR by secret balloting for a term of 5 years and for no more than two consecutive terms. He may be removed at any time by secret ballot by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

“The chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet is accountable to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

“The chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet issues decisions to convene sessions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and instructions on other matters.”

8) Delete Article 112.

9) Renumber articles 113 and 114 as 111 and 112 respectively.

10) Renumber Article 115 as 113 to be set forth in two articles and to read as follows:

“Article 113. At sessions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet a people’s deputy of the Uzbek SSR has the right to direct inquiries to the president of the Uzbek SSR, the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, ministers of the Uzbek SSR and the heads of others organs formed or elected by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, as well as to those in charge of Union production associations, enterprises and organizations located within the Uzbek SSR, on matters under the jurisdiction of the Uzbek SSR. The organ or official to whom the inquiry is addressed must provide an oral or written reply within a 3-day period at the given session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

“Article 114. People’s deputies of the Uzbek SSR have the right to be exempted from their service or production duties for the period necessary to perform their duties as deputies in the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, on its commissions and among the population.

“A people’s deputy of the Uzbek SSR may not be held criminally liable, arrested or subjected to other administrative penalties applied by a court without the consent of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet; during interims between sessions, without the consent of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.”

11) Renumber Article 116 as Article 115 to be set forth as two articles and to read as follows:

“Article 115. The Constitutional Oversight Committee of the Uzbek SSR is elected by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet from among specialists in the field of politics and law and consists of a chairman, a deputy chairman and nine committee members, including a representative of the Karakalpak ASSR.

“The term of office for individuals elected to the Constitutional Oversight Committee of the Uzbek SSR is 10 years.

“Individuals elected to the Constitutional Oversight Committee of the Uzbek SSR may not simultaneously serve as members of agencies whose acts are under the committee’s oversight.

“Individuals elected to the Constitutional Oversight Committee of the Uzbek SSR are independent, subordinate only to the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR in the performance of their duties.

“Article 116. The Constitutional Oversight Committee of the Uzbek SSR:

“1) at the instructions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, submits to the latter conclusions on the conformity to the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR of draft laws of the Uzbek SSR and other acts submitted for consideration by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet;

“2) at the recommendation of at least one fifth of the people’s deputies of the Uzbek SSR, the president of the Uzbek SSR and the Karakalpak ASSR Supreme Soviet, submits to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet conclusions on the conformity to the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR of laws of the Uzbek SSR and other acts passed by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet;

“at the instructions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, submits conclusions on the conformity of ukases of the president of the Uzbek SSR to the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR and laws of the Uzbek SSR;

“3) at the instructions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and based on recommendations of the chairman of the president of the Uzbek SSR, the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and the Karakalpak ASSR, submits to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet conclusions on the conformity of the Constitution of the Karakalpak ASSR to the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR, and the conformity of laws of the Karakalpak ASSR to laws of the Uzbek SSR.

“4) at the instructions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and at the recommendation of at least one fifth of the people’s deputies of the Uzbek SSR, the president of the Uzbek SSR, the Supreme Soviet of the Karakalpak ASSR, submits to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet or the president of the Uzbek SSR conclusions on the conformity to the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR and laws of the Uzbek SSR of acts of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, draft acts and decrees and instructions of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers submitted for its consideration, treaty and other commitments of the Uzbek SSR;

“5) at the instructions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and at the recommendation of the president of the Uzbek SSR, the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, permanent commissions of the Uzbek SSR, the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, the Supreme Soviet of the Karakalpak ASSR, the People’s Control Committee

of the Uzbek SSR, the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court, the Uzbek SSR Procuracy, the Main State Arbitrator of the Uzbek SSR, republic organs of public organizations and the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, submits conclusions on the conformity to the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR of legal acts of other state and public organizations, over which it exercises procuratorial oversight under the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR.

"The Constitutional Oversight Committee of the Uzbek SSR has the right also, at its own initiative, to consider the conformity to the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR and laws of the Uzbek SSR of acts of the highest agencies of state power and management of the Uzbek SSR and other organs formed or elected by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

"If it is found that an act or individual provisions thereof do not conform to the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR or laws of the Uzbek SSR, the Constitutional Oversight Committee of the Uzbek SSR submits to the agency which issued the act its conclusion with respect to eliminating the discrepancy. The adoption of such a decision by the committee suspends the act or provisions thereof which do not conform to the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR or a law of the Uzbek SSR, with the exception of laws of the Uzbek SSR passed by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, or to the Constitution of the Karakalpak ASSR. An act or individual provisions thereof which the committee concludes violate the rights or liberties of citizens loses its force the moment such a decision is made.

"The agency which issued the act brings it into conformity with the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR or the law of the Uzbek SSR. If the discrepancy is not rectified, the Constitutional Oversight Committee of the Uzbek SSR makes the appropriate recommendation to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet or the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers for repealing the acts of agencies or officials under their jurisdiction which do not conform to the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR or to a law of the Uzbek SSR.

"A conclusion of the committee may only be rescinded by a vote of two thirds of the total number of people's deputies of the Uzbek SSR.

"The organization and operating procedure of the Constitutional Oversight Committee of the Uzbek SSR are defined by the Law on Constitutional Oversight of the Uzbek SSR."

12) Parts 1 and 2 of Article 117 to read as follows:

"The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet monitors all state agencies accountable to it.

"The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and the president of the Uzbek SSR direct the functioning of the People's Control Committee of the Uzbek SSR."

13) In Part 1 of Article 120 and in Article 123 the words "first deputy" are to be replaced with the words "first deputies."

14) Part 3 of Article 121 is to be replaced with parts 3 and 4, to read as follows:

"The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers is to report to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet at least once a year and regularly to inform the president of the Uzbek SSR on its work.

"The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet may at its own initiative or at the suggestion of the president of the Uzbek SSR express a lack of confidence in the government of the Uzbek SSR, which entails the latter's resignation. A decision on this matter is adopted by a majority vote of at least two thirds of the total number of people's deputies of the Uzbek SSR."

15) Part 1 of Article 122 to read as follows:

"The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers is empowered to resolve all matters of state management under the jurisdiction of the Uzbek SSR, since, under the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR, they are under the authority of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers and the president of the Uzbek SSR."

Points 3 and 4 of Part 2 to read:

"3) takes steps to ensure the rights and liberties of citizens, to protect state interests and preserve property and public order;

"4) within the limits set by the Constitution of the USSR, takes steps to ensure national defense and state security."

Point 5 to read as follows:

"5) implements measures in the areas of relations with foreign states, foreign trade, economic, scientific and technological and cultural cooperation between the Uzbek SSR and foreign nations; takes steps to ensure the fulfillment of international agreements of the Uzbek SSR."

The following words are to be deleted from Point 6:

"in matters of economic, social and cultural development."

16) Article 124 to read as follows:

"**Article 124.** The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, based on and by way of fulfilling laws of the USSR and other decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and the USSR Supreme Soviet, ukases of the president of the USSR, laws of the Uzbek SSR, other decisions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, ukases of the president of the Uzbek SSR, decrees and instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers, issues decrees and instructions and verifies their implementation. Decrees

and instructions issued by the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers are binding throughout the territory of the Uzbek SSR."

17) Part 4 of Article 126 to read as follows:

"Ministries and state committees of the Uzbek SSR bear responsibility for the state and the development of the areas of management assigned to them; within the bounds of their authority, issue acts based on and by way of fulfilling laws of the USSR and other decisions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, ukases of the president of the USSR and the USSR Supreme Soviet, laws of the Uzbek SSR and other decisions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, ukases of the president of the Uzbek SSR, decrees and instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers and the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, acts of the appropriate ministries and state committees of the USSR, organizes and verifies their implementation."

III. 1. That the first president of the Uzbek SSR is elected by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet for a term of 5 years.

Candidates for the post of president of the Uzbek SSR may be nominated by public organizations in the person of their republic agencies, by groups of at least 50 people's deputies of the Uzbek SSR and by the Karakalpak SSR in the person of its highest agency of state power. The candidate receiving a majority of votes from the total number of people's deputies of the Uzbek SSR is considered elected. If none of the candidates receives a majority of the votes, a repeat election is conducted between the two candidates receiving the greatest number of votes.

2. The person elected president of the Uzbek SSR assumes the position upon taking the oath.

Establishment of the following oath for the president of the Uzbek SSR:

"Assuming the post of president of the Uzbek SSR, I solemnly swear to serve the peoples of Uzbekistan, to guarantee the rights and liberties of the citizens, strictly to observe the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR and conscientiously to carry out the great duties with which I am charged."

IV. To place this law into effect the moment it is enacted. M. Ibragimov, Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Tashkent, 24 March 1990

Uzbek Supreme Soviet Decree on Planning Economic, Social Independence

90US0953A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
11 Apr 90 p 1

[Decree of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet on the Program of Activities for the Uzbek SSR Government and Guidelines for Achieving the Economic, Social, and Spiritual Independence of the Republic, issued 31 March 1990]

[Text] The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, having considered the report by the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, Sh. R. Mirsaidov, "On the Program of Activities for the Government of the Uzbek SSR and Guidelines for Achieving the Economic, Social, and Spiritual Independence of the Republic," notes that the transformations previously planned in economic and social sectors have not achieved the results desired.

Under conditions of democratization and glasnost, there is a recognizable backlog of problems that have accumulated over the years—problems of public political affairs, international relations, and of development in the social sector. There is a growing imbalance in the consumer market. The financial system is disrupted. There are growing shortages of public consumption goods and services, together with increasing problems of unemployment. Problems of food supply and housing persist. Ecological conditions are becoming increasingly critical. And there have been no decisive changes in the effort to combat crime.

The underlying causes of this situation are to be found in infractions of the laws of economic development that have occurred with a weakening of state, productive, and labor discipline.

The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, in its reliance on the unshakable principle of socialist federalism, is of the opinion that a radical reorganization of the national economy so as to achieve and further extend economic reform will provide the proper way out of the situation that has been created.

The Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic resolves:

1. To approve the Program of Activities for the Government of the Uzbek SSR and Guidelines for Achieving the Economic, Social, and Spiritual Independence of the Republic.

2. To assign responsibility to the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers for the following activities:

- Further consideration and in-depth study of statements, observations, and proposals made by people's deputies at the first session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet of the 12th convocation, together with planning and carrying out comprehensive measures for developing and strengthening positive changes already under way;
- Consistent implementation of the policy to achieve the economic independence of the Uzbek SSR within the framework of a single federated union, including a broadening of the rights and sovereignty of the republic in all areas of political, economic, and social as well as moral and spiritual life;
- Measures for extending the range and improving the quality of training workers, specialists, and scientific personnel, both within the republic and in leading scientific and industrial centers beyond its borders;

and, for this purpose, working out a state program for the training of highly qualified cadres of nationals;

- Acceleration as soon as possible of financial policy by preparing proposals for the revision and establishment of prices and rates that will permit the republic to make the transition to principles of self-financing, while protecting its interests in the area of price formation;
- Along with a continuing increase in the level of control over the republic national economy and each of its regions, establishment of the basic economic conditions for the rapid development and increasing effectiveness of foreign economic ties, together with the formation of an Uzbek SSR foreign currency fund for the purpose of expediting the solution of problems associated with efforts to upgrade the structure of the national economy and achieve a qualitative renovation of the productive as well as scientific and technical potential of the republic;
- Provision of security for citizens against threats to their lives, health, honor, or personal property by strengthening in every way possible the sanctions of law and order.

3. To regard the practical implementation of the following measures as the most vital tasks of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers:

- Achievement of the basic goals for the socio-economic and spiritual development of the Uzbek SSR, increasing the well-being of the workers, as set forth in the election platform of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan;
- Essential strengthening of social security for the population, especially those segments of it for which inadequate provision has been made, including families with many children, disabled persons, veterans who have served abroad, pensioners, and providing protection for mothers and families with children, students, and persons attending mid-level specialized training institutions, in the form of economic incentives and legal benefits;
- Improvement of the public food supply and the organization of public cafeterias so as to approach an acceptable standard;
- Preservation and further development of the national cultural heritage;

- Development on a priority basis of the agro-industrial complex and rural construction, including designing and drafting for review by a session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet a program to provide the rural population with potable water and natural gas;
- Consolidation and further development of the material and technical base of capital construction and the production of building materials;
- Supply of the consumer market with foodstuffs and other goods, broadening the scale of production and the assortment of consumer goods and paid services available to the public;
- Achievement of more even levels of economic and social development regionally by speeding industrialization, particularly in areas with relatively low industrial potential, so as to create commensurate public-working conditions throughout the republic.
- Further development of the economic orientation of the plan in its relation to the state program now under development to protect the environment, and speeding on a priority basis solutions to the problems of the Aral and Fergana regions, the Zarafshanskiy Valley, the Tashkent urban cluster, and industrial production zones harmful to the environment in Surkhan-Darya Oblast and other areas unfavorable for the environment from an economic standpoint.

4. The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers is assigned the responsibility of keeping the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet informed with respect to the conditions and progress made in carrying out the state program.

The Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR believes that fulfillment of the program of activities by the government for restoring the health of the economy and the guidelines for achieving economic independence entail the determined efforts of the organs of management and government by the people and, above all, vigorous participation by the people's deputies of the Uzbek SSR and all republic workers. The achievement of the measures proposed by the Government of the Uzbek SSR will create the conditions necessary for the dynamic development of the republic and for raising the standard of living of the population.

M. Ibragimov, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR

Tashkent

**Glasnost Editor Grigoryants Views Caucasus
Crisis Issues***90US0880A Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian
31 Mar 90 p 3*

[Interview with Glasnost Editor Sergey Ter-Grigoryants by Samvel Makaryan, special correspondent, and Romen Ter-Gazaryan, adjunct correspondent in Moscow, date not given: "Bolder and More Radical Steps are Needed"]

[Text] "...I have never liked the word 'dissident'. It was invented in the 70's, and it is used to designate people who are striving for glasnost..."—these words of Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov, spoken in one of his last television interviews, did not accidentally anticipate our current published interview with a man, whose name was not very long ago included in the evening checks in the "barracks" of special camps for political prisoners and across the barbed wire was simply pronounced with the "prefix"—dissident. Today one of those who "when there was no glasnost... strove for glasnost"; in other words, a former political prisoner and activist for the human rights movement in the country, the head of the independent journalists' trade union, the editor of the journal "Glasnost", and literary critic, Sergey Ivanovich Ter-Grigoryants, is being interviewed by Komsomolets correspondents.

In Armenia we first started to speak of him at the beginning of 1988 immediately after the birth of the Karabakh movement. At that time, remember, the "Voice of America" Armenian service (which, incidentally, received all authentic information on the events occurring in our republic from its communication channels) reported on Grigoryants. Later the entire country heard about him from the program "Vremya" when it was reported that U.S. President Ronald Reagan, who had come to Moscow, met with Glasnost editor S. Ter-Grigoryants and other human rights activists in the country. At the end of November or December of that same ill-fated 1988 we found out about his thirty day arrest in Yerevan, supposedly "for violation of curfew regulations". Now after a year our correspondents have met with him in Moscow. Sergey Ter-Grigoryants has obligingly agreed to answer any questions "Komsomolets" readers have. Naturally, it is not possible to agree with all his evaluations, conclusions and opinions, but nevertheless, we shall hear our interlocuter out...

[Correspondents] —Sergey Ivanovich, to begin, as they say, in the order of things, would you be so good as to tell us about your work, your past life, the fate of the journal "Glasnost", of which you were the editor, and of course, about your plans for the future?

[Grigoryants]—By specialization, I am a literary historian, studying Russian literature of the beginning of the century and Russian emigre literature. Consequently, I have established many ties with emigrants, mainly famous Russian writers and artists: Gorbanevskaya, Maksimov, Belenkov, and others. As a result, the KGB

[Committee for State Security] became interested in me. At first there were inducements, which, when they did not yield results, turned into threats and, finally, direct accusations of the distribution of anti-Soviet literature and even speculation in paintings; I received 5 years. Immediately after I was released, I began to edit an information bulletin, where, in addition to the chronicle of current events, we touched on the subject of our Soviet prisons and psychiatric hospitals as well as national problems. In 1983 I was arrested again and received another 7 years; after 4 years, however, I was released ahead of time. Taking up where I left off, I started a new publication. One thing was clear: a new type of journal was necessary; one aimed at a wider audience and answering an area of questions more extensive than human rights problems. Thus, the first edition of our new publication, the journal "Glasnost", came out in June 1987. Now already the thirty-third edition is being prepared. While the periodicity has not yet been precisely determined, it is put out in several languages: Russian, English, and French, and the Spanish and Italian editions are being reinstated. At one time, the journal was published in Armenian in Armenia; the late Movses Georgisyan was its editor. Not long ago some young people from Yerevan visited me, and we discussed the question of reinstating the Armenian edition of "Glasnost". I would also like to mention that we have published special editions of the journal devoted to events in Armenia.

In addition, our editorial staff still publishes a daily informational bulletin and has an operative group, which makes television videotapes in "hot" points of the country. The other day it went to Kiev and Kishnev. We have a small problem with printing. We are struggling to get an independent printing press.

[Correspondents] —To tell the truth, although we are not familiar with your journal, we have heard about it quite a bit. So, for whom is "Glasnost" intended?

[Grigoryants]—It is a journal about the Soviet Union for Soviet citizens. It is true that now our circulation is only 5 thousand, but it is necessary to add reprinted copies of our publication to that and even the large demand for it and plans to increase circulation to 50-100 thousand.

[Correspondents] —Sergey Ivanovich, abroad, in addition to the fact that you are known for your journalistic activity, you are also known as a human rights activist in the Soviet Union and a social activist. What is your opinion of the events occurring today in our country, and what do you see as ways out of the crisis in our country in its 73rd year of existence?

[Grigoryants]—I am convinced of one thing—the path on which the present Soviet government intends to lead us next (it was outlined precisely at last February's CPSU TsK [Central Committee] Plenum) is dangerous. In fact, in all the arguments which took place at the Plenum, it was unusually singular in its goals. There is one goal—to save the party. Variety exists only in the means. There

are now three positions on the given question. The Moscow Party regional committee first secretary Mesyats, who called on the leadership of the country to act decisively to bring order to the country, which "in translation" means—tanks are necessary—clearly formulated the first, most conservative and dangerous position in his speech. The second is the position of Yel'tsin, who called for reform of the party at its base (its foundation) and formation of a new western type democratic party. The third position—the intermediate one, to which Gorbachev adheres, is neither one nor the other. It is completely obvious that although a return to tanks is possible, it is disastrous, for it is very clear that similar methods now do nothing (this was demonstrated in Transcaucasia), and lead instead to consolidation of resistance. On the other hand, Yel'tsin's hope that it is still possible by some kind of reforms to transform the CPSU into an ordinary democratic party is illusionary, for no assertions of transformation and restructuring [perestroika] of inner party life can atone for the gravity of the errors, which threatened its authority. At the same time it is appropriate to note that I do not agree with Andrey Dmitriyevich (Sakharov—author) that the Supreme Soviet must decide the question of the sixth article of the USSR constitution. By no means. Here the people must have its word, expressed through a referendum. And we have to understand, that even with the best will in the world, the CPSU can never be transformed into a truly western type democratic party; it simply will not happen.

Today every day, week and month introduces new complications and aggravations into the country's political life. It is also apparent that the economic difficulties will continue in the future and will serve as a so-called stimulator of further "stiffening of the mood" in the country. The situation threatens to become uncontrollable. An antisemitic mood is growing in Russia; various types of nationalistic groups are becoming more and more aggressive. It is impossible not to notice that there is stockpiling of weapons in the country (not just in Transcaucasia). It is necessary to speak about all this because it is all very serious. The first confrontations on the political soil have occurred in a group of republics, and even "hunger strikes" have been recorded. Concrete, real steps—bolder and more radical—are necessary to restrain all this. During one of my recent meetings with Kennedy in America, he asked me about his conversation with Shmelev, who to his question "why aren't free markets being introduced into the USSR" answered that "it is impossible because people will come out into the streets." In answer to his question "is Shmelev right", I noted that "yes, our well-known economist is right—people will really come out into the streets, but you cannot avoid the consideration that it does not matter, because in a year or two free markets will be introduced into our country. Then, people will not just come out into the streets; they will come out with weapons." Why is all this happening? We have to understand today that the lag and delay in reforms is a disastrous path and will complicate the situation in the country even more.

[Correspondents] —About the events in Artsakh, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. What is your position on this question, and what is your opinion of the progress of events causing havoc in this region?

[Grigoryants] Today we are living in a difficult, you might even say, terrifying historical period, but it is a turning point. Everybody remembers the gigantic meetings a million strong that took place in Yerevan; they were the first in the Soviet Union. Their organization and mass scale astonished the whole world. And Sumgait came next. Almost two years went by. We really did not understand that we have to know how to pick a suitable situation to attain even the purest, most worthy and proper goals. In this scheme it seems to me that the Armenian Supreme Soviet session in making similar resolutions, remembered that the Bakinsk Armenians appeared to be hostages; nevertheless, resolutions were made (He is talking about the decrees of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet of 1/12/89 and 9/01/90.—author) I don't know, maybe I am mistaken, but I am convinced of one thing—after the provocation in Sumgait (this was precisely a provocation—both the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis are convinced of this) and a series of other ones, the possibility of seeking other, less bloody means still remained. I think it is impossible now to disregard this option; we have to seek some kind of dialogue with Azerbaijan. In any event, neither we nor they have any other choice than to live alongside each other in the future.

[Correspondents] —Today, we hear even louder voices suggesting a new structure for the federated state. How do you imagine a renovated Union?

[Grigoryants] Historical processes are always simple. Here we cannot disregard the fact that in many regions of our country the same mature self-consciousness inherent in independent peoples and states does not exist; the economic situation in other regions is just catastrophic. Many of our people are plainly incapable of even maintaining their own government and army. It is, however, impossible to evaluate them all the same. The situation is different, and it is necessary to treat this difference with unusual flexibility and understanding.

Economic ties between republics will be preserved for a long time yet. Here is an example. Many billions of dollars are needed to make the economy of the Union's smallest yet most developed republic, Estonia, even slightly competitive. Complete economic health of, let's say, the Ukraine is viewed as practically impossible today. It is unfortunate but the Ukraine is now on the level of Zambia.

Really, for the majority of regions in the country, the main market is USSR territory; finding others is very difficult for almost all the republics in the USSR. In my opinion, in the future the best and most acceptable structural option for the USSR is the formation of some

sort of community similar to the European one, where groups in the country would be united only by economic ties.

[Correspondents]—**And the last question. Sergey Ivanovich, as a human rights activist, what do you think of the so called "Arkadiy Manucharov affair" and the future fate of Paruyr Ayrikyan?**

[Grigoryants] I see Paruyr every time I am in the west. We are very close and meet often. I would like to see him in our native country. For justice to prevail, first of all, I consider it necessary to announce Ayrikyan's complete rehabilitation in everything. Then, of course all the anticonstitutional and provocational resolutions and decrees about the liquidation of his Soviet citizenship must be revoked. Ayrikyan must have the option of returning to Armenia. The republic's parliament must assist him in this.

As to the Arkadiy Manucharov affair, this has been illegal from the beginning. The very fact that a deputy of a "sovereign" republic's Supreme Soviet has already been in prison for half a year without its parliament's sanction and that the principle of presumption of innocence was rudely violated, when he was declared a criminal even before the investigation and trial, once again demonstrates the illegality of his arrest and maintenance in prison. The fact that until now no verdict on Manchurov has been successfully reached is, however, reassuring, and I believe that he will soon be released, for sure.

Georgia's Merab Kostava Society Holds First Congress

90US0975A Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA IVERIELI in Georgian 17 Apr 90 p 4

[Article by Salome Zviadadze: "First Congress of the National Hero's [Merab Kostava] Society"]

[Text] Recently the First Congress of the All-Georgia Merab Kostava Society was held in the assembly hall of the Georgian Goskomsport Olympic Reserves Complex.

The Society has been in existence for three months. Its Constituent Assembly was held on 19 January 1990 (Epiphany), in the village of Tirdznisi, Samachablo. The aim of the Society is to ensure the Georgian nation's physical survival, national rebirth, and the restoration of Georgian statehood.

The Society has its own Program, Charter, flag, coat-of-arms, and anthem. It has founded its own newspaper, SARANGI [Sentinel], the first edition of which is already in the readers' hands. The Society cooperates actively with the Merab Kostava Realty Fund. The results are at hand: the Society has already purchased 100 houses in Abkhazia, Marneuli, and Samachablo.

Nugzar Molodinashvili, a member of the Society, reported to the Congress briefly on the work that has been done. He stated that at the initiative of the Merab

Kostava Society rallies were held on 25 February of this year in Inner Kartlia (the village of Eredvi) and in Sukhumi. Members of the Society have mounted a 24-hour vigil at the airport and are turning back uninvited guests—Turks.

The Congress was attended by representatives from several regions; they talked about the various problems in their districts. Revaz Kemularia, a member from Abkhazia, said that Abkhazia is very tense and nervous today. The construction of a memorial to the victims of 9 April is being thwarted. Recently a Mass was conducted in Russian in the Church of Simon the Canaanite; most of the participants were Russians brought in from a tourist center. There are those who wish to open a Russian church; Metropolitan David, the head of the Sukhumi-Abkhazia Eparchy, is obviously supporting them, but he won't help us open a Georgian church. He isn't doing anything in Georgian in Abkhazia....

Members of the Society had some disturbing things to report about the situation in Samachablo. Tamar Kakhniashvili said sorrowfully that the situation remains very tense in "South Ossetia," that Georgians and Georgian-oriented Ossetians are being hounded from their jobs, especially in Tskhinvali. For example, Georgians have been driven away from the Roki Tunnel, eight Georgians have been fired from the affiliate of the Dimitrov Plant, and masses of Ossetians are being brought down from the mountains and registered in Tskhinvali. No one seems to care about cadre policies, and power is in the hands of the Ossetians everywhere. Members of Adamon Nikhas are staging provocations, shooting from cars, desecrating Vepkhia Tutarashvili's grave, and so on....

To all this, Aleko Vardzelashvili of Gori added another bit of outrageous news—in particular, that some people are not only creating an ethnocrisis in Georgia but are even engaging in biological and bacteriological sabotage. For example, the radiation background of 400 tons of meat sent to Gori was 20 curies; the maximum is supposed to be 0.04 curies...

Dzhumber Tatunashvili, a member of the Samachablo Regional Board, talked about land use violations: extended Georgian families often have no opportunity to divide the land—no one will give them any. Yet right there, before our very eyes, near the village of Vanati, a new village full of Chochiyevs has sprung up quite unlawfully, and our Society has instituted action to investigate the matter, appealing to the Council of Ministers. Citizens of Ossetian nationality often swagger around and gang up on Georgians (they wouldn't dare go one on one). Day before yesterday, on 31 March, shots were fired at Vazha Chavchavadze in the village of Tsunari; they shot out his car's windshield and windows. The next morning we saw everything and we could have caught the perpetrators and punished them, but we are avoiding any new ethnoconflicts and have undertaken other measures.

Reports by representatives from Adjara, Telavi, and Marneuli were very disturbing.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the leader of the Georgian National Liberation Movement, spoke at the Congress:

"This is a happy day for me, because of the creation of my boyhood friend's and spiritual brother's Society, which I see as a very promising national movement.

"We have a genuine national movement, but some people who are worming their way into it are a threat. Having accomplished nothing through force and terror directly, the 'Evil Empire' is now striving to discredit the national movement. It is creating societies which, far from serving Georgia, only undermine it. They are striving to put a halt to the national movement by means of domestic enemies. We must distinguish the true from the false movement. All uncompromising, selfless, loyal organizations must join together. The Merab Kostava Society, the Helsinki Alliance, the Saint Ilia the Righteous Society, the Independence Party, and the Tetri Giorgi Alliance are my and Merab's spiritual children. They must join together in a coalition, because they have a single strategy, tactics, and purpose, even though they may perform different functions.

"The function of the Merab Kostava Society is clear-cut: it is demography and the physical and moral defense of Georgia's population. In this regard, efforts must be stepped up and broadened. This will constitute the profile, the strategic course of the Society.

"Economic questions are very important. The population is in a grave position. Our movement must find ways to solve these problems as well.

"It would be a good idea to set up a working group to deal with practical matters; I myself would work in that group. We need to organize a Merab Kostava Museum, memorial, and grave in time for the observance of the first anniversary of his death."

The Congress was summarized in the speech by Society member Vazha Adamia, who said, "We will always cooperate with the Saint Ilia the Righteous Society, the Helsinki Alliance, and the Independence Party, which the Saint George Alliance joined later on, because it would be wrong to give the name of Merab Kostava to this people's assemblage and allow the Society to be in opposition to anyone. Many of you here were friends of Merab; almost all of you knew him, and you know that all his efforts went into the struggle to unite the National Liberation Movement. It saddened him to see any kind of discord or schism. We miss him greatly, and we are doing everything we can to carry out his functions in the national movement, but we cannot serve merely in the role of conciliator: if anyone should threaten or pose a danger to the national movement we will take vigorous action jointly with those organizations I have mentioned to you."

In conclusion, they elected the Society's Board of Directors with a membership of 11, five of whom are representatives from the regions. Merab's daughter Tamta Kostava was unanimously elected an honorary member of the Society.

The Congress was of great spiritual significance as well as political. It was decided that in addition to Abkhazia, Kakhetia, Lower Kartlia, and Samachablo, affiliates would be created in other places where Georgia needs them.

Abkhazian People's Front Chairman Interviewed

90US0857A Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian
30 Mar 90 pp 8-9

[Interview with Sergey Shamba, chairman of the board of Aidgylara, the Abkhazian People's Front, by MOLODEZH GRUZII special correspondents E. Kakabadze and T. Pachkornya, Sukhumi: "Each Ethnic Group Deserves the Right To Be Respected"; date and place not given]

[Text] We are continuing to acquaint our readers with public political organizations which are actively participating in the republic's political affairs. And we would like to remind you again that we are remaining true to our own principle—pluralism of opinions, the right of any point of view, even one diametrically opposite that of the general public, to be expressed and the right of each person to express and defend it. Otherwise, democracy will be a one-way street, insincere, with privileges for some and infringement of the rights of others. We would like for our readers and our community to get away from such positions by consideration of each article under the rubric "Who Is Who." Only in disputes and the clash of opinions can the truth be born. This is why we have been given reason, so as to evaluate critically everything which is occurring and to work out our own position.

Thus, Sergey Shamba, chairman of the board of the Abkhazian People's Front, Aidgylara (Unity), responds to MOLODEZH GRUZII's questions.

[Boxed material: Biographical Information. Sergey Shamba was born in 1951 in Gudauta. An archaeologist by profession, he is a candidate of historical sciences and a member of the CPSU. In February, 1990, at the 2d Congress of the Abkhazian People's Front, Aidgylara (Unity), he was elected chairman of the board of this organization. He is married and has a son and a daughter.]

[Correspondent] Aidgylara, the People's Forum of Abkhazia [Abkhazian People's Front], was established in the specific political situation which took shape in the autonomous republic. How would you characterize the causes of its birth?

[Shamba] The extremely difficult situation the Abkhazian people found themselves in as a result of the

colonial policies of tsarism, menshevism and, subsequently, barracks socialism, compelled them to struggle constantly for their own existence on the world's ethnic map. The processes which have been occurring recently in our country have give a new impetus to the Abkhazians' yearning to enjoy the inalienable right of any people to self-determination of their own political status. Unfortunately, the hopes placed on the routine campaign unleashed by the party, which allegedly had as its goal the destruction of the administrative-command system established by Stalin, proved to be in vain. The chain of bloody events caused by the interethnic conflicts quite obviously points to the fact that, in order to have a real repudiation of Stalin's legacy, it is necessary, first of all, to review the imperial basis of the USSR's nation-state structure. However, the country's leadership, proceeding on the basis of erroneous political interests, is again attempting to suppress the problem. It is precisely for this reason that a routine letter sent by the representatives of the Abkhazian community to the 19th Party Conference did not receive a proper response this time as well. It has become clear that further passiveness, especially against the background of those events which engulfed the republic and, in particular, Georgia, would inevitably lead to the disappearance of the Abkhazians as an ethnic group. In such a situation, established from among the people who sent the letter to the 19th Party Conference was a group which would take the initiative in establishing an organization capable of protecting the interests of the Abkhazian people and of defending the rights of all the inhabitants of Abkhazia. Proceeding on this basis, from the very start, the organization was conceived as an interethnic one. On 13 December, 1988, the first congress of the organization, which received the name of Aidgylara (Unity), the Abkhazian People's Front [NFA], took place. The governing bodies—the board and the presidium—were elected. And it was only on 9 June, 1989, after long bureaucratic delays, that Abkhazia's Council of Ministers approved the NFA's Charter and Program. Today, by virtue of objective reasons, the majority of the organization's members are Abkhazians. This is possibly explained by the fact that Abkhazia's problems are perceived most acutely precisely by the Abkhazians, since the historical fate of the Abkhazian people is taking shape in Abkhazia. At the same time, in the organization are active members who are representatives of other nationalities and some of them are in the NFA's governing bodies. In the future, we hope to increase the ethnic diversity of our movement as much as possible, since we do not feel there are any contradictions between the just aspirations of the Georgians, the Armenians, the Russians, the Greeks and the Abkhazians. And not just in the social, economic and cultural aspects, but also in the political aspect. Indeed, it is obvious that, if there is no equality between the republics, then there can be no equality between the citizens of these republics and no equality of their opportunities. This is why the raising of the status of the Abkhaz ASSR to the level of a union republic will meet the interests of all the inhabitants of Abkhazia. This fact

is also confirmed by the fact that the Lykhny Appeal was signed by more than 5,000 Georgians, Russians, Armenians...

Today, the NFA is a mass organization with a clearly defined structure, which encompasses all of society's social strata.

[Correspondent] What goals and tasks confronted the NFA during its establishment and have they changed over time? What is the final version of the NFA's program?

[Shamba] The goal and tasks of the front are basically identical to the goals and tasks of our entire society in the matter of the building of a rule-of-law state. However, Abkhazia's specifics are leaving their own imprint on the path to the attainment of these goals and the realization of the tasks confronting society.

First of all, we are striving for the modernization of the USSR's state structure, since we reject the four-step hierarchy of state formation. We consider it to be discriminatory, leading to the differentiation of peoples according to the level of political rights. As a result of such a hierarchy, a possibility is created for infringement of the national interests of the native peoples of the autonomous republics on the part of the government of the predominant peoples. This leads to interethnic tension and conflicts. I dare say, it is not necessary to go far to find examples.

[Correspondent] Is it possible consider the well-known Lykhny Appeal to be Aidgylara's first program document? What is your position on it?

[Shamba] Neither the letter to the 19th Party Conference nor the appeal adopted at the gathering in the village of Lykhny are program documents of Aidgylara.. This is the expression of the will of the people.

Our position on this appeal is as follows. The historical experience of the last few centuries convinces us of the fact that when we lost our own statehood and independence, difficult ordeals befell us. The Abkhazian Principality was one of the last in the Caucasus to become part of the Russian Empire. However, soon, the colonial aspirations of tsarism collided with the desperate resistance of the mountain peoples. The destructive Russo-Mountaineer (Caucasian) War, as is well known, ended with the defeat of the mountaineers. Immediately after this, in 1864, the Abkhazian Principality was abolished as the last one in the Caucasus and, in the form of an administrative unit, it became part of the Russian Empire. In 1866 and 1877, strong anti-colonial uprisings by Abkhazians against tsarism occurred, which led to the mass emigration (mahegira) of the people beyond the boundaries of their homeland. Over the course of 3 centuries, right up to 1907, the Abkhazians were officially considered to be a "guilty people." After the disintegration of the Russian Empire, the Abkhazians undertook an attempt in 1918 to establish statehood in the form of the Abkhazian Commune.

The annexation of Abkhazia by the Menshevik government of Georgia entailed a whole slew of punitive measures against the national liberation movement.

The political aggression in 1931 against the Soviet Socialist Republic of Abkhazia and its inclusion as part of Georgia with the right of self-government brought to life a new round of outrages against the Abkhazian people, which has been mentioned previously. For more than a century, our people have existed essentially under the conditions of genocide. Thus, can they really be faulted for the attempts to get out from under the heavy moral and physical press, having provided for themselves a fitting future?.. Until such time as we establish for ourselves full-fledged statehood, we will remain a people whose fate is determined by others, proceeding at the same time on the basis not of the interests of Abkhazia and the Abkhazians, but rather, of their own geopolitical ambitions, which are frequently mortally dangerous for the Abkhazian people. We are hoping that independence will permit us to determine independently the paths for the development of our society, by achieving a consensus with all the peoples who live in Abkhazia. In addition, our program is broader than the Lykhny Appeal or the "Abkhazian Letter." It outlines specific paths for the realization of a whole series of economic, social, cultural and demographic tasks confronting Abkhazia.

[Correspondent] How is Aidgylara forming relations with the leadership of the autonomous republic and the various informal associations? Do you see possibilities for the consolidation of society and cooperation? On what basis, in your opinion, is this possible?

[Shamba] The forms of cooperation vary in nature. We are attempting to cooperate with the autonomous republic's leadership by submitting our own proposals on various matters and by establishing various types of public commissions which carry out their own activities in interaction with state institutions. Unfortunately, the cooperation has been complicated by the split in the government along ethnic lines and by the inability of the leadership to react on a timely and adequate basis to the problems which are emerging in our lives.

With regards to the relations with the informal movements, we are open to any contacts at all levels. We have already been implementing such cooperation for a long time. But, first of all, we will strive to establish contacts and to set up joint actions with those informal movements which are working on the same types of problems which we are.

There is no doubt that a path for the consolidation of society and cooperation exists. This is a complete system, which encompasses an extremely broad spectrum of legal, economic, social, ecological and other problems, which must be solved. But I want to isolate, as I see it, the basic aspect of the solution of this problem. I believe that consolidation may be achieved, first of all, on the paths of the moral revitalization of society. I

assure you that these are not abstract discourses. Unless we all become civilized, even the most perfect laws will not save us. We should recognize that the evil which exists around us is the continuation of our moral decline. This is confirmed by the experience which is common to all humanity.

[Correspondent] There occurred recently in Abkhazia a series of conflicts of an interethnic nature, including also the tragic events of June, 1989. Can you name the causes which gave rise to these conflicts and events? What position did Aidgylara take in any of the situations?

[Shamba] For all practical purposes, it is impossible to give a brief list of the causes which gave rise to the interethnic conflicts. Especially since the causes which lie on the surface are frequently the result of deep-seated processes which are not so obvious. If we generalize, then these clashes were caused by the impotent status of Abkhazian Autonomous Republic and the Abkhazian people. But, there is no doubt that these clashes were provoked by those forces which found it necessary to politicize and draw into the anti-Abkhazian movement the Georgian population of Abkhazia, for, indeed, it was rather passive at the time and even had a negative attitude toward the chauvinist actions of the agitators who had come to Abkhazia basically from Tbilisi. These forces are well known—a significant portion of the party and soviet leadership and of the scientific and creative intelligentsia, as well as the leaders of certain informal organizations, who are implementing their own chauvinist goals under the cloak of democracy. In order to attain these goals in Abkhazia, demonstrations and gatherings were staged, at which speeches were made, resolutions were adopted and slogans offensive to the national dignity of the Abkhazians were put forth. The goal of this campaign was the suppression of "Abkhazian Separatism." The confrontation reached the critical point thanks to the unprecedented and crude decision, which violated the sovereignty of Abkhazia, to open a branch of the TGU [Tbilisi State University]. In this situation, even the most insignificant event could cause an escalation of the violence. This is what happened. I admit that the clash was caused even by the sum total of interests, but I categorically declare that the 100,000 Abkhazians, in a clash with 4 million people, could not gain for themselves anything but trouble. This has been confirmed by subsequent events, we were put under the control of the Georgian law-enforcement agencies, there was no political assessment of what had occurred, an unbridled anti-Abkhazian campaign was started in the mass media and, as a result, the responsibility for the events was placed on the Abkhazians.

All of Aidgylara's attempts to prevent clashes under these conditions did not produce any result.

The legitimate political demands of the Abkhazian people, not without the assistance of the leadership of the Georgian SSR, were shifted into a completely different plane—the plane of interethnic Abkhazian-Georgian discord. I repeat once again, it was not the

ethnic conflicts which were the basis of June's tragic events in Abkhazia, but rather, the Abkhazians' aspiration for genuine and not imaginary equality of the peoples.

[Correspondent] The ethnic question is the most acute question of the present day. Unless we solve it, we will not be able to move forward. Where, in your opinion, is the way out of the crisis situation? How do you see the mutual relations between the large and small (relatively) ethnic groups, in particular, Georgian-Abkhazian mutual relations? Is the front planning a dialogue with the leadership of the Georgian People's Front or, more accurately, with the board of its Abkhazian regional organization?

[Shamba] First of all, the relations between ethnic groups, both large and small, should be built on the basis of equality, but formal equality does not always ensure equal rights, since large and small ethnic groups have existed since time immemorial under different conditions. Therefore, a differentiated approach is necessary in these matters, since, for a small ethnic group, additional measures are necessary to protect its interests. In order to begin a dialogue, it is necessary to return to the recognition of the indisputable fact that the Georgian SSR is a federation. The denial of this fact is causing quite well-founded fears among the Abkhazians. Further, it is necessary to recognize constitutionally that the Georgian SSR is a multi-ethnic republic and, in order to ensure the balancing of ethnic interests, it is necessary to introduce a bicameral parliament. In one of the houses, the guaranteed representation of the autonomous republics and the ethnic groups would be ensured and the solution of ethnic problems would be concentrated in it. Then, it is necessary to differentiate between the jurisdiction of Georgia and that of Abkhazia and to grant the latter complete internal self-government.

It is also necessary to introduce the bicameral system in Abkhazia as well, after ensuring that the Abkhazians, as the native ethnic group, in order to protect their own interests, will have no less than 50 percent of the deputy seats in the House of Nationalities. Then, it is necessary to adopt a whole slew of statutes to protect the Abkhazians' interests, namely, the opportunity for unhindered return to Abkhazia, the right to reside there, a guaranteed opportunity to obtain work, the allotment of land and so on. There must be an end to the migration into Abkhazia, which is threatening the existence of the Abkhazian people as an ethnic group and which has recently become especially large in scope. The solution of these and other questions will undoubtedly improve the situation and will reduce the level of confrontation between the Abkhazians and the Georgians.

We are not opposed to dialogue with the leadership of the Georgian People's Front, but taken as the basis for the dialogue should be the concept of coexistence, taking into account the diversity of the parties' interests. At present, we do not see such a concept in the Georgian

People's Front. A number of statements from the People's Front regarding Abkhazia are of a declarative nature. Additionally, in our own everyday life, we are constantly encountering obvious and latent opposition to our struggle on the part of the regional People's Front.

[Correspondent] How do you view the ideas of independence and the future of our federation?

[Shamba] We picture a future federation as a union of equal sovereign republics. It should be built on the basis of a treaty. In this sense, we fully support A.D. Sakharov's program.

We are raising the matter of the restoration of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Abkhazia, which existed from 1921 to 1931 and was illegally transformed into the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic. Naturally, we believe that freedom and independence are a guarantee of the normal development of any ethnic group. In this matter, the aspirations of the Georgians and the Abkhazians do not come into conflict with one another. We are pursuing the same goal by different paths.

[Correspondent] Is there conformity of views on the basic questions within Aidgylara? In recent months, there has been quite a lot of talk about disagreements and conflicts in the NFA's leadership. What do you have to say about this?

[Shamba] There are differing points of view within Aidgylara. A common point of view exists only with respect to the means for attaining the set goals—this is the path of reforms. Certainly there are disagreements, but, mainly, I repeat, there are unity and consolidation of all the people. We cannot permit ourselves to do otherwise.

[Correspondent] Political pluralism is becoming a reality in our lives. In your opinion, how should the question of power be decided in such a situation?

[Shamba] We think that Article 6 of the USSR Constitution is an anachronism. We favor a multi-party system and believe that the question of power should be solved on a just basis in the course of free elections with the participation of all parties.

[Correspondent] Today, both the official authorities and many informal associations are claiming the role of the voice of the will of the people.

[Shamba] First of all, the people need to be assured of the opportunity for the free expression of their will. And, in order to do this, it is necessary to establish democratic institutions which will ensure independent choice.

'Erk' Leader Explains New Uzbek Movement's Program

90US0891A Tashkent KOMSOMOLET
UZBEKISTANA in Russian 30 Mar 90

[Interview with M. Solikh, by APN [Novosti News Agency correspondent Timur Nizayev, Tashkent: "Uzbekistan: 'Erk' Prepares Legislative Bills"]

[Text] The constituent assembly of a new public organization—"Erk" ("Will"), the People's Movement of Uzbekistan—was held in Tashkent. The movement includes the republic's "people's frontiers," as well as some of the members of "Birlik"—one of the largest mass organizations in Uzbekistan. Erkid Vakhidov, people's poet of Uzbekistan, and chairman of the republic branch of the Soviet Children's Foundation, and Mukhkhomad Solikh, secretary of the board of governors of the republic's Writers Union, were elected cochairs of "Erk" (until the convocation of that organization's congress, which is planned for May).

[M. Solikh] Representatives of the creative intelligentsia, workers, employees, and members of the youth section and the women's section were elected to the preparatory committee for the forthcoming congress of "Erk," the People's Movement of Uzbekistan—a total of approximately 40 persons. They will have to develop the drafts of the movement's rules and program, publish the first issue of a newspaper, and prepare a message to the nations of Uzbekistan.

Everyone can become a member of our movement, irrespective of his nationality, religious denomination, or social position. But we would not want to repeat certain errors that were made at one time by "Birlik." Therefore anyone wanting to enter the ranks of "Erk" will have to submit recommendations from two of its members. Provision has also been made for the issuing of identification cards. This procedure, it seems to me, should protect our organization against any casual fellow-travelers. Special attention will be devoted to discipline. We want to achieve from each "Erk" member the precise execution of the rules and the pledges that he has assumed. Every one must be able to answer for his actions.

[T. Nizayev] Are there any other differences between you and "Birlik"?

[M. Solikh] I would not pose the question in that manner. "Birlik" is our school, where all of us learned the ABC's of democracy, and the accumulated experience is invaluable. But we feel that that movement has become too involved in rallies, without offering any specific concepts dealing with socioeconomic or cultural questions. "Erk" does not reject rallies, but it concentrates its chief attention on developing concrete alternative programs for developing the republic. The draft of our program stipulates the true sovereignty of Uzbek SSR as part of a renewed federation. We are in favor of the democratic path in the republic's development.

[T. Nizayev] Practically speaking, how is it proposed to resolve these tasks?

[M. Solikh] Members of our movement's initiative group participated in the campaign to elect deputies to the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan and to the local soviets at various levels, which campaign was held on 18 February 1990. We now have our representatives in the local soviets. That provided us with the possibility, on a legal basis, to become part of the official structures of power. Now we can express our demands through our own elected representatives, rather than only at rallies.

We attempt to attract all the republic's intellectual forces into our movement. "Erk" members have already prepared a packet of recommendations and drafts of laws that we intend to submit for review by the Supreme Soviet and government of Uzbekistan. The packet includes a draft of the law governing property, according to which the land and natural resources are declared to be national property; a law governing our republic's diplomatic relations with other countries... There is, of course, no need to list the entire packet of recommendations, inasmuch as it will have to undergo modification and expansion. But on this basis "Erk" sets as its goal the attainment of the development and adoption of a new UzSSR Constitution.

[T. Nizayev] How do you view "Erk's" interrelationship with other public organizations and party and state agencies?

[M. Solikh] We are in favor of a completely equal dialogue among the public movements, unions, and the Communist party and other parties. This is natural, if we are striving for a law-governed society. We have points of view coinciding with "Birlik," the International Union, and the Democratic Movement of Uzbekistan. "Erk" is in favor consolidating all the republic's nations, and against any violence in resolving national questions.

[T. Nizayev] "Erk" sprang up on the base of the People's Front of Uzbekistan. What caused the change in the organization's name?

[M. Solikh] We feel that the current name reflects our goals and tasks more completely: by relying upon the intellectual forces of society, to express the will and aspirations of the entire nation of Uzbekistan.

Uzbek Youth Leader on Causes of Fergana Unrest
90US0891B Moscow SOBESDNIK in Russian No 12,
Mar 90 pp 6-7

[Interview with Akmal Saidov, under rubric "Free Microphone": "How to Overcome the 'Fergana Syndrome'"]

[Text] Sober-minded intellectuals are the last argument in a system that has found itself in crisis. Responsible positions in official political institutions are gradually being occupied by new people. Akmal Saidov, an associate at the academy institute and a candidate of legal sciences,

was approved for the position of head of the Ideology Department of the Central Committee of the republic's Komsomol in April 1989, and in December he was elected chairman of the Uzbek SSR KMO [Committee of Youth Organizations]. He has, however, not broken his ties with science. He has prepared the defense of his doctoral dissertation, and at Tashkent University he continues to conduct a special course entitled "Political Ideology of Islam and Muslim Law in the Modern World." His conversation with SOBESEDNIK correspondent Nikita Sibirev presents a somewhat new view of well-known facts and events.

[A. Saidov] Those persons who, for long years in Moscow, determined ideology and domestic policy never took the "eastern factor" into serious consideration. The leadership was poorly informed about the history, traditions, and national character of the Central Asian nations.

The same thing can be said about the press. Open up any newspaper: the materials from Central Asia, for example, where one-fourth—that's right, one-fourth!—of the country's population lives, occupy a disproportionately small place. The quality of the items printed, with rare exceptions, is not worthy of comment. During the years of stagnation, Uzbekistan was a zone that was beyond criticism, but during perestroika, when our republic began earlier than in other places to unravel the tangle of negative phenomena, on the contrary, it became exclusively a target for people to beat up on. As a result, firmly established negative stereotypes developed, which were linked with "the Rashidov reign" and the "cotton case." As though crime were really a "national" phenomenon!

There was born the image of a downtrodden, illiterate Uzbek nation that is in the grip of dark instincts, and, if one follows that logic, this was clearly shown by the events in Fergana. But those are false stereotypes.

[N. Sibirev] Nevertheless, there is nowhere one can go to get away from Fergana. Whereas currently the upheavals that resulted from the bloodshed have been somewhat erased, this is, alas, only because a new tragedy occurred on ethnic grounds—the situation in the trans-Caucasus.

[A. Saidov] The trans-Caucasus also clearly showed that the central authority had failed to take the "eastern factor" into sufficient consideration.

In addition, the appropriate conclusions were not drawn at that time from the Sumgait tragedy. That tragedy failed to receive complete illumination in the mass media. One cannot put everyone in the same pile: the guilty and the righteous, thugs and their victims. Are we really supposed to believe that all the Azerbaijanis in Sumgait should be lumped together with people who carry out pogroms?

[N. Sibirev] Excuse me for saying this, but, to the best of my knowledge, not a single journalist has made such

analogies. On the contrary, many articles contain examples of situations when, at the risk of their lives, Azerbaijanis hid Armenians in their homes. What is another matter—and here I agree with you—is that this topic never received its proper development.

[A. Saidov] In interpreting the Fergana tragedy, it is important to make the correct emphases. Only in that way is it possible to bring the frightened man in the street back to his senses. Certainly you must have encountered statements of the type, "They're all like that!"

I call this the "Fergana syndrome," when, however deplorable it is to admit this, the fear and anger caused by the tragic events on a local scale proved in the most improbable way to be linked in people's minds with the situation in the whole republic, with the moods of a nation of many millions, a nation possessing a thousand years of culture, a nation that is by its nature peace-loving and hospitable.

In Fergana Valley there are excellent natural conditions and also... blatant socioeconomic problems: the highest birth rate, the highest population density, the highest unemployment level. Much has already been said about this, and also about the court trials against Uzbeks who participated in crimes. But a few things remain "off camera." Would you like examples? Last autumn there was a trial in Tashkent of the Meskhetian Turks who had been the instigators of the fight in Kuvasay that laid the foundation for rumors and conjectures that finally led to a terrible outcome. It is also incorrect to think that it was exclusively the troops that engaged in the restoring of order, and that the local authorities and public organizations had failed to act. And yet, there was an item on TsT [Central Television] from Margilan, where terrified apparatchiks had allegedly hidden behind the backs of the militia in the gorkom building. A slight detail: it was Meskhetian Turks who were hidden in the building, rather than apparatchiks. At that time I was working at the Central Committee of the republic's Komsomol, and I can cite a large number of instances when our fellows performed acts of bravery. Half the Central Committee apparatus (not to mention the Fergana Obkom) were at the hottest spots. Facts such as this attest to the true attitude that our nation takes to the tragedy that shook the entire republic.

[N. Sibirev] I do not think the events in Fergana have led you, a political scientist, to broader generalizations. But don't you think that the unemployment, the poor living conditions, and the rumors are sufficient to put a mass of people into a state of temporary insanity?

[A. Saidov] Sufficient, if... the social foundation, the unwritten laws of human communal life, and the ethical norms have been under undermined. Eastern society, since time immemorial, has been based on the primacy of such values as the family, family and neighborly ties, religion, customs, and respect for one's seniors (and not only senior in age). Any reformers must take that into consideration. But it is necessary at such time to

remember the positive experience. For example, the famous military leader in the civil war, M. V. Frunze, while en route to Central Asia, studied the Koran, and his first order upon arriving there was to celebrate "kurban bayrami" (a Muslim holiday) in the Red Army units where representatives of the indigenous population were serving. This sensitive attitude to the well-established traditions evoked in the Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Kirghiz a respect for the Soviet authority.

But what happened later on?

In the name of "noble" goals, the conscious and unconscious undermining of those values began. Starting in the late 1930's, under pressure from the center, a western, European style of thinking began to be cultivated, a style in which the individualistic principle was strong. That contradicted the way of life that had been in existence for many centuries, a way of life that was viewed as a survival of feudalism. This was a very big ideological mistake. It is very apparent that things should have proceeded from the beginning along another path, by carrying out socialist reforms with a consideration of the specifically eastern conditions. Even tsarist Russia took into consideration the local peculiarities of its colonial Turkestan. The fact that the specifically eastern conditions do not in any way contradict modern civilization was proven by the same Japan where the achievements of science and technology, the new social and political structure, were organically written into the traditional system everyday family and cultural relations and where the people continue to this day to observe the centuries-old standards for people's behavior—"hiri." The Uzbek nation also has similar standards ("odob")...

Obviously, I am not asserting that today it is necessary to establish Muslim courts. However, it might be desirable, for example, to build palaces of justice in the form of monasteries, like the famous Samarkand or Bukhara mosques.

[N. Sibirev] But I hope that you will not deny the positive influence exerted by the European center upon the culture of Central Asia.

[A. Saidov] Of course I won't. The elimination of illiteracy, the growth of the local intelligentsia, the NTR [scientific-technical revolution]—all these are progressive phenomena. The main thing is to recognize where we have taken a step forward, and where we acted without thinking things out carefully, in our blind attempt to copy western models.

Prior to 1929 the Uzbek writing system was based on the Arabic system. Then Latin letters were introduced, and ten years later, Cyrillic. Thus the Uzbek nation was torn away from its centuries-old historical and cultural heritage. People were deprived of the opportunity to read in the original the works of Navoi, Biruni, Farabi, and Avitsenna. It is only in 1991 that the mandatory study of the Arabic writing system will begin in Uzbek schools and institutions of higher learning—in accordance with the Law on the State Language that was adopted in

October 1989. The first teaching aids for persons studying the old Uzbek writing system have been published. Incidentally, one of the best ones was prepared at the publishing house of the Komsomol Central Committee—Yesh Gvardiya. It is intended for the young reader and was published in a printing run of 100,000 copies.

But it is necessary for the entire superstructure, ideological sphere to face taking the national specifics into consideration. It is necessary to recall the experience of the "Red chaykhans [tea houses]" in the 1920's, which were places of enlightenment. A conversation in a "chaykhan"—the traditional place for social intercourse in the East—is a hundred times more productive than a meeting in a shop. The system of friendly societies of persons with the same ethnic background as a preserver of the moral foundations and as a regulator of young people's behavior has greater authority than an instructional group or course. Democratization is impossible without the rebirth of the "makhal"—the historically developed form of the self-government of the nation.

[N. Sibirev] There is a widespread opinion that Muslims are religiously intolerant and have a tendency toward fanaticism and unpredictable behavior. What could you say in this regard?

[A. Saidov] Various currents exist in Islam. The Islamic conservatives, or fundamentalists, are in favor of the complete subordination of social life to the religious principle. We also have them in our country. One of their demands is the mandatory setting aside on the job of a place and time for reading prayers. But one should not overexaggerate their influence: most of the clergy are inclined toward a reasonable compromise with the authorities.

Islam is not only a religion, but also a way of life for the Eastern nations. One cannot erect a Great Wall of China between the religious principle and the national. Especially when the formation of many nationalities in Central Asia occurred considerably later than the spread of Islam. It is precisely for that reason that the commonality of religious values in the region often proves to be stronger than the national peculiarities.

[N. Sibirev] Do you mean that the intensification of Islam's positions is, to a certain degree, a completely natural process that is linked with the growth of national self-awareness?

[A. Saidov] Yes. And it is worthwhile to examine from that point of view the facts that, as you have stated, alarm a few people. Religious awareness among the young in the Fergana Valley and other places has actually grown. But most of the people are not very adept in dogmas of faith and really do not know the difference between the Suni and the Shiites. Few people other than the clergy have ever read the Koran. The classic Koran bans translation into other languages, but it has already been translated into Russian five times. I hope that in 1990 it will also be published in Uzbek in SHARK YULDUZI magazine, and the next year as a separate

edition. This can only be welcomed, because, as I have already said, this book is a component part of Eastern culture, just as the Bible is a component part of European. Instead of a course on scientific atheism, which is currently imperceptible by the students, it is better to introduce the history of Islam, at least for those who are studying in Uzbek.

[N. Sibirev] It is generally felt that in your republic the democratic processes have been lagging somewhat. And by no means all the informal organizations encounter support. In the press, I know, there have been flashes of unflattering comments on the "Birlik" movement.

[A. Saidov] I do not agree with that evaluation. There is nothing seditious in the movement's program documents. Yes, "Birlik" is not homogeneous in its makeup. It does include hotheads, but its basic skeleton is made up of completely sensible people: the Central Soviet includes creative workers, technical intellectuals, and ordinary laborers. An outburst of demonstrations occurred between June and October 1989, when various legislative bills concerning language were being discussed. In the final analysis, a consensus was achieved, the law was passed, and the white-hot emotions cooled off. Starting in the second half of the year, there has been constructive dialogue between the leaders of "Birlik" (although it has not yet been registered) and official agencies. If one examines the evolution of the demands made by the informal organizations, one sees, to a certain degree, a repetition of the Baltic version: they began with linguistic problems, then began to discuss the limitation of migration, the need for a "length-of-residency requirement"... We might also note the internal difficulties in "Birlik" itself.

[N. Sibirev] Are there any separatist moods?

[A. Saidov] No. That can be asserted unambiguously. We are speaking exclusively about increasing the political and economic independence, about more justice in relations among the republics, etc. At the present time the informal organizations are disputing the results of the recent election. But I feel that they can scarcely change sharply the placement of forces in the soviets. One sees the effect of the lack of development of democratic traditions, as well as the region's specific features.

[N. Sibirev] How would you characterize the youth movement?

[A. Saidov] The Komsomol remains the most influential youth organization in the republic, but new ones are also springing up. "Birlik" has a special kind of youth faction—the Union of Free Youth of Uzbekistan. I have met these fellows in the Ideology Department. Several times we had discussions and meetings at the Central Committee, as a result of which the Munozara discussion club was born.

The youth associations are small in number, do not have a material base, and are rather eager to have contacts with the Komsomol.

[N. Sibirev] Nevertheless, do I understand correctly that the center of "social intercourse" is shifting to the KMO?

[A. Saidov] The KMO is becoming the coordinator of the youth movement irrespective of the organizations' status—whether an organization is "formal" or "informal." For the time being, we have 22 collective members, but the applications for admission are continuing to come in from new associations.

Uzbek Commission Importuned for Parkent Unrest Information

90US0903A Tashkent KOMSOMOLETS
UZBEKISTANA in Russian 20 Apr 90 p 4

[Article by Larisa Petrova and Sergey Svetlov: "There Is Nothing Worse Than Rumors"]

[Text] A month ago, we turned to the chairman of the state commission set up to investigate the tragic March events in Parkent with a request to submit the results of the work done to the editors. Sh.Z. Urazayev (he is currently appointed the chairman of the Uzbek Constitutional Oversight Committee) designated a date when he would be ready to submit the information. But the data passed, and then a second and third.... So, recently Shavkat Zakariyevich [Urazayev] phoned to say that the work was not yet complete and we would have to wait some more.

We do not doubt that the reason for this is the most objective and that in fact at present it would be difficult to investigate everything that happened as time would be needed for this.

But we are also convinced that we must no longer be silent. Clearly, it would be possible to organize a gradual informing of the public or provide preliminary results. At present, the passions in Parkent after the events of 3 March have simmered down, the situation is calm and it is under control. However, as before, the inhabitants of the republic are still confronted with rumors and fabrications about the reasons and about the course of what happened in this rayon center. There is nothing worse than rumors and there is nothing more shameful than a lack of knowledge.

People have phoned from the Kemerovo youth newspaper and journalists from other towns with a natural desire to do their job, that is, to report to the readers the complete and correct information. But we cannot say anything and we do not know anything. We cannot even inform our own subscribers! This is shameful.

We have endeavored to obtain information in Buka, in Parkent, but everywhere we were rebuffed by the party officials. Glasnost had broken down.

The curt, contradictory official announcements from UzTAG [Uzbek Telegraph Agency] were drawn up (and it was the impression that they were drawn up by someone and not written by a journalist) in such a manner that you could understand nothing from them.

Under such conditions, the authorities should call in the journalists from all the mass information media and frankly describe everything, thereby having dissipated the rumors which are heightening the situation and directing a word of truth to the people. This, however, has not happened. Only the republic MVD made an attempt to lift the curtain of obscurity over the Parkent events, having called in for a briefing the journalists, party workers, the chairmen of the village committees and the self-administering committees of the towns and rayons of Tashkent Oblast. But this meeting was not widely publicized.

Rumors continue to spread through the republic. A feeling of confusion and concern is becoming dominant.

In this situation we have felt it necessary to share with the readers the information submitted at the briefing by the Republic First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs V.G. Gusev. Here is a brief chronicle of the Parkent tragedy.

On 21 February, the Meskhetian Turks arrived in Kumyshkan from Buka, where the disorders had occurred. They were housed in a recreational area. A day later, a staff was organized which should have been concerned with the problem of the evacuated persons and 22 police workers arrived for protecting them.

Over the next week, the rumors were spread that scarce food and industrial goods had been brought in for the Meskhetian Turks. The "enemies" of the Parkent people were the clearly malnourished women, old people and children who had been cut off from their home and were in no way responsible for being brought to the recreational zone in Kumyshkan.

With every passing day the rumors intensified and assumed new details. Pamphlets summoned the Parkent residents to a meeting with the date being given of 3 March. None of the rayon leaders was able to repudiate them.

On 2 March, a session of the rayon soviet was held in Parkent. On the same day, 80 co-workers of internal affairs and servicemen from the Interior Troops arrived in the city "in the event of possible disorders." It would have been a smarter move, in our view, to go into the city, to try to persuade the people and show to the Parkent representatives how the refugees from Buka were actually living. However, again they decided to talk to the people not using methods of diplomacy but rather from a position of force.

3 March. From early morning the police set up posts on the roads to Parkent. But the small details were unable to hold back the people flooding into the city. At approximately 1000 hours, small groups of people began to assemble throughout Parkent. These rapidly grew in size. Then, having turned into a mob, the people headed toward the building of the rayon party committee and demanded to talk with the rayon leaders. However, no

one came out of the building. Tension grew and the situation began to get out of control....

The crowd turned to storm the administrative buildings and the building of the ROVD [rayon internal affairs department], where regular weapons were kept. The soldiers and policemen who had retreated there, some 170 persons, were sealed in. Fires started with the rampaging crowd setting fire to motor vehicles, the quarters of state institutions, while the guards of the facilities were actually powerless.... Then the first shots were heard in the air.

This somewhat cooled the ardor of the crowd but someone shouted: "They have blanks!..." In order to show that the cartridges were alive, there were several bursts of automatic weapons fire against the wall of a building. But it was now too late and this could not halt the overly excited people....

According to the data of the republic First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs V.G. Gusev given by him at the meeting with the journalists and the public, on that day 97 persons were casualties. Some 27 persons from the civilian population sustained gunshot wounds and 3 were killed. All in all, 36 persons of the civilian population were injured. There were no children among them. There was one 17-year-old young man wounded among the adolescents. The first deputy minister also pointed out that on 3 March, 15 police workers and 44 servicemen sustained injuries, including burns. A policeman, a senior lieutenant from the Chirchik GOVD [city internal affairs department], Sherali Khumsanbayev, was trampled to death by the fanatical crowd.

These are the data of the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs. The state commission should provide the final report on the tragedy. The public is expecting an official political assessment from it on the reasons for what occurred and a determining of the degree of blame not only for the immediate participants but also for those who by their criminal inaction made the tragedy of 3 March possible.

A good deal of time has passed and it is time to become acquainted with the results of the commission's work. The events in Parkent must not be hushed up as they hushed up the events in Tashkent last autumn, having "responded" to them only by the imposing of several party sentences for as they hushed up the events which preceded Parkent in Buka.... We must not hush this up so that something similar is not repeated in a different place and on a different scale. Here there must be complete, unconditional glasnost. It is terrible to think that it was precisely rumors which led Parkent to the tragedy of 3 March....

The Seventh Plenum of the Republic Komsomol Central Committee held almost a month ago adopted a resolution on the events in Tashkent Oblast and this also turned to the commission with an appeal to name the guilty parties and assess certain tendentious publications in the central press....

But we also have other questions for the commission and at present an answer is required for these. Why did the police have no other opportunity to prevent the disorders but the use of combat weapons? The Uzbek MVD possesses only three water cannons. Only now are they discussing the question of providing the republic law enforcement bodies with tear gas sprayers and other equipment for "cooling down" a rampaging crowd. Just several years ago, to our good fortune, these were not needed by the Uzbek police. To our great misfortune, they now have been....

Uzbek Council of Ministers Discusses Language Issue

90US0946A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA 1 May 90
p 2

[UzTAG report: "Success Lies in Initiative and Efficiency"]

[Text] This idea was stressed at the session of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers.

Around 3,500 residents of Tashkent's Kuybyshevskiy Rayon have enrolled in Uzbek language courses. A total of 280 groups have been set up at enterprises and establishments and in organizations in the area where they live. Furthermore, in a number of cases the ispolkom of the rayon soviet of people's deputies has assumed the cost of their support.

A good undertaking! But... only one of the very first steps toward implementation of the Law on the State Language of the Uzbek SSR.

This was discussed at a session of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers.

This time the implementation of the law was discussed using the example of one rayon in the republic capital. It was in many ways typical of other rayons, cities and oblasts.

The fact was stressed that, just as in the case of other state acts, the local agencies of power have a leading role in the implementation of this law. They are in charge of organizing and monitoring the work, and their assistance to the enterprises, establishments and organizations must be combined with great demandingness.

Naturally, the example set by the agency of authority itself is of prime importance. What is the situation with respect to this?

The ispolkom of the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon soviet established a working commission headed by one of the deputy chairmen, and similar commissions were set up at many enterprises and establishments and in organizations in the rayon. Specific steps were outlined for implementing the law. Specific individuals were assigned responsible for their implementation and specific deadlines were set.

They have not yet been able to organize systematic implementation of these plans, however. Let us cite just one development which describes the performance of the ispolkom itself. The position of translator was added to the staff, but the filling of the position was held up. This affected the target dates for translating paper work into the state language.

The ispolkom has not heard a report from a single head of an enterprise, establishment or organization at its meetings in 3 months. Their measures were not summarized, analyzed, supported, adjusted... in a timely manner.

To a significant degree the republic ministries and departments also bear responsibility for these blunders. Incidentally, many of them are located in the rayon.

Clearly, the ispolkom of the rayon soviet could be more persistent in reminding the leaders of these departments of their duties with respect to implementing the Law on the State Language.

The Cultural Center imeni Lunacharskiy, located in Kuybyshevskiy Rayon, does not have a proper stock of books in the state language. Furthermore, there is extremely little literature on the republic's history and economics, a number of the exact and applied sciences, and the interest of the readers in Uzbek translations of foreign literary classics and the works of writers of fraternal republics.

The Ministry of Culture and republic publishing houses as well as the Ministry of Education need to take steps to improve the system for teaching the Uzbek language at all of Tashkent's schools and the schools of other republic cities and rayons.

In Kuybyshevskiy and the city's other rayons, however, there is a shortage of qualified teachers of Uzbek, only half of the teachers are provided with technical teaching equipment, and there are not enough textbooks or aids.

Other departments must share responsibility for deficiencies in the implementation of the law with the rayon ispolkom. The Ministry of Motor Transport, for example, has not set up courses for teaching the Uzbek language to dispatchers and cashiers at motor transport stations and terminals.

The republic ministries of communications, construction and grain products, Glavtashkentstroy [Main Administration for Construction in the City of Tashkent] and the administration of the Tashkentkiy Traktorny Zavod and Sredazkabel production associations have not seen to the timely implementation of appropriate measures at enterprises under their jurisdiction in Kuybyshevskiy and other rayons in the city.

The ispolkom of the rayon soviet should consult more frequently and be more vigorous in establishing contacts with organizations and establishments charged with the methodological and consultative functions involved in

implementing the law: with the Academy of Sciences and specialists on terminology and place-names.

This would have a positive effect upon the everyday work and help to satisfy the interest of broad groups of the population in the history, culture and traditions and in problems pertaining to the language.

The Presidium of the Council of Ministers has pointed out to those in charge of the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon Ispolkom, the Tashkent City Ispolkom and a number of departments, enterprises, establishments and organizations, deficiencies in the implementation of the Law on the State Language of the Uzbek SSR and required them to take effective steps toward the practical implementation of all the provisions contained in the law.

Kabardina-Balkar Ethnic Tensions Viewed

90UN1769 Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No 17,
Apr 90 p 6

[Interview with Boris Mustafayevich Zumakulov, secretary of the Kabardino-Balkar Province CP Committee, by V. Treskov: "We Are Bound Together With Russia"]

[Text] Mountain dwellers of various nationalities have lived for centuries beneath the arched domes of Mt. Elbrus, as if under a common roof. In their languages they sing of the beauty and power of the two-headed crest. Since ancient times they have observed the noble traditions of old, observed the strict laws of their forbears and passed from generation to generation the banner of their nation's pride and honor. Unfortunately, in recent times life in that region has been considerably marred by ethnic tensions. What shape are ethnic relations in there at present? With that crucial question I began my conversation with Boris Mustafayevich Zumakulov, Secretary of the Kabardino-Balkar Province CP Committee.

[Zumakulov] Our region has a very varied ethnic makeup. In addition to Kabardas and Balkars, the two peoples that the republic is named after, the area is inhabited by 245,000 Russians and by large compact groups of Ukrainians, Ossetians, Tats, Jews, Germans, Meskhetian Turks, Georgians, Crimean Tartars, Koreans—representatives of more than 90 nationalities in all.

Our forbears did not leave us a legacy of deep-rooted, antagonistic contradictions. It so happens the Kabardas, Balkars, Russians and other peoples have lived side by side and together for centuries, their fates historically bound together as one. And while in some areas people may try to dispute whether some people or other voluntarily adhered to the Russian state, in our area they are proud that precisely Kabarda and Balkaria were the first in the North Caucasus, more than 430 years ago, to voluntarily join the Russian state and have guarded its southern borders for hundreds of years. True, the deformations of Stalinism's dark days didn't bypass Kabardino-Balkaria. The consequences of the Balkar people's deportation in the 1940s are felt to this day.

[Treskov] What concrete measures are being taken to overcome these consequences and what is hampering that effort?

[Zumakulov] Relying on the peoples' traditions and looking to the sources that determine relations between people of different nationalities, we are attempting to speed the elimination of past obstructions and striving to see that this process takes place in calm and democratic conditions.

I would like the center to be quicker to react and more flexible in resolving one problem or another, since a lag or loss of initiative puts local party organizations and cadres in a difficult position. Take the question of giving the rights of autonomous republics real content—enhancing their status. To date, almost nothing has been done in that regard. Our suggestions on restoring the autonomous republics' representations in Moscow and creating a cultural and arts center has been under review for going on two years now.

During the discussion of the Election law the parliament paid no heed to the suggestion that a mechanism be created that would guarantee representation of the numerically small peoples and the compact national groups that inhabit various regions. Meanwhile, the republics proved unable to influence the social and national makeup of the corps of Deputies and thereby became initiators, as it were, of an artificially provoked ethnic tension that has its origins in wounded national dignity and resentment.

And one more thing. The peoples that had been unlawfully deported from their native lands and torn away from their accustomed geographical and ethnic environment were impatiently awaiting rehabilitation. It was apparent that April 1985 logically leads a person to find within himself the strength to overcome stereotypes, tell the whole truth about the deportation and restore peoples' good names and reputations. For four years, poets, writers, motion picture directors and actors have been talking about that in the press. But the official leadership in Moscow has maintained silence, and that has put us party officials in an ambiguous situation. Finally, the long-awaited Declaration on Deeming the Repressive Acts Toward the Peoples Subjected to Forcible Resettlement To have Been Unlawful and Criminal is being adopted at a legislative session. That is truly a document of immense political, moral and ethical significance. But everyone is awaiting the implementation of its provisions in the form of governmental and state acts. Months have gone by, however, and there's been no movement. The list of facts of this kind could be prolonged.

[Treskov] A number of unofficial associations have been set up in the republic, I understand. What are their prospects and what influence are they exerting on relations among the nationalities in Kabardino-Balkaria?

[Zumakulov] The unofficial associations are striving to make their contribution to the success of perestroika, they are doing a certain amount of selfless work in the

realm of culture, language and of immortalizing the memory of the republic's prominent figures. They are also dealing with environmental and migration problems, they are helping to maintain ties with their fellow countrymen living abroad, and they are organizing meetings with people working in culture, science and the arts. The leaders of the unofficial associations are members of a republic council on relations among the nationalities. Their proposals and remarks were taken into account in the preparation of a long-term program to deal with the problems of instilling internationalist values.

We try to show tolerance and understanding for the unofficial groups' problems, in view of the fact that they have no experience behind them. The makeup of the membership and that of the aktiv are dissimilar. In view of that fact, we engage in open dialogue and seek ways to cooperate, but we also reserve the right to express our opinion in the event of attempts to affront national feelings for the benefit of group or other interests. And such things do happen.

In this connection, party bodies often come under critical fire from two sides at once. On the one hand, we are criticized by those who see nothing but evil in the unofficial organizations. They don't understand why officials of the CPSU obkom are engaging in a dialogue with them.

On the other hand, the champions of the unofficial movements curse us for not giving them adequate support and not sheltering them from criticism on the part of the public.

Here, once again, we are for a carefully weighed and balanced assessment of the unofficial associations' activities: You can't be ruled by emotions, you have to find points of contact and cooperate with all the social forces that promote the success of perestroyka. It's doubtless fitting to recall Lenin's words to the effect that a principled policy is the most correct policy.

[Treskov] You mentioned the cultural societies and centers that have been created in recent times by representatives of various peoples. What role do you assign to culture in imbuing people with internationalist solidarity?

[Zumakulov] We recently published a book entitled "Russian and Soviet Writers on Kabardino-Balkaria." From the works collected in that book, one can see what sincerity, warm feelings and respect such great writers and poets as Tikhonov, Sholokhov, Pasternak and Simonov have shown for our republic and for the peoples who live here. I must also mention that at one time there were very close contacts among the cultural and arts figures in the region. You might say they lived together—lived a single, common cultural life. Even the problems of language, orthography and the unification of alphabets were discussed in common, and conceptions were developed in common. Festivals of literature and the arts ranging from a few days to 10 days in duration

were held in Moscow and in the capitals of the autonomous republics. All of that was in the mainstream of strengthening the friendship and fraternity among peoples and was consonant with the tasks of instilling internationalist and patriotic values and of ensuring the mutual enrichment of progressive customs and traditions devised by the age-old wisdom of the North Caucasian peoples. But the psychology of the stagnation period ill-served the traditional friendly ties among the republics and provinces of the North Caucasus region. It somehow ceased to be the accepted thing to talk about friendship with a neighbor or about the mutual influences and mutual enrichment of cultures; a certain coolness set in—strained relations, official in tone even among people in leadership positions, spread immediately along both the horizontal and the vertical axes. The regional affiliates and institutes that had been set up at one time began narrowing their functions and gradually restricted themselves to their purely local problems.

Today, there are favorable possibilities for restoring and expanding contacts with neighboring fraternal peoples in the cultural and spiritual realms. Kabardian books have begun regularly appearing in Balkar translation, and vice versa, and courses have been set up for teaching the native languages. Republic, rayon and city newspapers have begun printing pages in the Kabarda and Balkar languages. We hold joint meetings of personnel from the North Caucasus' republic and province newspapers, and contacts are expanding in other areas, as well. But we don't get the feeling that the corresponding creative organizations in Moscow are taking an active and interested stand on this matter. It sometimes seems to me that they have split up into separate compartments based on group and other criteria, and that they are not very concerned about the development of creative processes in the realm of literature and the arts in other regions.

[Treskov] Boris Mustafayevich, you yourself are a representative of the Balkar people who suffered during the Stalinist years, and you no doubt personally suffered all the distortions of nationality policy. It would be interesting to know what form your fate took and what, of the things you experienced, remains fresh in your memory. After all, you were still a boy when you landed in the group earmarked for "special resettlement."

[Zumakulov] What can I say about myself? My father played an active part in the Civil War as commander of a partisan detachment, and after completing the Communist University for Working People of the East in Moscow, he worked as secretary of a primary party cell and as first Secretary of the Elbruskiy Raykom; after that, he suffered repression, was drummed out of the party and passed through the Stalin camps.

I wasn't yet born when my father was "taken." The only thing my father asked of the investigator of his case was to find out whether he had had a boy or a girl. The official record of the interrogation contains a note to the effect that a son was born to detainee Zumakulov and was named Boris. In 1940 my mother—a former

komsomol member and one of the first mountain women to join the party—was advised to write that she confirms her husband's "counterrevolutionary activity" and disavows him. But my mother refused to betray my father. As a result, she was dismissed from the party. Then, it's true, in 1955 my father was completely rehabilitated and reinstated in the party, and mama's party card was also returned to her. I had a very difficult childhood as the son of an "enemy of the people." I was four years old when I landed in strange surroundings. At the time, I couldn't understand what I had done wrong. You can imagine the things I had to endure and suffer through. I grew up in a special-regime settlement and, for all practical purposes, had no childhood.

I remember the following incident. One day our school decided to take us on an excursion to Frunze. Of all the fourth graders, I was the only one who had been forcibly resettled there. At the entry to Frunze, we were stopped at a check point. I remember how the other kids put me on the floor of the carriage and all sat on me in a tightly-packed row and answered "No!" in unison when asked by the man on duty whether there were any

resettled kids on board. He didn't believe them, however, and made everyone get off; they found me, chewed us out and sent us back home. The next day a Young Pioneer formation was called and I got a loud dressing down, as if I had committed some kind of audacious crime. But then, during those difficult years, we particularly felt—and would remember forever—the friendly concern and brotherly mutual assistance of people of all nationalities living in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia. I also remember my first encounter with my native land, which I got to see 14 years later. There had still been no official rehabilitation, and autonomy had still not been restored to the Balkar people, but at the train station in Nalchik we were met by friends of my father's—Kabardas Zhuko Beytokov and Magomed Unachev, Russians Mikhail Zatsepilin and Mikhail Zvontsov, and the Jewess, Anna Goldberg. We were all taken into different apartments (we had no home of our own). In that incident and in many other instances of unalloyed human concern and good will we see a manifestation of comradeship and internationalism. Perhaps they helped my numerically small people to survive and to retain its national dignity.

USSR Journalists' Union Statement on Draft Press Law

90US0883A Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 3, Mar 90 pp 24-25

[Unattributed Article by the USSR Journalists' Union: "Draft Press Law Discussion Results: Opinion of Our Union"]

[Text] The expanded secretariat of the government of the USSR Journalists' Union summed up the USSR Draft Press Law and other means of mass information in the journalists' organizations of the country. We are publishing the resolution, accepted by the secretariat for this question and sent to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The USSR draft of the law regarding the press and other means of mass information met with tremendous attention and interest, as a long-awaited and vitally important legal act for the press. It has been discussed widely at conferences and plenums of governments of Republic and local organizations of the USSR Journalists' Union, in primary journalists' collectives. The USSR journalists' Union received more than 700 remarks and proposals.

Journalists of the country regard the Draft Press Law as a major, fundamental step toward the development of democracy, through legal regulation of the press. They note its tendency toward real expansion and deepening of glasnost, the presence of which guarantees a clearcut procedural freedom of speech and press, and the right to information. The first article found wide support, proclaiming the inadmissibility of censorship. In the opinion of the journalists' society, the Press Law will become a good basis for qualitative rejuvenation of all the work of the means of mass information corresponding to the tasks of perestroika, and formation of the press's rule of law. It will help Soviet journalism return itself to freedom and dignity, lost in the Stalin and stagnation years.

The secretariat of the government of the USSR Journalists' Union divides these appraisals and supports the acceptance of the Draft Press Law by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In view of this, summarizing the received remarks and amendments, the secretariat asks the Supreme Soviet to take into consideration the following proposals: 1. Article 6, to be accepted in the editorial office, gives the right to establish the means of mass information to each citizen of the USSR. This would correspond to the concluding document of the Viennese meeting signed by our country, where it says that the State and its undersigned will "allow individual persons...to receive, possess, reprint and distribute information materials of all kinds," and also "will remove all restrictions incompatible with the above-mentioned circumstances." The USSR also joined with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and also took upon itself the commitment to guarantee the right of an individual to "spread information and ideas by every means." The named documents, appearing as declarations, that is to

say, as a proclamation of legal principles, cannot disclose in detail the means of realization of these principles in practice. This is a task of direct action laws, one of which is the Press Law. Deprivation of a citizen's constitutional rights would be, in our opinion, a violation of the circumstance to remove "all restrictions" and permit "any means" of distribution of information by the individual.

Simultaneously we propose to supplement the last paragraph of article 6: "Monopolization of any form of the means of mass information by individual organizations and persons is not allowed," and also supplement article 15: "Profits of organizations and persons who establish means of mass information, and publishing activities to implement them are taxable, corresponding to USSR and union republics' legislation."

2. For the security of a necessary professional level of means of mass information, as established by organizations and individual citizens, we supplement article 6 with the paragraph: "Members or groups of members of professional journalists' and writers' organizations, created in correspondence with the law, establishing the means of mass information, in relation to other citizens, use the preference for receiving bank credits, state subsidies and securing of other production-economic conditions of activities of the means of mass information."

With that goal article 13 is supplemented with the paragraph: "In case of a founder's decision about the ceasing of activities of the means of mass information, the journalists' collective of the editorial office has a preference for the acquisition of a competent founder."

3. Article 42, as in an alternative variant, is fully eliminated from the Law. This points out that the need to coordinate materials and to forbid their publication on the part of officials involves reporting about the interference and the publication of the family name of the person who performed it. The article admits that such interference by outside persons is possible and permissible. In such a way secret censorship replaces openness, since its actions will be shown in the press.

4. For securing of a founder's balance of mutual rights and duties and means of mass information, article 13 is set forth in the following way:

"The founder works out and affirms a program of activities of a means of mass information together with the editorial staff, who recognizes the program on the basis of its full independence, and answers to the founder for its implementation. In case of a discrepancy in published materials with a program, a founder can turn to, in a given means of mass information, the editor (editor-in-chief), the editorial board, and editorial staff members to justify demand for revision of a position or for dismissal. In case of a program founder change or of its individual parts, an editor (editor-in-chief), the editorial board, and employees of the editorial staff, who disagree with these changes, have a right to publish, in a

given means of mass information, reasons for the announcement about dismissal.

Other relations between founder and means of mass information are regulated by the editorial regulations.

Actions of a founder or means of mass information, violating the rights of one or another side, can be appealed in court."

The given text, in distinction from the present, leaves to the editorial staff the possibility to participate in the working out of a program and also do it not as a hired performer, but as an equal partner of the founder, as a conscientious champion of his ideas. In this case, full independence corresponds to full responsibility.

The law should not regulate current relations between founder and editorial staff—that is the regulations' business. Legal regulation follows only in connection with published materials. This standard, together with the right to demand dismissals and to submit resignations, and also to turn to court, contains all the principle features of glasnost and maintains reader interest, which should be the main task of the Press Law.

5. In the goals of securing the interests of the user of the means of mass information this article is introduced in chapter 1. "The article...Priority of rights of the user of means of mass information.

All relations, arising in connection with the creation and functioning of the means of mass information, are regulated by the present law, proceeding from the priority of rights and general interests of the user of the means of mass information before the rights and interests of the remaining participants of the information process."

Such a standard, by necessity declarative, could nonetheless play the role of principle reference point for pronouncing court and other decisions concerning the work of the press.

6. In the first paragraph of article 17—"The editor, appointed by the founder or elected in order, by determined editorial regulations, directs by the editorial staff"—is stated differently—"elected in a determined order (by a founder)." It will turn out otherwise, that the editorial regulations are higher in status than, let's say, the decision of the local Soviet to conduct elections for an editor of a newspaper founded by them at the session of the Soviet or by the population itself.

7. The majority of participants in the discussion think that the draft insufficiently guarantees legal defense of the journalist from prosecution for criticism and especially for truthful treatment of antisocial actions. In connection with this we ask for the reinstatement of the last paragraph in article 34, groundless except for one of the preliminary stages:

"In connection with the fulfillment of official duties, a journalist uses the legal defense as a person performing his societal duty."

8. The last paragraph of article 29 is formulated this way:

"The editorial staff has the right not to answer letters not relating directing to its profile, containing complaints of a private nature, adoption of measures not in its realm, and also letters whose authors do not indicate a desire for an answer."

Variation:

"The editorial staff is obligated to answer critical remarks and proposals concerning the work of a given means of mass information. The editorial staff has the right to use its discretion as to whether or not to answer letters containing questions which relate to other matters."

This will not harm work with the post office, since the editorial staff is larger than an individual, and they are interested in using everything valuable in it, so that they will finally be free from the functions of the bureau of complaints, which do not relate specifically to the press.

9. In article 15—"A publisher may appear with a legal person, who has offered guarantees of material, technical and financial security for activities of the means of mass information." A supplement is added: "...offered to the founder ...". Otherwise this can be interpreted as a demand to offer such guarantees to the organ implementing registration, that is to say, Goskompechat, under whose authority the majority of publishers (publishing houses) fall. In addition to legal illogic, serious obstacles for founding new publications would appear.

10. The fourth point from article 37 is removed, obliging a journalist to inform an editor about the limits beyond which distributed information can divulge a State secret. It unrealistically demands that each journalist have a comprehensive knowledge of what is a State secret and what is not. And consequently, one cannot place such a responsibility on him. Furthermore, the law does not make a provision for the responsibility of the person possessing the State secret who reports it to the journalist. The guarding of a State secret, in our opinion, should be regulated by a law about glasnost, and not about the press.

11. A fine in the amount of 50 thousand rubles for moral (non-physical) damage (article 43), by unanimous opinion of discussion participants, is unacceptable. This will engender the demand for money, and will create the possibility for financial destruction of objectionable publications. We propose to limit the fine to the average monthly salary of the guilty person or to a sum of 500 rubles.

12. The particular role of the means of mass information in the political and cultural life of society demands legal protection against subordination for commercial interests. We propose with this goal to supplement the fourth article with the paragraph:

"The costs for producing the means of mass information are established in accordance with the USSR State Committee for Pricing."

Party Pressure Seen in Shutdown of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA

90US0881A Moscow *OGONEK* in Russian No 12,
17-24 Mar 90 pp 6-7

[Article by S. Panasenko and E. Chernova: "A Spoonful of Stagnation in a Barrel of Glasnost"]

[Text] [Cartoon caption: "The daily newspaper of the CPSU Central Committee SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA was closed by a resolution on July 23, 1989. There really was nothing noteworthy about it: in the end a publisher is free to decide the fate of a publication at his own discretion, but in view of the circumstances preceding and accompanying this occurrence, we are forced to take up the pen."]

One must eventually publicly air the dirty linen of the "party leadership of the press." This speech is not about our personal fate: thank God, we have organized (which one cannot say about all employees of liquidated newspapers), but we are afraid that in attempts to stop or at least to slow down the development of events, there will be no future for many newspapers and journalists—and one must keep this in mind when debating in detail the draft press law.

First of all, let's carefully read the document, which puts an end to the 20-year history of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA. Here it said: "In connection with the reorganization of the Central Committee and with its transfer from the sector-based division to the political, the sector-based publications are also being reorganized. That would be logical, but how do you explain why *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA* and *SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA* are considered trade papers, and *SELSKAYA ZHIZN* and *UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA* are not? And why is it enough simply to rename one trade paper, and discontinue another?

Nevertheless, with the two closings—of *SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA* and *STROITELNAYA GAZETA*—they were treated unequally in the end. The worries of the People's Deputies and editorial staff collective of *STROITELNAYA GAZETA* were not realized; the newspaper was not closed, but was formally returned to its previous owner—Gosstroy USSR—who had taken possession of it several years before. It is true that it was returned in a peculiar manner—they canceled the lease of the printing-house and building with the *PRAVDA* publishers. *STROITELNAYA GAZETA* then became inconsequential. It exists on paper, but is not published, because there is no printing plant and no offices. The collective, naturally, slowly goes to pieces, so that when "floor space" appears, a cadre problem arises.

What concerns *SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA* is not the collective letter in the name of General Secretary M. S. Gorbachev, not the intercession of

members of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and not the proposition to "buy out" the newspaper from the Central Committee or return it to a more interested publisher; these factors did not effect the decision.

Comparing the fate of two closed newspapers of the Central Committee forces one to arrive at this conclusion: the reformers were simply indifferent to the further existence of *STROITELNAYA GAZETA*, but their view of *SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA* became more ardent and attentive.

The roots of this "special relationship" lie in the long history of conflicts and reconciliations between the paper and its publisher. Having been conceived during the former "Kosygin" economic reforms, *SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA* outlived its creator. Whatever way the paper was fashioned, and wherever it was cast, in those "stagnant" years it was generally considered "leftwing" (leftwing at the time, of course). For this reason they were obliged to name it *REFORMATORSKAYA GAZETA*. It is true that "leftism," according to present standards, was unproductive. Careless ministries were criticized for dereliction, individual enterprises for failure of specific tasks, and so forth, but *SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA* played this role more zealously than many other publications, which did not gain the newspaper friends in the higher echelons of power.

Alright, everything about the stifling atmosphere of that decade is apparent to us now. The paradox, however, lies in the fact that relations between the Central Committee and the newspaper deteriorated rapidly in the perestroika era, when we journalists seriously embraced democratization and glasnost. Here are just a few examples.

Several thousand people at the Pavlodarsky tractor factory appealed to the newspaper to help them organize elections for a director. This became known in the former Ministry of Agricultural Machinery. First, phone calls rang out from the ministry, they asked the editorial staff not to "be led around by the nose," and when journalists did not yield to persuasion, because they were familiar with the real conditions of the sectors and enterprises, party leaders of high rank joined in. Subsequently, the election results were crumpled up, and the article remained unpublished.

The newspaper was harshly criticized because of its economic topics. Two meetings, if one may use that term, in the Central Committee stand out like two peaks in a mountain range in the round of phone calls through the "revolving door" and expressions of dissatisfaction in the corridors. The first took place in 1987 in the Propaganda Department, when the whole editorial board got called "on the carpet." A year later the

Economic Department chief V. Shimko invited for discussion the newspaper editor-in-chief, his deputy, and the economic department editor. There were more than a dozen "discussion partners" on the side of the Central Committee, and the cause inspired the publication of V. Selyunin's stirring article "Growth Rate in the Scales of Consumption Volume," and also the newspaper's editorial "Plan or Market." At that time, besides the traditional Propaganda Department curator, there appeared at the newspaper a special Economic Department curator of the Central Committee.

"We have no complaints about our paper," repeated the ideological directors, maintaining their courtesy. "And the more persistently this is emphasized, the clearer it becomes to us professional gatherers of information, who know how to draw conclusions even from what is omitted. Our comrades are trying to trick us!"

"You understand why you were protected," said the manager of the Council of Ministers Information Department L. Vosnesensky to one of our colleagues. "We are not against criticism, but one cannot be. You did not let one government decision get past you, since you re-edited every one."

Here it is—one of the most important reasons for such a strange "reorganization" of the party press.

Our editor spent eight months in deep secrecy working on this touted resolution. Only rumors made their way to us—it was approved—no, the Politburo changed its mind—no, it was accepted. That was glasnost in 1989. Finally, when everything was decided, agreed, and signed, they brought the facts to the attention of our editor-in-chief A. Baranov and to the secretary of party organization V. Vasilyeva. Minor objections and the party's declaration of its principles, about which journalists and millions of readers ought to have been consulted, were rejected as "formal." Then the request to appease the collective was announced: everyone, without exception, who does not wish to work in the reorganized paper, will be given employment without loss of pay and status. True, no publisher managed to get a look at the reorganized press organ of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA; the question, you must admit, is not to be ignored. And only on December 15, two weeks before the official closing of the paper, was it announced that the Central Committee would find new jobs only for members of the editorial board.

Do you know how many members of the editorial board of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA—who did not remain with RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA—the Central Committee found jobs for? Not counting those who retired, not one. All found jobs themselves, and none of them suffered financially. What about the "chornaya kost" [black bone]—that we are ultimately left to our own resources.

Maybe this is the procedure for closing newspapers in the rest of the world? Well, then give us the salary paid to "the rest of the world," unemployment benefits, and

powerful trade unions. Some journalists with SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, after many years of praising the advantages of socialism, unexpectedly found themselves in conditions similar to the capitalism of the Karl Marx era, where one would think nothing of turning out into the street a widow with a sick daughter in her arms, with only two months of severance pay.

With the continuation of this unfair tactic came the selection of staff-members for RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA—a paper that was created, as we already mentioned, out of the ruins of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA. Theoretically, a new editor-in-chief, creating a new newspaper, should have free hands, of course. In this situation carte-blanche for all cadre decisions is fully logical. However, without explanations, it is understandable that one should expect the utmost tact and delicacy from the new editor-in-chief in such a situation. In the meantime, with the appearance in the department of a newly appointed editor-in-chief, nervousness in the collective reached a new high. This editor-in-chief tried to shroud the cadre question in a thick screen of secrecy and rumors. He made it a point not to meet with the collective of the previous editorial staff, leaving people in the dark and making them anxious. The end of the year was approaching swiftly, and its fate had to be determined, but instead there was complete vagueness.

Try now to imagine the situation with our newspaper draft press law and other means of mass information, and it appears, that in light of its seeming revolutionary character, nothing can facilitate the life of tomorrow's SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA and its journalists. Abolishing censorship in the first article of this law—strictly speaking—does not give the publisher any means to fight against the restriction on freedom of speech, only incomprehensible editorial regulations. There is no protection in it for individual editorial workers, who end up in a similar situation—not by the grace of God, of course.

About which legal defense can a speech be conducted seriously, if the mechanism of pressure on the press is realized now, in view of the elusive and immaterial "opinions?" Through them the position of each newspaper and of each journalist is adjusted. The reaction to that and other material—often 150 lines—spreads quickly and decisively. For example, we used to find out the Central Committee's "opinion" about each of our publications. The "free" Arbat liked the "opinions," but they did not like the publicist's observations about the nature of State ownership; when this was repeated from day to day, willy-nilly you begin to draw conclusions and "rethink your stance."

Are changes and reforms necessary in the departmental party press? At first glance, absolutely. The very first evidence of this is the unprecedented drop in subscriptions to many Central Committee publications. They

lose value and depth of analysis, but mainly boldness of opinion, striking the reader with its lack of independent position.

On the other hand, if these newspapers and journalists performed such a great "service," what happened to them? Is this not a reflection of the general crisis in the party? Judging by the decisiveness of the reformers, they do not think so. So be it. But one cannot reform the party press if the processes and changes in the modern social consciousness are perceived by other Central Committee workers as completely wrong, and the capacity for adequate—as people are fond of saying—response to external influence is lost.

Judge for yourself. Announcements resound from the high-level forums about the readiness and vital importance for the USSR to join as an equal partner in the system of international division of labor. A set of laws and instructions was implemented, aimed at making the business life in the country more active, and to encourage initiative and enterprise (these laws could be much better—there is no argument—but that is not what this speech is about). Simultaneously, the single newspaper in the country that is really capable of becoming the voice for new economic circles—a business newspaper representing the Soviet equivalent of "The Financial Times" or "The Wall Street Journal"—is closing. Feverish efforts of many journalists, including former staff members of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, create such a newspaper from nothing, which gives evidence to the existence of "social order" in such a press organ. The problem is that they need to cover the whole ground from the beginning, and SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA had already gone halfway when it was destroyed.

Appeals are heard from those high-level forums to put what is common to all mankind in first place, not confined to class worth—to finally stop dividing people into good and bad according to their social class. At the same time, an economic newspaper, having both workers and intellectuals as readers, is liquidated. In return, a publication is created which by public opinion is already firmly tied to the notorious United Workers' Front, which tried not to disgrace its "worker-peasant" alliance since its first issuance. Censure of the democratic platform's "party clubs," and delight concerning the recent meeting at the television center in Ostankin are two random topics of the "perestroika newspaper," just created by the Central Committee, as we would like to point out.

So why is it necessary to undertake this "castling?"

We can propose only two answers: either our ideologues still consider the proletariat a specific, God-inspired class, contact with whom is electorally valuable for the party; or this attempt to play the "worker's card" in the political game uses the workers' built-up discontent with the idea of putting the country in order. The first would give proof of the complete break with reality—about the

attempts to drive life back to the extremely old ideological scheme. The second shows an extremely anxious and explosively dangerous situation. To elevate workers' standard of living, satisfy their social and professional needs with the previous means—taking away from some and giving back to others—is already impossible: in society there is almost no wealth left, which one could try to redistribute. It means that only one thing is left: to demonstrate concern for the worker not in deeds, but in words, creating a workers' newspaper, simultaneously getting the right to speak through this newspaper in the name of the workers.

But all roads lead to Rome, times change, and attempts by the apparatus through this reform of its press (how it would be in reality is not explained) to exert party influence on workers will hardly bear real fruit.

The mechanism of party control over the press is, of course, more complicated than we described: TASS reports are an integral part of party publications; continuous psychological pressure on journalists by means of sanctioned appeals to "take in hand" means of mass information; and Central Committee conferences. But here is the gratifying part: in recent years this mechanism, almost flawless previously, is beginning to function in an erratic manner.

We return once more to the history of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA and propose this question: if this newspaper was 100 percent controllable, would such drastic measures be necessary? We do not think so. In that question and in the core of the conflict, the newspaper already was willful and independent enough to provoke the anger of living with the old notions of "publisher," but still obedient enough to permit itself to be "done away with." Our unhappiness lies in the fact that we did not manage to advance far enough so that we could escape the fear of scandal. It is amusing to note that this is just the sort of scandal, or publicity, that the initiators of glasnost fear most of all.

The closing of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, the weakness of apparatchiks in finding jobs for its nomenklatura workers, scatterings of samizdat newspapers, openly distributed, all this means only one thing: formerly one could not implement control over the means of mass information in the country. The unavoidable, objective process of freedom of the press will continue. Party ideologues, in principle, can react to it in two ways. They can move toward this process, essentially facilitating the transfer to democracy and to a legal State, or they can close, call "on the carpet," judge, and give instructions to the press and television—we know about such cases too. Spoiled manuscripts and broadcasts, as well as offended people, accompany this method of conducting affairs. Democracy, we can only hope, will force its way: the question lies in the terms and pay, which will take away from all of us—journalists and non-journalists, writers and readers—those who are accustomed to settling the matter of our interrelations for us and without us. COPYRIGHT: "Ogonek", 1990.

Tiraspol Party-Government Struggle for Newspaper Control Detailed

90US0955A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 15 Apr 90 p 1

[Article by V. Chalyy (Tiraspol): "Harum-Scarum; What Happens When Ambition Gets the Upper Hand"; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] It is likely that nothing will ever amaze us again now that we are facing a new surprise each day. Apropos of this, here is the latest astounding bit of news: A session of the Tiraspol city soviet made an unprecedented decision to change the status of the local newspaper. Without batting an eyelid, as the saying goes, the people's deputies proclaimed themselves the sole proprietors of DNE-STROVSKAYA PRAVDA. This means that the city party committee has lost its press organ.

The situation, you will agree, is certainly irregular, and it is understandable that the city party committee reacted accordingly. Following hot on the deputies' heels, so to speak, it held an irregular party committee plenum right away.

I must say that the gorkom's reaction won the strong support of Communist and non-Communist readers of the paper. The soviet's decision disturbed the whole city. It agitated people and, naturally enough, caused many to wonder not only what had happened, but also why it had happened. When I attended the plenum, I also tried to figure out how something like this could have happened. The situation seemed illogical. After all, if nothing else, the party's influence in the soviet had seemed to be a sure thing: 70 percent of the deputies are Communists. Why, then, did they not defend the position of the party committee?

Oddly enough, they did not even try.

Quite frankly, what happened in Tiraspol was not a big tragedy. This would have happened sooner or later anyway. What was tragic was the nervous haste the deputies displayed, including the Communist deputies. It was simply too early to make a final decision, and some time should have been set aside to take a closer look at the issue and analyze it.

The whole thing was extremely complicated. Here is a characteristic detail. One of the speakers at the plenum, who was, incidentally, a man with a law degree, said that the session had exceeded its authority because the newspaper was founded by a party organ. This meant that the republic parliament could nullify the invalid decision, and then everything would be settled. But no, the speaker was immediately corrected: No agency or court would want to start reviewing the decisions of the city soviet, especially since they would not feel it was appropriate to nullify this decision for the simple fact that the newspaper was established by a party organ, the actions of which are not regulated by any legal documents.

That was the gist of the whole conversation. After giving it the consideration it deserved, I felt inexplicably offended. What is happening to us? We have suddenly embarked on the strictest observance of the letter of the law, even if we did not even suspect that this law existed in the past. Without a moment of reflection, we are giving up what used to be of the highest value to us. Remember, after all, it was just about 5 years ago that we refused to acknowledge anything but party instructions. Now, however, we smile and pretend that this never happened and never could have happened.

I will return to the main cause of this offensive incident, and I will repeat the question that is probably disturbing many people: How could it have happened that the Communist deputies ignored the interests of the party gorkom? And at a time like this! The gorkom was left without a press organ at the most inconvenient time—just a few days before the party conference, and not long before the congress of the Moldavian Communist Party, a time when millions of Communists throughout the country are involved in a discussion that will essentially decide the future of the CPSU....

Some people are certain not to share the others' worries. They will try to call this a coincidence and blame it on a peculiar set of circumstances. The elections to the soviets were so unusual, they will say, and it was their extraordinary nature that brought about this turn of events. But are we really naive enough to accept this explanation?

I hope the people of Tiraspol will forgive my frankness, but I have to say that what happened in their city is similar in most respects to the incidents that motivated the CPSU Central Committee to address the Communists of the country in the recently published open letter which was permeated with concern about the present state of the society and the party. The drafts of the platform for the 28th party congress and its new charter are now being debated widely in the press, and I can understand those who are literally tearing the sentences to pieces in an attempt to give the documents more precise meaning, profundity, and originality, in line with the new requirements, spirit, and essence of revolutionary renewal. But how can I understand my old friends who have suddenly taken such a sharp turn to the left that their heads are spinning?

The words "my old friends" are not just an abstract impersonal phrase. I could name specific names, but I will not do this because I am hoping that they just took a false step, that they stumbled on the rocky road we are traveling now, and that, God willing, they will come to their senses and "regain their balance." I firmly believe this because I know who they really are, what inspires them, and what they can accomplish. They have noble impulses, as the saying goes, but they are approaching the goal in a roundabout way, and the detour they have taken is full of pot holes.

I am certain there is no need to remind anyone how complicated the present situation is. People are

extremely disturbed by the friction in the sociopolitical sphere, the economic difficulties, the inter-ethnic strife, the separatist tendencies, and the relaxation of discipline and order. It is quite natural that all of these developments are evoking ruthless criticism. People are stating extremely dissimilar opinions and expressing different, sometimes conflicting views. This is also natural. The disturbing part is something else. Taking advantage of the CPSU's refusal to secure its leading role in legislation, some people are attempting to bring about changes in policy that will split the party.

We are not blind. We can see the threat of a split on the right and on the left. The outbursts of nationalism, chauvinism, and separatism have not escaped our notice either.

All of this might be true, my opponent would say, but what connection does this have with what happened in Tiraspol?

I think it is the most direct connection possible. The incident which occurred at the session of the city soviet was a result of the typical lack of principles of Communists invested with deputy powers. Intoxicated by the power with which the voters have endowed them, they forget that they are members of the party and, consequently, that members have certain obligations. This is not a matter of dishonoring the uniform, but the real danger that will lie in wait for us wherever there is a loss of genuine party influence. The process begins with seemingly minor details, but ends with major ones—the renunciation of absolutely everything, the renunciation of the choice our people made in October 1917. This is how I see the present situation, and I am not alone. This is how it was interpreted in almost all of the statements by the gorkom members who attended the plenum.

We can see the radical changes in our society and in our whole life because of the prevailing atmosphere of glasnost, democracy, and freedom of thought in recent years. It is as if we have straightened up and felt a new surge of energy. We speak without fear and act without trying to play it safe.

Just take a look at how broad the spectrum of political views and positions has become! Just recently we were shocked by the appearance of informal associations, but today the birth of parties with the most diverse political aims has become a fact of our life. This is wonderful. The society is finally acquiring common human features. But there is something we often forget. The changes which have taken place in the country since April 1985, especially the changes in our feelings and emotions, are connected with the CPSU, the party which is the target of a hail of poisoned arrows today.

There is no question that criticism is useful. As we have seen, however, the present situation is not confined to mere criticism. We are witnessing attempts to ignore the party altogether, to minimize its influence, and to expropriate its property. What can we say, passions are running high! It would probably be best, however, to emerge

from the state of euphoria at least temporarily, take a sober look at what is happening, and make a sober assessment of the present situation. Yes, there are many extremely influential social movements which rode in on the wave of perestroyka, and there are several new political parties which are willing to make any kind of promises whatsoever. We must be honest, however, and admit that the CPSU is still the only organization in the country to which we can entrust the future of perestroyka and the future of each member of our society. While we are criticizing the party, we should also be defending it against drivel and preventing the denigration of its role in the renewal process.

I can sense that people are wondering if this also has a connection to Tiraspol.

Indisputably. I cannot accept the arguments of the deputies who voted for the unfortunate decision and are now trying to convince every one they meet that they were simply carrying out the wishes of the voters and that they themselves have nothing against the gorkom.

How ridiculous! The facts attest to the direct opposite. The angry outbursts following the publication of the decision testify that the deputies clearly exceeded their authority and essentially committed a breach of trust. Most of the voters are the people who subscribe to DNESTROVSKAYA PRAVDA. Why did no one ask for their opinion or their consent? The deputies probably thought that this would be a waste of time because the voters would not care whose organ the paper is. They were wrong. It turns out that the readers do care. The overwhelming majority stated their opinion resolutely and unequivocally: The soviet's decision did not reflect the intentions of all the deputies, but only of a small group of people with excessive and warped ambitions who spend more time pursuing their personal goals than doing their work.

I do not want to end this article on such a gloomy note. I would like to believe that what happened in Tiraspol is just one of the side-effects of the "maturation" of our society now that it is on the democratic track, especially now that it appears that the entire incident will be resolved in favor of the people of Tiraspol. The party gorkom will soon get a new press organ, and Tiraspol will have two local newspapers.

Provision of Paper for Informal Publications Explored

90US0955B Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 10 May 90 p 2

[Article by A. Nadzharov: "Paper Power: Is Glasnost For Sale Too?"; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] **The price of freedom of speech is high. A political protest over a cup of tea does not cost much. There is a slight fee for the same protest if it is printed in a newspaper. The newspaper itself is much more expensive—ours, for example, earns a profit of over a million a**

year. This is when there is a supply of the material basis of our democracy, with all of its glasnost and pluralism—paper.

The publication of the central newspapers in many cities has been stopped. Subscribers receive their favorite publications late—there is not enough paper. The shortage, however, does not bother everyone. Why not?

There is the assumption that the supply is being reduced artificially by the notorious apparat. After all, NOVYY MIR is published 2 months late, and ARGUMENTY I FAKTY reaches the subscriber when the facts are obsolete and the arguments are exhausted. RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA is not being printed anymore in Yerevan and Saratov—there is no paper.

"But today it is much more convenient for us to help the publications than to create trouble for them," Deputy Chief G. Pryakhin of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department said indignantly.

This is when I learned that during this gloomy period of paper fever, around 70 new publications have been registered just in Leningrad Oblast this year. It is indicative that most of them are not interested in arguments or facts, or in any kind of accurate information whatsoever. They are full of sentences like these: "The Jewish Masons have seized all power in the country," "The Yeltsin-Gdlyan gang is planning a coup," "The Bolsheviks are robbing honest entrepreneurs, and Gorbachev wants this to continue," "Workers for the tsar!" and "Let us purge our fatherland of the alien elements and outsiders who have ruined the country!"

Here is the amazing thing: These publications, in contrast to the central newspapers, are not in need of paper. Many of them have no shortage of the latest electronic equipment either, although it is still only a dream for even the central newspapers. Well, there might be a simple explanation for the equipment: I saw how members of an international gang of smugglers bring state-of-the-art computers into our territory. But what about the paper? Has it also become part of the shadow economy?

I went to Vyborgskiy Rayon in Leningrad Oblast, near the Finnish border, when I heard that the Kamenogorsk Paper Factory, belonging to the Svetogorsk Pulp and Paper Combine, had started work again after it was almost closed down by the sanitary engineering and epidemiological center. About a year and a half ago, combine Director G. Kaluga was advised to lease it to the Komus (Computer Services) Cooperative in Moscow by administrators of the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry. General Director V. Zhiganov of the Central Technical and Scientific Production Association of the Paper Industry was particularly insistent. His proposal was that the cooperative would build, for free, the kind of sewage treatment facilities for which foreign firms would charge at least a million dollars. Then the output of scarce paper and school notebooks could be increased dramatically.

"Did it increase?" I asked the combine director who had leased the factory.

"I have no idea," Kaluga admitted, "because they would not let my auditors into the factory."

I must say that at first I simply could not understand why the director's kindness had turned to anger before he had been working with the cooperative for even a year. He told me his reasons, however, and I began to understand.

"Judge for yourself," he said. "In the first quarter of the year, Komus went against the agreement by not making payments on almost a million rubles in working capital. The amortization deductions which were supposed to pay the rent were never calculated. The cooperative did not submit a detailed report on the expenditure of the 750,000 rubles deposited in its development fund."

It is interesting that Komus acknowledges some of the combine's complaints even though it disputes many of them. The only mystery is why V. Adler, its chairman, is surprised at the change in Kaluga's attitude. What kind of director would tolerate a negligent partner?

And what about ecology? According to the documents of the local sanitary engineering and epidemiological center, everything is up to date. When I managed to surmount the considerable resistance of the Kamenogorsk representatives of the cooperative and arrived at the factory, however, dense clouds of black smoke hung over it. The deputy director of the leased factory, M. Kazakevich, said this was "sheer coincidence" because there was a problem in the boiler room. Mikhail Solomonovich refused to discuss the appearance and quality of the supposedly treated sewage even though the stench reached as far as the office where we had our conversation. What, then, is the advantage of the cooperative method of paper production, to which no one is likely to have any serious objections? After all, if Kazakevich was telling the truth, the output of paper is the same as before, and the workers earn the same amount as they would at other enterprises.

"But this is not true at all," cooperative Chairman V. Adler corrected his Kamenogorsk subordinate when I saw him in Moscow. "Our people certainly earn much more."

"More power to them. But why hide the fact?"

"We do not need to advertise," he replied. "This is why...."

He certainly was telling the truth. How could they advertise their indifference when each figure points up a discrepancy in the data of the cooperative and combine and each fact is another puzzle? For example, although Komus is a cooperative, it is demanding the privileges of a state enterprise. Asserting that it will provide the country with more paper, it applied for authorization to reduce the assortment considerably.

All right, we can forget about the assortment, but where is the paper? I can assure you immediately that the leased factory fills the state order. And it is eager to cite this figure. But as soon as I asked about products over and above the state order, Kazakevich cut me off: "It is a commercial secret."

Incidentally, the people at the combine did not think this was a secret and cited a figure which Mikhail Solomonovich grudgingly corroborated later—1,200 tons. Running ahead in my story, I have to say that V. Adler had a different figure—520 tons. Of course, as we already learned, this was not the only discrepancy in the information of the superior and his subordinate.

The second secret was connected with the use of this paper. Kazakevich simply refused to answer, while Adler went into the complicated details of the history of the cooperative. Both agreed to be interviewed on the condition that witnesses would be present, and Adler even wanted an attorney there. This did not clear everything up, but it did force me to weigh each word carefully and to ask independent experts for their opinion. Deputy Chief L. Zhuravleva of the Paper Department of the Pravda Publishing House cleared up some of the details of the case of the Kamenogorsk factory.

"They produce offset paper weighing 120 grams a sheet, the kind usually used for the flyleaves of books. After it is coated it can be used for color calendars of scantily clad beauties. Recently, however, newsprint has been substituted for this paper more frequently. Did you say 1,200 tons? This is almost 2,500 tons of 60- or 70-gram newsprint. In the simplest terms, this would be tens of millions of copies of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA or KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Besides this, paper sold over and above the state order is sold at a contracted price, usually 1,000 rubles a ton or more. The 'fat' here amounts to millions of rubles."

It appears that money eclipses everything else at the leased factory: Where the paper goes is a secret, and how much paper we produce is our own business. Meanwhile, the party organization here has virtually disintegrated to the accompaniment of the sound of money, and the workers are obviously afraid to talk to a correspondent. Understandably, all of this disturbs the work team at the Svetogorsk Pulp and Paper Combine. The people here planned to find out exactly what was going on at the factory that had been turned over to the cooperative at the ministry's insistence, but then an unexpected order arrived from Moscow: The enterprise was to be transferred from the jurisdiction of the Svetogorsk Combine to the direct jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry central association headed by the same V. Zhiganov.

Now the cooperative and the ministry can manage the border factory together. They can also earn a profit together. People at the combine feel that, at best, the new minister of the timber industry, V. Melnikov, simply signed the order without reading it. Otherwise, there are

too many inescapable questions. For example, who will control our press because of his action? After all, it is known as the fourth estate throughout the world, following the legislative, executive, and judiciary branches of government.

I do not want to be misunderstood. Although neither V. Adler nor M. Kazakevich, nor A. Barskiy, nor any other Komus employee could cite a single argument in favor of the cooperative, so to speak, method of paper production, I think it also has the right to exist, but only on an equal basis with state production and under strict public control. The present situation is one in which the person with the paper is the person with the power. My journalist colleagues from the "unofficial" press have told me several times that a ton or two of material can be found in any printing house in the country. And the prices are reasonable. They will take scarce goods or valuable services in exchange. Where does all of this come from? And while we are discussing democracy, is paper turning into a new, previously unknown object of criminal activity in our country?

Democratic Union Paper, AIDS Publication Profiled

90US0907A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 5 May 90 p 4

[Interview with E. Molchanov and A. Mann by I. Baranovskiy: "On the Verge of a Newspaper Boom"; date and place not given]

[Text] Every morning, in the passages of the capital underground railway, newspaper hawkers appear—people we are not used to seeing, previously known only from foreign pictures and films about the prerevolutionary past. Even more unfamiliar are the goods they offer for sale: from the numerous pamphlets, bulletins and similar printed materials one can, for example, learn of what the anarcho-syndicalists are thinking, what the program of the Orthodox Monarchists is, and how many "dog clubs" have been registered throughout the land and where. Right next to them articles are for sale which our untried reader would most likely throw into the trash.

Yes, the country is going through an unprecedented newspaper boom. There are certain paradoxes in this. How many have been registered as of today? Unfortunately they could not answer this question, neither at Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics], nor at Goskompechat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade], and not even at the KGB... And nevertheless, newspapers are being founded, and are being published regardless of whether these things are considered or not. Today we give the floor to the chief editors of two of them—What do they think about our press; about the times; what do they expect from their publications; what gives them headaches...

And so, the first newspaper—SVOBODNOYE SLOVO [Free Speech]. This is the organ of the Democratic Union, an organization which has of late often attracted

the attention of the public, and the law-enforcement organs as well. It is published in Moscow, with a distribution of 25,000. The newspaper is headed by E. Molchanov.

[Baranovskiy] **Eduard Dmitrievich, the title of your newspaper requires much of you—an honest, unbiased analysis of events, weighty analyses and objectivity. And all the materials, if only the latest issue of the newspaper, bear a clearly-expressed political coloration—anti-Soviet. Whether you speak of events in Lithuania, of Lenin's NEP, of the election of the nation's President—everywhere one senses sharp disagreement with the official position. And no "totalitarian state," which you criticize so much, has interfered in this matter. It turns out that the time of freedom has come for SVOBODNOYE SLOVO as well!**

[Molchanov] I would not say that. True, our editorial office has not been smashed, we have not been put into prison, and we are really speaking freely. But I think that here society deserves the credit, and not the state...

[Baranovskiy] **And still, ten years ago or so you would not have been given any such consideration.**

[Molchanov] Are you insisting that I say something complimentary about Gorbachev? What of it—there have been changes, but they do not make us feel secure. We believe it is impossible to build a democratic state within the framework of the given system. And this is why we are against the Soviets—organs possessing no power whatsoever, which serve as a shield for conducting the policy of the very same dictatorship.

At the same time, DS [Democratic Union] is opposed to the use of force of any kind—evil begets evil. Our path lies through civil harmony, through the creation of independent socio-political structures.

[Baranovskiy] **What do you consider noteworthy about your newspaper, and what do you expect from it?**

[Molchanov] It has broken out of the samizdat circles. SVOBODNOYE SLOVO is not for the elite—it is for the common, ordinary citizens, with their emasculated consciousness. With its publication prices on the newspaper market were reduced somewhat. For example, KHRONIKA and GLASNOST, which came out before our founding, went for two rubles; and now we stand all by ourselves.

The merit of the newspaper? There are many policies. We try to employ every line to propagate our ideas.

Its shortcomings? Once again—there are many policies. Unfortunately, there is no room for other materials. In time, I believe everything will be put right, and SVOBODNOYE SLOVO will become a full-fledged many-faceted newspaper. If they do not close it down before that...

Now let us turn to the second newspaper—SPID-INFO [AIDS INFO]. It comes out every other month. The

circulation of the last issue reached 2,000,000 copies, and they started out with 500,000. The newspaper is published by the youth-information press agency (APN), on order from the Association for Fighting AIDS at the USSR Fund for Social Invention. The chief editor is—Andrey Mann.

"The motto of our newspaper," says Andrey, "is that people should not die from ignorance. And far from everyone recognizes the danger of AIDS.

[Baranovskiy] **And you have assumed an educational mission!**

[Mann] Exactly right. But how does one speak in simple, understandable terms about things which were once considered indecent? How not to slip into obscenity and vulgarity? We've had to work a bit on procedure.

[Baranovskiy] **It seems to me you've succeeded: the newspaper is bought up in a moment. But there is the question—what is of greater help to your success: the effective erotic pictures in the first and last columns, or the content of the issues itself?**

[Mann] Both, I suppose. Of course the form in which we present the materials is somewhat unusual, but it has proven effective: first taking an interest in the photographs, a person then goes on to read information of use to him. Moreover, our photographs are highly artistic and not some kind of pornography.

[Baranovskiy] **And nevertheless, many people no doubt react to your newspaper is like a bull to a red flag! At times I watch people buying SPID-INFO—sort of furtively, quickly, with downcast eyes. Nor do they read it on public transportation—as if it were indecent...**

[Mann] Well, that's OK. You don't have to read our paper while on the move. A person should spend time with it one-on-one—after all, the topics which we raise on its pages are very serious and deeply personal, and require time for thought.

[Baranovskiy] **Your newspaper is quite specific in nature. Do you ever have trouble putting an issue together?**

[Mann] Thank God, no. There are enough materials. But in order that they are more accessible, more attractive, we invite well-known, popular people to take part in the dialogue, such as the scientist I. Kok, TV commentator A. Nevzorov, and artists N. Negoda and Ye. Yakovleva...

[Baranovskiy] **SPID-INFO costs 40 kopecks in all. By today's standards that's very cheap. Are there any plans to raise the price of the newspaper?**

[Mann] As long as its possible, the price will stay the same. You see, we want everyone to read the newspaper—from student to pensioners. And it must be disseminated, from the stadiums to the bath-houses...

As far as profits are concerned, they are enough today both for the newspaper, and for wages, and for assistance to the six. With every issue the Association for Fighting AIDS pays a one-time monetary award of 200-500 rubles to mothers whose children have been infected with this deadly disease...

Just two newspapers, and two opinions in the increasingly powerful vortex of newspapers. And how many there are, or even if all of them are needed: in the final analysis it is not for us to decide, nor for the government—let the readers vote for every issue with their rubles. That would probably be the right thing to do.

Joint Party-Government Control of Sverdlovsk Paper Creating Strife

90US0907B Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 5 May 90 p 1

[Interview with V.N. Tolstenko by V. Pankratov: "Are We Economizing on Newspapers?"]

[Text] The political situation in the Central Urals today is far from simple. At times it takes on a sharply polemic character. What happened at the 26th Oblast Reporting-Election Party Conference was, in essence, drawing the lines. Some of the communists gave preference to the Democratic platform. In such a situation it is not easy for the newspaper URALSKIY RABOCHIY—organ of the Sverdlovsk Oblast CPSU Organization and the Sverdlovsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies—to organize its work. Our conversation with V.N. Tolstenko, the newspaper's deputy editor, began with the problems which face the editor's collective today.

[Baranovskiy] At the 26th Reporting-Election Party Conference certain delegates complained that the newspaper URALSKIY RABOCHIY did not always support pluralism of opinions. Moreover, RSFSR People's Deputy L. Mishustina, editor of the newspaper ZA INDUSTRIALNYYE KADRY of the Ural Polytechnical Institute, demanded that your newspaper be divided into a Soviet and Party paper. To what extent, Viktor Nikolayevich, are the complaints and reproach justified?

[Tolstenko] It would not be proper to reject out-of-hand our unfinished work in this complex socio-political and economic situation. There is some justification, but that is associated primarily with the fact that there is only one oblast newspaper of our rank, and many ideas, thoughts, opinions and suggestions; and it is practically impossible to embrace them all, if only because the size of our columns is limited. But we try to take various points of view into consideration, naturally, reserving to ourselves the right to check the facts and the right to commentary. Having said that, I would add the following nuance: we have been and are a newspaper of the CPSU, and not of one wing of the party or another. The Soviets have not invested a cent in the newspaper. They don't even have a budget line-item for this. With all respect due to them, I believe that a party newspaper should remain a party newspaper.

Concerning the demands to divide up our publication, even though mechanically, into party and soviet, along with a division of property and space in the newspaper, and dividing the co-workers as well—I do not share these positions. For many long years—decades—we have occupied ourselves with division and distribution, instead of increasing socialist property. The readers, by the way, support us. Letters arriving at the editorial offices in response to proposals by the deputies confirm this.

URALSKIY RABOCHIY is one of the oldest party newspapers in the country. It has been published since 1907, and was established with workers' money, by both party members and non-party workers. The newspaper operates at a profit, and its financial relations are supported only from the party budget. I am sick of extremism, whether it is heard from the rostrums of soviet, or party forums. Without making a single constructive proposal, without offering any plan for getting out of our crisis situation in the economy, people are prepared to become the owners of that which simply does not belong to them.

[Pankratov] How did your disagreement turn out?

[Tolstenko] We had a meeting with the people's deputies. Members of the glasnost commission, headed by RSFSR People's Deputy and Oblast Soviet Deputy L. Mishustina, came to the editor's office. A dialogue ensued. But, while digressing from the specifics of the conflict that arose, God knows how and why, we ask ourselves: Who stands to gain from calling for the nationalization of CPSU property? At first glance—the Soviets: to assert their authority, in particular, and to own the mass information media. Under conditions of a monopoly by one or two newspapers in the oblast, where is the guarantee that—after "severing" the publication from the CPSU, the people's deputies and leaders of unofficial associations who do not share the CPSU Platform, having gained a majority in the Soviets—would not give priority to the opposition with the aid of URALSKIY RABOCHIY? Here we're not talking about freedom of speech, but about grand politics. In a multi-party epoch, everyone must have identical starting positions. It's a pity that the people's deputies of our young Soviets have not given thought to the consequences of their proposals and actions...

[Pankratov] Viktor Nikolayevich, of late many trained journalists have left our editorial office. What has brought this about and how has their departure affected the work of the collective? Incidentally, even G. Kayeta, a newspaper editor, has asked the obkom plenum to relieve him of his position.

[Tolstenko] It's hard to answer that question in brief. In recent years we have not sensed any assistance in our work on the part of the oblast party committee. During the days of First Secretary L. Bobykin, "support" at times consisted only of blow-ups and instructions. With the coming of glasnost, newspaper criticism became

more acute, although I am convinced that our collective has not given up its position. It's just that many party officials have never gotten used to open polemics, and every one of our articles on this plane was met with hostility. At obkom plenums, URALSKIY RABOCHIY was blamed for nearly all the misfortunes in the oblast. But if we do not write that way, we are not properly illuminating events...

Not everyone can stand such criticism, and most of it is unjustified. The departure of our colleagues is also connected with the low wages. The ordinary trained journalist with a university education has a salary of 150-160 rubles. For these times, even in the Urals—this is a beggardly existence. True, not long ago a resolution was adopted on raising the wages of the journalists, but not by so much that they could make ends meet. And so they leave. Besides, a number of new newspapers have opened in the oblast, where the salaries are two or three times higher. There a person can earn a decent living. Only it's a pity that many of our colleagues might be turned into collectors of information. In my view, a journalist is above all an analyst.

[Pankratov] **It seems we agree about the material side of our labor, and I'd like to ask one more question: What in your opinion is the way out of the situation that has come to pass?**

[Tolstenko] It's plain as can be. Our circulation is more than 600,000 copies. And I would point out that this is the third-highest circulation in the country among republic, kray and oblast newspapers: Moscow city and Leningrad Oblast newspapers are ahead of us. Every year we turn a profit of 2,350,000 rubles—the money earned by the collective of the editor's office and the oblast party organization. But 94 percent of this sum is taken from us and sent "upstairs." In effect, this is robbery. We cannot motivate a creative worker. One-third of the colleagues are on the waiting list for housing—and there is nothing with which to build.

We don't need a miserly raise in pay, but an increase in the honorarium for an issue of the newspaper. At today's profits it amounts to 264 rubles. I think that we ought to be able to dispense a certain portion of the assets we have earned ourselves. Then it would be possible to stimulate not only work, but creativity, and assure the people normal living conditions and office equipment. The Law on the Press should regulate the economic and legal relationships between the publishers and the editors, and ensure the legal defense of workers in the mass information media. Unfortunately, the USSR Supreme Soviet has not yet accepted this document. Moreover, the present draft reflects the interests of the departments more than those of the journalists.

I will permit myself to cite the comparison which B. Vorobyev, chief of our Local Soviets Department, makes. It turns out that a police reporter, the lowest-ranking person on the editorial staff of YEKATERINBURGSKAYA NEDELYA (which was published in the

city before the revolution), who wrote eight-line notices, had a cook and a maid in his house; his three sons studied at the gymnasium; his wife did not work; and he supported his entire family on his honorarium. And the income of that newspaper was many orders lower than ours. If we were to economize like this on a periodical, I venture to say that our society will not move very far. Newspapers and their employees are not treated like this in one single civilized country.

[Pankratov] **Recently quite a few newspapers have appeared in Sverdlovsk and in the oblast which one might call "gutter-press" and even "filthy," for their propaganda and their relish of erotica and sex. What is your attitude toward such publications, and will they not offer competition to URALSKIY RABOCHIY in the near future? After all, they are much better "equipped" than the oblast party newspaper.**

[Tolstenko] What's true is true. In fact, with our profits, we do not have the capability to acquire modern technology. Everything remains at the level of YEKATERINBURGSKAYA NEDELYA, but we may hope that the new membership of the obkom and secretariat will give proper attention to this aspect and will find an opportunity to provide a special-purpose purchase order for tape recorders and other equipment for the editors.

If you want to speak about competition from other newspapers, our collective will not give in—although there is a certain amount of anxiety. We do have our stable subscribers and readers. Workers and communists always support their own newspaper; and, I think they will stick up for it. I am not excited about the new publications. I would like to see more published. Readers today are not homogeneous. Let everyone find in the newspaper that which appeals to him.

Moscow Evening Paper Staff Pleads for Continuing Party Sponsorship

*90US0908A Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA
in Russian 14 Apr 90 p 1*

[Resolution adopted by the meeting of the labor collective of the newspaper VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA: "Will There Be a VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA?"]

[Text] Yesterday a meeting was held of the editorial labor collective of the newspaper VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA.

The USSR People's Deputy and the Deputy of the Moscow Soviet S.B. Stankevich who attended the meeting said that the Moscow Soviet intended to raise the question of converting VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA into the official newspaper of the city soviet.

Actually, it is a question of a fundamental change in the nature of the newspaper. Will VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA be or not be?

After an extended discussion, the editorial collective adopted a decision on this question. VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA considers it necessary to inform its readers of this.

Decision of the Meeting of the Labor Collective of the Newspaper VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA

We the journalists of VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA cannot help but voice our opinion on the question of the announcement published in a number of newspapers concerning a press conference held by the organizing committee of the new membership of the Moscow Soviet deputies and where the question was raised of turning over VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA to the Moscow Soviet. Individual deputies even proposed that the very name of the newspaper be changed, creating on the basis of VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA a new publication which would be entitled MOSKOVSKIYE IZVESTIYA.

Our fears were not dispelled concerning the newspaper's fate by a speech by the USSR and Moscow Soviet People's Deputy S.B. Stankevich.

It is a question now of whether VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA will be or not. Will it cease its existence or will it continue to come out as it has come out now for 67 years, without missing a single day, including even in the difficult war years. We feel it our professional and human duty to do everything so that VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA for which each year over a half million subscribers vote continues to come out in the form in which it has been favored by many generations of Muscovites.

Our newspaper has always been an evening newspaper of the Muscovites, it has had its own particular features, its own subjects and own focus. We are aware that under the conditions of the separating of the functions of the CPSU and the soviets, the Moscow Soviet would endeavor to have its own printing organ and this is completely natural. But, in our view, it should be established not on the basis of VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA. It would be advisable to organize a new newspaper as the organ of the City Soviet of People's Deputies. We are certain that the Izdatelstvo Moskovskaya Pravda has every possibility for publishing it and our collective is ready to provide the required help in its setting up.

It has developed historically that VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA was considered to be the newspaper of the CPSU Gorkom and the Moscow Soviet. However, it is known that VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA is published using the production facilities of the CPSU MGK [Moscow Gorkom] and which has constantly provided it with material and other aid.

Our readers have noticed changes in the newspaper which have occurred in recent years. The editorial collective has freed itself from the petty interference of the party apparatus and has begun to look more broadly and more objectively at all the processes occurring in the city. In the future we intend to thoroughly analyze the course

of perestroyka and actively defend the interests of the Muscovites and everything valuable, reasonable and beneficial which would make it possible to improve the life of our fellow citizens.

We know that the new membership of the Moscow Soviet has major and interesting plans and a comprehensive program for restructuring the economy and the entire life support system of our city. The newspaper is ready to support this position just as in previous years it supported a radical movement for economic independence, for the self-financing of the rayons and the city and for a struggle against the departments and central apparatus. We are in favor of raising the role of the soviets in the life of Moscow. We are in favor of the renewed soviets. But we are also in favor of the renewed CPSU, its new course and new thinking. We are in favor of disassembling the authoritarian, bureaucratic system and for focusing on humane, democratic socialism, the forming of a state under the law, the renewal of the Soviet federation and a transition to a controlled market economy. We are in favor of dignified living conditions for the people.

We feel that under the current conditions, VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA should keep its appearance, traditions and concerns. The editorial collective is convinced that VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA should become a sociopolitical newspaper for the city CPSU organization. We will make every effort to more actively influence a fundamental improvement in the situation of the city and as before be a close, family newspaper of the Muscovites, their loyal friend and assistant in their current difficult life.

Programming Official Responds to Uzbek TV Content Criticism

*90US0908B Tashkent KOMSOMOLETS
UZBEKISTANA in Russian 12 Apr 90 p 4*

[Article by A. Turdyev, deputy chief programming director of Uzbek Television and member of the USSR Journalist Union: "Uzbek Television. Before and After the Vremya Program"]

[Text] [Editorial Introduction] At the end of last year, our newspaper published an article by K. Artykov under the title "Uzbek Television. Before and After the Vremya Program" and in this article the author posed a number of sharp critical comments for UzTV [Uzbek Television].

The publication evoked a response. We were telephoned with impressions being voiced on the work of UzTV as well as proposals for its reorganization. There was a significantly smaller number of persons who decided to write. We have published the most interesting letter of the incoming mail. But time passed and the TV workers remained silent. It was only very recently that we received an envelope with the enclosed material. This was an unique response to that now old article. Our colleagues have not limited themselves to a brief reply.

They have analyzed the work of TV in a detailed and self-critical manner. We are thankful for their attention to our newspaper and with small cuts are publishing the material received which, we are hopeful, will be of interest for our readers. [End of Editorial Introduction]

It is possible to judge from viewer mail just how much our broadcasting has changed. The results of recent sociological research indicate that three-quarters of our audience feels that there are now broader opportunities for choosing broadcasts of interest to them. Almost one-half feels that the TV programs help to propagandize advanced experience. Some 70 percent has pointed to their positive influence on the changes occurring in our life.

Actually, the content and forms of the television programs had been significantly updated. This can be seen from the new series and titles which do not meet the demands of today and are not popular with the TV viewers. There has been a growing stress on public affairs and a critical focus of the materials. These broadcasts include "Toward the 28th CPSU Congress and the 22d Uzbek CP Congress," "Urgent Question of the Day," "Man in the Large View," "Reflections on the Countryside," "Your Party Card" and others.

The new series of programs have made a move away from mere window dressing and reporting, when with apparent well-being on the TV screen there was a virtual absence of any analysis of the state of affairs and the roots and causes of shortcomings and oversights were not examined. And most importantly, man himself with his thoughts and aspirations had been moved into the background. At present, the TV current affairs have become more profound, aggressive, active and effective.

A new feature in the work of the studio is the information and current affairs series *Khaftonom*, the first edition of which was broadcast on 27 January 1990. *Khaftonom* covers the main events of the republic's week, commentaries by specialists from different sectors of the national economy, science and culture as well as international events. It depicts the problems of perestroika, economic management, and experience under the new conditions including leasing, cost accounting, social life, and the reasons of mismanagement are analyzed, while man, his undertakings, concerns and needs are in the forefront.

A positive innovation is the establishing under the department of the correspondent network of a mobile traveling group to prepare the most crucial, up-to-the minute reports from the site of events for the program *Akhborot* [News]. Of course, it is still too early to speak about fundamental restructuring in the editorial personnel but the collective works enthusiastically. And at present this is very important.

The healthy creative forces in the studio have accepted perestroika as an opportunity to realizing their ideas. Such programs as *Human Joys and Sorrows*, the *Third Studio*, *City Portrait*, *Khamshakharlar*, *Oila* [Family],

Reflection, *Kuvnoklar va zukkolar* (KVN), *Reflections on the Countryside* and others have earned popularity. These broadcasts raise timely questions, they touch on major questions in our daily life and evoke direct debate over acute problems, by force of conviction and knowledge they examine confused youthful minds and rebuff any rumors and tall tales spread by dishonest persons.

It must also be pointed out that there has been an increase in the number of responses in which the TV viewers have expressed their dissatisfaction with the abundance of gray, uninformative broadcasts in our TV programs. We agree with the author of the article who, perhaps not very skillfully, but with a desire to aid us, has criticized the broadcasts. Naturally, the TV screen demands the highest measure of responsibility for each prepared program, each shot, each word said. For this reason, here it is essential to have strictly individual, preparatory educational work with each person, work which is complicated, difficult and not always, possibly, gratifying. It must be assumed that precisely here lie the reasons in part for the excessive caution and sometimes overensurance. But we have certain writers, poets, scientists and others who are convinced that they can get away with anything on television. It is always possible to improvise on any subject. Such persons are profoundly in error. As a rule, improvisation has never saved anyone. The TV viewer will immediately understand that the speaker should say not the first word which comes to his tongue but rather the most meaningful, well thought out and mulled over.

From all sides, both from above and below we hear that we must restructure and redo. It is possible to restructure everything but is there always a need for this? To restructure the work of television means to redo the structure, to rearrange the programs, to settle personnel questions and so forth. It is possible to fully satisfy the TV viewers only with the aid of modern specialists and technical equipment. Let us be frank. We will not have in the near future those conditions and resources—material, technical and even intellectual—which Central Television now possesses. For us the most serious problem is personnel. It is not a matter of the number of employees as there are enough. But those who could make interesting programs similar to the Central Television broadcasts and even better could be countered on your fingers. Graduates from the Journalism Faculty of Tashkent State University obtain approximate, professional skills but for some reason they are unable to influence the situation. In terms of our technical facilities, we are far behind Central Television and even certain neighboring television studios, as we can easily see. One has merely to look selectively at our broadcasts. Central Television is constantly updating the foreign and Soviet-produced equipment and methods, while we have equipment which does not correspond to the times or technical needs. Or if one speaks about working conditions, again the opportunities are unequal. At Central Television, journalists spend 30-40 days to prepare for one or another broadcast. But we must make a broadcast

at times in 3 days as we have no more time in keeping within the rigid limits of the plan. But we do try to create good, interesting programs. An example would be the broadcast Assalomu Alaykum [Hello!] and certain others prepared in 2 or 3 days.

In speaking about this, we are in no way trying to justify ourselves and are not seeking indulgence. We are merely trying to gain recognition for the fact that there are valid reasons for the problems which arise in our work.

Undoubtedly the TV journalists of Central Television make better and more interesting programs. Certainly that is now it should be. But we do have works which compete with the Central Television broadcasts and which are marked by innovation in presenting the material and by a profound, nonroutine approach to bringing out the problem. Many new broadcasts at one time were started up sooner than on Central Television. For example, information-amusement programs were presented before 1985, before they appeared on the national screen. But because of our hesitation and the traditional habit of "what will they say up above," many initiatives and ideas remained unrealized.

The demands of the times and the growing needs of the audience force the Uzbek journalists to turn to new forms of television news coverage. These are the TV hook-ups and live broadcasts where problems of today are discussed openly. In truth, the first attempts at conducting live hook-ups disclosed many shortcomings. We remember the first Tashkent-Dushanbe hook-up and also recall the criticism against us from your newspaper. But we had confidence in our forces and we had confidence in the irreversible process of glasnost and democracy. The TV hook-up also helped us prepare a special program on the international indoctrination of the younger generation in creative collaboration with Tajik, Turkmen, Kirghiz and Kazakh colleagues. For the first time, young people meeting in the studios spoke openly and frankly about the most pressing problems.

Television is one of the young mass information media. But over the years it has begun more and more to attract the attention of the public and play a primary role in the shaping of public opinion. For this reason, it is important to protect it from annoying errors. Particularly at present, when perestroyka is underway in the nation and the republic and this means that there is a search for new contact with the viewer and glasnost and openness are being broadened.

Of course, both your readers and our TV viewers are interested in what new and interesting they will see on their screens. In 1989, many new series programs appeared and these were focused on the youth and were positively regarded by the TV viewers. For example, the popularity of the public affairs program for the rural youth "Reflections on the Countryside" has been increasing from installment to installment. We have never dealt so openly and with such pain about the problems of the youth living and working on the land. Also interesting in their own way are Peoples and Fates, Munosabat [Relations] and Reflection. The major series programs Live Hour and I Want the Floor! have all advantages of a live program and the opportunity of feedback with the TV viewers during the broadcast. On the basis of the requests of young TV viewers, they are preparing to produce programs entitled Good Evening!, Third Studio and Autograph of Memory.

At present, the creative youth at the studio is planning to air several programs in a 3- or 5-hour time block. There has been a proposal to make permanent the youth TV shows and hold several TV auctions where they would sell products made by the talented republic youth. A portion of the funds from such TV auctions would go for charity purposes. Great work is also being carried out to introduce the Law on the State Language of Uzbekistan. They are regularly airing broadcasts on the given question with the participation of scientists, leading specialists and pedagogues. In the aim of satisfying the needs of the republic's multinational population, in 1990 we will organize the main editorial staff Friendship for preparing broadcasts in five languages.

Turkmen Authorities Criticized for Indifference to Child Hunger Problems

90US0859A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 90 p 2

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA special correspondents Pavel Voshchanov and Aleksandr Bushev: "Here a Child's Life Can Easily End Prematurely..."]

[Text] At a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities, Deputy A. Likhanov quoted an article by a Turkmen writer telling about the death of children from starvation in his republic. The resounding response was indignant objections by representatives of the Turkmen SSR. The chairman had a difficult time controlling this "parliamentary incident"...

Any death is terrible. But nobody can handle the death of a child. In present-day Turkmenistan, such a fate befalls too many children. Take one fact: This Central Asian republic occupies first place in our country and one of the "prize-winning" places in the world in terms of infant mortality rate. Almost 55 out of every thousand children that are born die here before reaching their first birthday. We note that this is an average indicator and that there are regions with a somewhat higher mortality rate. For example, in the Aral area about 40 children die each week. And how many succeed in living to maturity? There are no precise data because our medical statistics for long years have recorded mainly that which supported a repeatedly recited eulogy to the "happy child." And, nevertheless, certain Turkmen scholars who know this problem first-hand have cited the following figure: Out of every thousand children born on any particular day, a little more than seven hundred will be still alive in sixteen years.

What are they dying from? Today, medical workers are not in a position to give us even a more or less precise answer because there has been practically no instance in the republic when a pathological examination has been made following the death of a child. "We will not permit you to cut him! When you cut a person, you cut his soul." This is what doctors most often have to listen to. There was not a single rayon hospital where we were not told several stories about how parents had literally stolen the body of a child, preventing determination of the real cause of his death. And these are not isolated incidents, but a usual, large-scale phenomenon. It is clearly as a result of this that, while having such an enormous child mortality rate, the republic procuracy has not brought a single criminal case in connection with the death of a child. Even in the instance of the central rayon hospital in Murgab, where, in fewer than five years, almost 900 children under one year of age died, a case was closed.

At various hospitals we examined histories of the illnesses of Turkmen children who have died during the past year. And most often we encountered two causes of death—pulmonary and intestinal infection. The first in winter and the second in summer. Well, and what about hunger? Are there cases in the republic of death by

starvation among children? The Turkmen deputies in the country's Supreme Soviet decisively objected: Slander! One of them, the chairman of a kolkhoz from Tashauz Oblast, R. Allayarov, declared: "For some reason, I do not recall any starvation deaths in our times!"

We will not be harsh. In a daily struggles for harvests, milk yields, and increased weights, it is indeed possible to forget something, or simply not to notice. Therefore, let us turn to the opinion of a professional. A senior scientific associate at the Turkmen SSR Ministry of Health Scientific Research Institute for Protection of the Health of Mother and Child, Kh. Annayev, who in 1988 conducted a special study in one of the rayons in the republic (incidentally, within this same Tashauz Oblast), wrote in his report: "During the past ten years, local stores have not sold meat, poultry, butter, milk, and milk products. There are also not any of these on the private market since 85 percent of the families living in the rayon do not have their own cattle and poultry. Because of this, many families are starving. In some of them, especially in those with many children, cases of annual deaths of children are encountered."

Many doctors with whom we had an opportunity to talk stressed that starvation is not rare in Turkmen families. Mothers are starving, children are starving. Somewhat more rarely—fathers. In any case, during the past decade, there has not been a single registered case within the republic of a grown man dying from dystrophy. The custom is such that the man is the warrior, the protector, and therefore he gets the best piece. Even if...this is the last piece in the house.

Well, and what happens to the children? In these areas they begin to starve even before they are born. Probably there are not many regions in our country where you could find, as a massive phenomenon, the illness congenital hypotrophy or, more simply put, intrauterine starvation. A terrible illness of poverty. Doctor of Medical Sciences V. Radainskiy, who has already been heading work in the republic on protecting the health of mothers and children for several years, told us that the deficiency of proteins in the diets of pregnant Turkmen women reaches 60 percent today. Mothers are not getting enough to eat and children are being born weak and greatly underweight. During the past year in Ashkhabadskiy Rayon, for example, every third woman gave birth to a child with symptoms of intrauterine starvation. Having arrived in Geok-Tepinskiy Rayon, we could see for ourselves that starvation of newborn babies is not a rarity in Turkmenistan. Literally every second child registered in the local polyclinic suffered from hypotrophy. Not far from Geok Tepe, at the kolkhoz imeni Lenin, they showed us a five-month old child whose weight barely exceeded two kilograms. He was lying on a dirty piece of felt spread out on the muddy floor and was sucking on a biscuit wrapped in a piece of gray cheese-cloth, which had never, evidently, been washed. We asked his mother: Have you had anything to eat today? She looked at us with a detached glance and responded

vacantly: "I ate, I ate, yesterday I ate!" She could not remember what she had eaten.

The majority of Turkmen children at the present time constantly have too little to eat. Unfortunately, this is a reality and it exists no matter what the attitude taken toward it by any particular officials. In general, the wrath of some of them concerning this assertion produces, to put it mildly, a certain surprise. What is this—a lack of knowledge of the real situation in their own republic or the absence of a desire to evaluate it soberly? Indeed, facts concerning child starvation in Turkmenistan are more than sufficient. You run into them virtually at every turn. Here is one of them: Of 71 children of Turkmen nationality who died last year in the Takhat-Bazarskiy Rayon hospital, the weight of all of them, without exception, was two-thirds and sometimes even half the norm. The reason was the same for all—intrauterine starvation.

True, it is painful to look at how these people live. Is it that having many children a subject of national pride? Indeed, it is clear even to the nonspecialist that the traditional Turkmen family, despite all the external similarities, was completely different than the present-day one. It included many children, but they were born with a somewhat greater interval. Not less than four years passed before the next baby appeared. And this had to do with nourishment of the mother. Her diet included more than that of the modern Turkmen woman. There were meat, milk, and other protein products. And if there is protein in the organism, there is mother's milk. Children were breast fed almost up to three years of age. And, for this period, nature itself provided insurance to the woman that there would not be a new baby.

And what is happening in modern families? Many Turkmen tribes that roamed from place to place in search of new pastures and new springs have come to settle down. But living in one place, moreover in regions with very sparse vegetation, it is simply not possible to maintain a herd that is capable of feeding a family of eight to ten people. Many protein products began to disappear from the diets of the rank-and-file Turkmen family, particularly the rural one. And what remained? Tea and bread. So, should we be surprised that for today's mothers their milk dries up two or three months after giving birth. In other regions this possibly would not have such serious consequences, but not in Turkmenistan where the head of the family, by tradition, has not been accustomed to limiting himself in any respect. To the feeble infant, artificially reared on whatever is at hand, still another is quickly added. Even weaker. Having many children today is turning into a national calamity—quiet starvation. And this is a portent of an even more serious tragedy. From here, it is only one step to the situation which scientists call "depopulation"—degeneration of a people as an independent biological species.

Unfortunately, this threat is a reality in today's Turkmenistan. Local scientists have long noted that prolonged starvation first of all affects the brain of an infant. So, is this not the reason that the number and relative share of children with all possible mental disorders is growing here from year to year. Teachers in rural schools lament in a single voice that children do not comprehend subjects that require abstract thinking—physics, chemistry, mathematics, astronomy. Physical culture workers are literally tripping over themselves in the search for young boys and girls who have received even any kind of physical training. Medical teams at the call-up points of military commissions very frequently find that a conscript (particularly from a rural locality) is suited only for a construction battalion. In general, as local physiotherapists assert, the average growth of Turkmen has markedly declined during the past several decades. Jurists are having their own problems—they are disturbed by the increase in child suicide, the motives for which cannot in any way be explained. Here are only two such examples: The fifth-grader Annaklycheva D. set herself afire because her brother stuck out his tongue at her and 10-year old Meredova E. tried to kill herself "to spite" her older sister who had taken a kitchen knife away from her. What do these tell us? About the instability of the child's psyche that is weakened by the difficult social and everyday conditions of life in which many Turkmen children have found themselves.

The good health of an infant derives from the good health of its mother. But where is this to come from if Turkmen women, particularly in the countryside, give birth at intervals of a year and three months. This is the average, but this can occur twice a year: the first time, let us say, in January and the second in December. From this come the many neglected children, from this comes a constant shortage of money in the family, and from this comes chronic undernourishment. But this still is not the worst part. Each subsequent infant born to a mother whose organism has not been able to regain its strength is born with still weaker immunity protection... In one of the hospitals near Ashgabat we saw a woman who had given birth to 10 children during the past 14 years. And her 11th had recently arrived. It is sufficient to glance at his medical chart to once and for all become a convinced opponent of completely unregulated birthrates. The things he, this unfortunate baby, suffered from! Downs syndrome, a weak heart, hypotrophy, anaemia, and a number of other such diseases the names of which not even the physician knew. Even if this baby boy is doomed to survive, what kind of terrible fate awaits him? And there are more than a few such in Turkmen villages—semi-starved, semi-clothed, deformed children, wandering from home to home in hope of charity.

There is in Iolotanskiy Rayon in Turkmenistan a boarding home for mentally retarded children. Some end up here directly from maternity homes, others are brought by their parents. Within the district, this home has been christened the "home of living corpses." A terrible spectacle. But it is even more terrible to read the

correspondence between the administration of the boarding home and the relatives of these unfortunate children.

"To Khantdzhanov. Chardzhoy. Your child has died. Come at once. Boarding Home Director."

"To Boarding Home Director. Iolotan. I can not come. I have a great deal of work. Bury the child yourself. Khantdzhanov."

"To Bazarbayev. Tashauz. Your daughter is in serious condition. I ask you to come urgently. Boarding Home Director."

"To Boarding Home Director. Iolotan. I work the second shift. My wife is on vacation in Sochi. If our little daughter dies, don't blame us. Bury her yourself. We thank you in advance. Bazarbayev."

Dozens of such telegrams, sent to all corners of the republic, and dozens of answers to them. Answers similar one to the other, as if they had been composed by one and the same person...

Here, a child's life can easily come to a premature end. But it sometimes seems also that it is just as easy to survive the weight of its loss. "It is the will of God"—a father told us on the eve of the burial of his two-month old son. It is the will of God... The chief doctor in Geok-Tepe only waved his had at this: "Indifference to children is becoming our great calamity. Their attitude toward children is like toward cats!" In the history of the illness of semi-starved K. Bagiyev, the diagnosis chart lists third-degree hypotrophy. For those not initiated in medicine we note that this was a typical diagnosis for the winter blockade of Leningrad. This infant will hardly survive and if he does survive then will hardly be fully capable. He is already here for the second time. Three weeks ago, when discharging him, they warned his mother: Take care of him. This is your only and last baby. There will not be another. "And here he is again, in a hospital crib. What sort of protection did his parents give him if, after such a short period, he has come to weigh three kilograms below his norm and has been turned into a skin-wrapped skeleton?"

And how can incidents of narcotics poisoning of children by their own parents be explained? If an infant is restless, if he frequently cries and demands a lot of attention, if he as something that hurts, they give him opium dissolved in tea—teryak, as they call it here—to drink. He calms down, sleeps for days at a time, does not cry, does not ask to eat. The parents, involved in their own day-to-day affairs, forget entirely about him. And what is the result? The result is a mentally retarded dystrophia victim who is incapable of any kind of further development. And this, alas, is not a single incident. The director of the republic procuracy's service for overseeing that laws are observed with regard to juveniles, S. Stroo, confirms that this is a rather widespread phenomenon in the republic, especially in its rural rayons. Deaths of children from narcotics overdoses also are not a rarity.

Well, and are there also medical reasons for the high child mortality in Turkmenistan? Of course there are. According to data from the Turkmen SSR Scientific Research Institute for Protection of the Health of the Mother and Child, a fourth of all midwives and a third of the pediatricians working in the republic's rural rayons fail to meet any professional requirements at all. The situation is still worse with mid-level medical personnel. The material base of public health care for children is also extremely weak. It is not rare that hospitals and polyclinics are housed in buildings that have not been unadapted at all for this. Well, can there be any talk about any kind of treatment, for example, at the kolkhoz imeni Gorkiy in Geok-Tepinskiy Rayon, if the medical practitioner-midwife station there is housed in the same quarters as the food-storage spaces? Unfortunately, there are not a few such "defects." And nevertheless, child mortality in contemporary Turkmenistan is not a medical problem. It has deep social and economic roots and until they are "torn out" no substantial breakthrough will occur.

Miracles do not happen. Even if all available funds in the republic were to be invested in public health, even if the most highly qualified doctors were to be attracted there, and even if ideal procedures were to be introduced into medical institutions, child mortality would be reduced, even according to the most optimistic predictions, by more than 15-20 individuals for every 1000 births. And the remaining 35 child deaths? Indeed, even this is a terribly high indicator—it is almost 10-fold the average indicator in Western Europe.

The situation today can be summed up in a single word—catastrophe. The use alone of water polluted by poisonous chemicals—and in many rayons there is not longer any other!—annually takes many lives, first of all those of children. We acquainted ourselves with the results of laboratory analysis of water from wells in the village of Takhta in Tashauz Oblast. It is awful to think that people drink this water! The content of sulfates is fifty times higher than the norm, of chlorides—40-times, of calcium—17 times, and of magnesium—10 times. Already today it is recommended not to catch fish in many canals, lakes and reservoirs and use them for food. Practically all vegetables and fruits grown in the cotton-raising zone of the republic (and this is a large part of its territory) have a heightened level of nitrates. A selective study of nursing mothers carried out during the past year showed that their milk contained pesticides!

Since we have spoken about the social reasons of child hunger and child mortality in Turkmenistan, we should also talk about bride money. Today, the amounts of this are no joke—it can reach 40,000 rubles. As a rule, the groom borrows a large part of this amount and then pays it back over 10-15 years. All this time, his family is forced to restrict itself in absolutely everything and lives practically half-starving. And, indeed, this is the same period that medical workers call the "period of most frequent childbirth." A half-starved, dystrophied woman gives birth to weak children who are not capable of

living... Frequently, the bride price induces people to conclude marriages between relatives, as this makes it possible to save, if only a little, and means easing the subsequent family situation. But does it ease it? Here is information only for one of the republic's rayons. Every tenth family there is established by relatives. And here are the results: Of 2000 children born in these families up to the present, about 500 have already died and a fifth of those now living have physical and mental defects. But, generally, an unenviable fate awaits even those who are considered completely healthy today. Medical workers are convinced that, as a consequence, half of them will give birth to defective children.

The republic has no concrete state program for controlling the birthrate. Incidentally, such programs have been developed and are being implemented in many countries of the East and are not considered there to be a mockery of muslim values. In Turkmenistan, however, everything is still proceeding in accordance with the original scheme—lectures, brochures, graphic propaganda. Apparently, they cannot even bring themselves to stop awarding the title of "Hero-Mother," with all its absurdity in the conditions here...

And what is the reaction of the republic's leadership to what is occurring. Extremely traditional. Travelling visitors are soothing: "We know our problems and have already done a great deal for their solution." However, they admonish local critics differently: "It is not necessary to air dirty linen. Let us work together in a friendly way." We were convinced of all this by a one single fact that we ran into in Ashgabat... At the local movie studio, director Yu. Karagezov had completed the photography (incidentally, based on an order from the republic's government) for a documentary public affairs film entitled "Diagnosis," which tells about hunger and child mortality in Turkmenistan. After viewing the film, the chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, T. Amangeldyev, called in the director: "I did not sleep all night." And... an order followed to confiscate the only copy of the film with all the working materials from the movie studio.

How many they were, the offices where we had to cool our heels, trying to get permission to view this film. And everywhere a refusal. We turned to the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet, to the deputies. A refusal here also. At the same time, the arguments were extremely contradictory. For example, the chairman of one parliamentary committee, A. Snezhko, said that the film simply is not finished and requires further work. The chairman of another committee, A. Tadzhibev, considered that: "The film cannot be shown to everyone! It will lead people astray. The people will not understand this now!" And when will they understand?

One of the local directors, having learned the purpose of our trip, became angry: "Apparently you don't like it that everything is peaceful here with us? Is it really not clear that what you write will be used by those who would like to destroy the democracy which, despite all

difficulties, we are creating here?" A strange logic. The truth, it seems, has never been destructive, although it also has opened eyes to a great deal. And, indeed, suppression of it can in fact be used by whatever forces that want, including those for whom democratic renewal is clearly not to their liking. And when their situation becomes sufficient critical, we do not exclude that they, specifically, will be the first to go to the Turkmen peasant, whom they themselves have deceived and plundered, and whisper: "How badly you are living! And do you know how they live? And all at your expense!" The scenario is simple and, most important, already approved of.

It is possible that, having read these lines, somebody will accuse us of having insulted the national sensitivities of the Turkmen people. We reject this accusation. In our travels through the republic we were accompanied by Turkmen doctors, writers, and journalists. All that we succeeded in learning was also told us by simple Turkmen. They hid nothing from us, spoke about what was painful, about what alarms those who are not indifferent to the future of this ancient people that have turned out to be in great trouble. They talked with us because they believed that we would tell the truth. Even though not about everything. Even though only about a part of the problems. But the truth.

... To read this issue of "Komsomolka," from beginning to end, as they say, has taken you about an hour. In Turkmenistan, one infant dies every hour. Think about it: You have opened the paper—one child death; having read it, you put it aside—still another...

Readers, Official on Failure of Anti-Alcohol Campaign

Letters Complain of Problems

90US0933A Moscow SOVETSKAYA MILITSIYA in Russian No 3, Mar 90 pp 1-5

[Letter, comments from readers under the rubric "Face to Face": "A White Nightmare and a Green Snake"]

[Text] Oleg S-v., former fitter, former Komsomol member, former....

I am almost 30. My life is over.

Behind me lies a labyrinth of self-deception and hatred. I am a corpse. Until I kick the bucket in some attic somewhere, though, I still have to find money for the "dope." When it becomes unbearable, I am ready to kill anyone for a "lid." Thank God, I do not have the strength to do so. I steal and run errands for the dregs of society.

That is the finale.

Both those who drink and those who sell vodka should be shot.—M. Lokhov, 19 years, Voronezh

How did it begin?

My mother, my father and grandfather drank heavily. Amazingly, they still considered themselves to be good people. They probably remembered when they were young, when they were still doing an honest day's work and loved one another. But they turned one another into drunkards.

So I was doomed to become a young drunk.

And I did.

All liquor stores, distilleries, trusts... should be closed. Then, if anyone smells of alcohol, put him into jail.—K. Lesnaya, 67 years old, Bryansk Oblast

Are they to blame for what happened to me? They themselves were essentially old children whom the state offered vodka instead of sensible goods.

Anyone who believes that they are to blame is wrong.

A vicious circle: Following treatment, the alcoholic returns to the same environment from which he was taken. A month later, he begins all over again. There is much talk about social rehabilitation, but no action. It all falls to the precinct service: The alcoholic is left alone with depravity in the home, general drunkenness outside.... Where is the sober society?—A. Petrov, Aktyubinsk

Is the state to blame?

I'm somewhat confused about this. On the one hand, to my way of thinking, a person has the right to obtain anything available at the store, including vodka. On the other hand, is it right to keep vodka on the shelf, when there is nothing else. That is, our state from the start places the individual into a position of becoming an alcoholic.

Does this mean we need a "dry law"?!

It is time for those responsible for the anti-alcohol campaign in the nation to admit that it has been a total failure.—K. Romanishin, Leningrad Oblast

Everyone fussed and argued about this in their own group, when they got drunk and sobered up, when they had still not gone on to "dope." And I kept dreaming about discussing it with some minister. A minister talk with me, a fitter and tool-maker...? I would ask the question: Why did you "think up" the ukase of 1985 and then not see it through? Why did you not put the pressure on those who profited from alcohol and on the moonshiners? Why did you not increase the punishment for distributing drugs?

That ukase proved to be a gold mine for the scoundrels but did nothing for the people.

But the drinking man is weak. He waits for people to make decisions for him.... And if the decision is only half-way, his temptation remains. The temptation and speculation generate anger and distrust. Who has calculated just how many people were turned into alcoholics

during the period the ukase was in effect precisely by the speculation and temptation? Well?!

We have reached the point of the absurd. We spend money on articles condemning drunkenness and advocating a sober society, spend it on hospitals, detoxification centers.... We need simply to admit that a certain biological percentage of these dregs exist in the society. And they should be isolated.—L. Gorbenko, Saratov

Now, about drug-addiction.

I consider myself to be a victim of that very ukase. This is what happened. There was a shortage of alcohol, and then the fellows brought in grass from the south.... There did not appear to be a great demand for it at that time. But then like cures like. Here again, I do not understand: Did they actually not comprehend that along with the ukase they needed to increase the punishment for "dope"—up to 15 years at least, or even the death penalty for distributing it.... What happened was that they applied the pressure in one place, while cracks formed in the system in another. And the results are in evidence. Here I am, a 30-year-old semi-corpse with vein punctures all over.

One thing is clear to me: that we must stop encouraging people to drink. One or even a dozen ministers will not solve the problem. Those we have elected to the Supreme Soviet need to find the solution. We do not need an ukase or an amendment to the laws. We need intelligence, patience and a profoundly conceived solution to the problem.—N. Zakharov, Tula Oblast

I look at the kids hanging around us. I feel sorry for them. They too will be ruined. But how can we help them? There are too few of these hospitals, and we fear them like fire. Actually, no one is working with us. Maybe the police.... I have met some good and honorable ones. But they are absolutely worn out. They have their hands full as it is. They are not going to keep up with the drug Mafia as long as our laws are so weak and so vague with respect to drug trafficking. The scum should be shot, but they.... But what is the point in talking about it?

I must say that some hope was pinned on the Supreme Soviet. There seemed to be some aggressive people in it.... But they only talk in generalities, and this is all very specific. We need a program, one spelled out point by point, letter by letter....

We need to designate six "drunk days" a year. On those days people could drink as much as they want to. The rest of the time things would be locked up.—K. Rogov (undergone treatment twice), Sumy

This is my confession.... But who will hear it. You will tear up the magnetic tape after I leave—as unneeded, because you, like everyone else, "know everything." That's alright. But God forbid that you should experience even a small bit of that which has fallen to my lot: that white nightmare... that noose of the "green snake"....

I shall leave my address in case you need to find me. But do not give it to anyone.... My people would never forgive me.—Oleg S-v.

I do not know what to do. I was just released from the hospital. I seem to have been cured, but my friends, male and female, are doing their best to "get me on the needle again." I have literally shut myself off.... If I had someplace to go. Why do we not have a closed zone for those who want to escape the circle of drug use.... But without bars on the windows or "military regulations"?—Ira P.

We need to have all the stores remain open at all times! But if someone shows up at work intoxicated, fire him under article.... They say that we do not have enough workers. We do! If an individual does the job of three, however, pay him triple. And that would be the end of it.—Yuriy Zaremnyy, carpenter

Help me. I'm still a human being. I am a drunk, an alcoholic. But.... I ask for help to be cured of this plague.... I was a good actor, but I became.... I'm ashamed to talk about it! I am afraid of "legal treatment," however. It stigmatizes one for life!—K. O-v.

Save my son! Get him into treatment. But not with drug addicts and other dregs....—Mariya D.

I have drunk to the point that I am no longer a man. May all of my so-called friends be cursed.... I thank the precinct officer. He with me, helped me get onto my feet.... I will never be a man again, however. And I do not want to live.—Saveliy Rodionov

Official Cites Poor Results

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Follow-up on letter, by N. Trubilin, doctor of medical sciences, people's deputy of the USSR and deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, under the rubric "Face to Face": "Yes, We Have Lost the First Round"]

[Text] Yes, one has to say that the society's health with respect to sobriety is in a complex and difficult state with respect to sobriety, critical, one can say without exaggeration. We must honestly admit that it has proved to be impossible to eliminate or even substantially alter the situation during the 3-5 years, as many wanted, with administrative or even punitive methods. Oleg S-v, author of the recorded letter received by the editors, is right. The inconsistent actions have resulted in a drastic deterioration of the situation in practically all respects. It is worse than at the beginning of the '80s.

Three to four percent of the population are alcoholics, 9-11 per cent abuse alcohol, and 80 per cent consume alcoholic beverages. According to official records alone, 5 million people suffer from alcoholism. Their life—the young man who sent in his confession is right—is one big nightmare. But it is also a nightmare for the wives, children, parents....

Each year 20,000 people die from causes directly related to alcoholism.

Crimes stemming from drunkenness have increased greatly. There were 362,000 in 1988, 424,000 last year. The specific portion of street crimes has grown to 16.8 percent!

Drug-addiction is increasing at a dangerous pace. There are 57,000 on the records today. In fact, there are considerably more. They commit thousands of crimes.

The growth of drunkenness and drug addition among the youth is particularly disturbing.

A total of 205,200 minors were brought to criminal account for violating anti-alcohol laws in 1989. In 1988 17,400 students at regular schools and 45,500 at vocational and technical schools were placed on the records as abusing alcohol.

Ten percent of the students are from deprived homes, where one or both parents drink. A total of 261,000 mentally retarded children study at special schools.

There is another terrible aspect, however: the affect on the minds of the children. While 19 per cent of those surveyed in 1987 did not believe it was possible to overcome drunkenness, the figure was 26 per cent in 1988 and up to 58 per cent in 1989.

They have lost faith.... The question raised by Oleg, who has gone through all the stages of deterioration, is a reasonable one. Is our inconsistency and our swinging from one extreme to the other a planning defect stemming from lack of understanding and incompetence or something else? M.S. Gorbachev has called long and persuasively for us to abandon the "drunken" budget. It has been calculated that the loss from alcohol abuse exceeds three or four times over the revenues from sales of alcoholic items. Why is it that many people are striving not merely to regain but even to exceed the level of alcohol consumption reached in 1984-1985, when it was twice as great as in pre-revolutionary Russia? Only one thing is preventing the record from falling. There are not enough of the raw materials and distillery items.

The question ordinarily goes unanswered. It needs to be answered, though! And those who encourage this thing need to be held accountable. It is hard for me, a people's deputy of the USSR, however, to gather any sort of data to justify this "economic" strategy.... It is time to set up a special commission of deputies.

Another acute need is upon us. The number of drug addicts in the USA has reached tens of millions. The drug Mafia has income amounting to hundreds of billions of dollars and exceeding revenues from the military industry. The drug Mafia today is made up not just of well trained and well armed gangs, but of entire armies. And they exist and are active not just in Columbia. We also have a drug Mafia, which is growing at a catastrophic rate. For now, only the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has understood the scope of the danger

and entered into the battle. But will it be able to keep pace with these processes by itself?

The experts with international organizations predict that when the ruble becomes convertible and therefore, attractive to the world drug business, there will be a real expansion of drug addiction. A dangerous and, unfortunately, realistic prediction.

It is not because of the good life that the highest agencies, the parliaments, are engaging in a war against drug addiction and alcoholism in all the developed nations of the world.

We are living through a period today in which our government, the Supreme Soviet, and the people's deputies can harbor no doubts about the need for the most serious steps against drug addiction and alcoholism. We need to take decisive and consistent action. Even severe action if necessary.

During the 5 years of effort, not only have we not had the anticipated victorious advance; there is not even been a modest improvement. This torments me, and I ask why. I invariably arrive at the conclusion that it is due to the rough, unfinished and uncoordinated decisions.

It seems that we have protective measures, and they appear to be adequately accessible. But... they are not put into play. This is because they are frequently isolated and illogically linked. I therefore believe that it is time to submit the problem of overcoming drug addiction, alcohol abuse and alcoholism to a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. As much as we need air, we need an organic law measuring up to the situation and reflecting the moral, socioeconomic, medical, legal and other aspects of the problem.

It is time legislatively to establish protection for children, teenagers and the youth. We need to work out a comprehensive, general state program for shaping a healthy, sober way of life, one which would precisely define the objectives, the tasks and the stages of the work, the place and role of state organs and public organizations.

Again, "it is time".... But in accordance with a government decision, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and other ministries and departments were to have compiled such a program long ago and submitted it to the public for evaluation.

This was not done. They did not get around to it. And there has been no accountability. This is why every other letter contains the same term: "hot air."

I would point out, incidentally, that the UN is already working out a program for a worldwide effort to combat drug addiction.

The UN believes that drug addiction has become a **global political problem**.

The UN is therefore devoting a special session to this matter. What are we waiting for?

Why do I need to repeat to Oleg, who has experienced both the "bite of the green snake" and the "white nightmare, and hackneyed statements that it is not a simple matter to overcome alcohol abuse, alcoholism and drug addiction, that drinking traditions were formed over centuries, that steps for combatting them cannot be worked out in offices.... You see, he needs real help. And in this matter—he is right—we need to rely completely on the strength and prestige of the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies. And the draft program absolutely must be made public! It absolutely must be thoroughly discussed!

In my opinion, the police also need to reconsider many issues, taking into account the sad experience with the anti-alcohol work. There is no reason to dump onto the police functions not their own. We need to decentralize the very organizational system for combatting alcohol abuse, alcoholism and drug addiction. We need to grant local authorities greater independence.

They need not only to be familiar with but themselves—this is most important: themselves, and not to meet a budget "from above"—to monitor and control the anti-alcohol situation, including its budgetary, economic, social, legal and medical aspects. Only then will the work be subordinated to common sense, and the local soviets will bear full responsibility to the people for failures and errors in the work.

I am particularly struck by the position of people's deputies of the USSR Academician Likhachev and writer Belov, who believe that the society can be made healthy only by enhancing the overall culture, raising the prestige of morality and improving ourselves. It cannot be imposed from above, however. We need to rely on the community, to enlarge the role and significance of the sober society.

I proposed this to the 2nd Congress of People's Deputies. I proposed establishing within the Academy of Sciences of the USSR a special scientific center for the study of the historical, socioeconomic, medical, legal and other aspects of the problem. (Incidentally, such scientific centers have long existed in almost all the nations of Europe, in the USA and Canada). I have brought up the need to establish the periodic study of public opinion on the matters of alcohol abuse, alcoholism and drug addiction. We need to have a broadly informed population. We need to set up a special public-state fund, because any serious undertaking requires considerable funds. We are also dealing with millions of people, with their health and with the life of the society as a whole. It is strange, but we are one of the few states today (although one of those which drink the most) which does not use money to turn alcohol into a prophylaxis. Who and what kind of economic calculations are against this?

One other thing. When I think about Oleg's life, I sense with increasing acuteness the need broadly to humanize

the functioning of state agencies and the public organizations, including law-enforcement and public health agencies. We can no longer reduce the work performed with alcoholics and drug addicts to the application of little-effective, stringent sanctions. We cannot treat the individual with contempt. Foreign experience and our own have demonstrated that this approach is unpromising and hopeless.

We need to find the funds for establishing a service to provide the population with social and psychological assistance and consultation centers for those suffering from alcoholism and drug addiction and their families. They must involve legal experts, teachers, psychologists and doctors. It is time to revise the harmful system of forced treatment for those suffering from alcoholism.

Alcoholism is a disease. And it is not only immoral but even illegal to place a sick person into the existing detoxification centers. In short, we need a new law on forced treatment. The severe treatment of those who destroy the lives of people, particularly the drug dealers, is another matter. Even the slightest element of "humanism" is out of the question, since it results in terror for the weak and pliant souls of those who find themselves caught in the net of the merchants of white death.

...With respect to Oleg's confession, it did not just disturb me; it shocked me. And I am prepared to make any effort to remove him from the white nightmare. I am certain that this broken man is not completely lost, because there is goodness and compassion in his soul....

My office will be open to him at all times.

Committee to Help Aral Children Formed

90US0910A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
18 Apr 90 p 3

[Article by PRAVDA VOSTOKA Correspondent I. Khisamov: "For the Children of the Aral Region"]

[Text] "For the Children of the Aral Region" is the name given to a new comprehensive program for medical and social aid from the Soviet Children's Fund imeni V.I. Lenin. Designed for 5 years, it is the second major specific action of the fund after the Program "For the Children of Chernobyl" adopted at the beginning of the year.

These targets of mass charitable aid appear side by side with no accident. The tragedy of Chernobyl and the tragedy of the Aral Region, while having a different origin, are similar in scale and consequences. The main thing is in both instances thousands, hundreds of thousands of children have suffered and the future of entire peoples is threatened with genocide.

Last year alone, almost 6,000 neonates under 12 months of age died in the zone of the drying-up Aral, in Karakalpakia and Khorezm Oblast of Uzbekistan, Tashauz Oblast in Turkmenistan and Kzyl-Orda Oblast in Kazakhstan. Of the 1.5 million children here, 86 percent have

serious health problems, and $\frac{3}{4}$ suffer from rickets, hypertrophy and anemia. One out of 3 has had hepatitis and acute intestinal illnesses.

These depressing, shameful facts for our society were given at a roundtable meeting which was held at the beginning of April in Moscow upon the initiative of the Soviet children's fund. participating in it were representatives of the USSR Minzdrav [Ministry of Health], the Society of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, the USSR Goskompriroda [State Committee for Protection of the Environment], the All-Union Charity and Health Fund, the USSR Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] and the weekly SEMYA.

"From the very outset we have paid particular attention to Central Asia and Kazakhstan, as the most alarming region from the standpoint of protecting childhood," said the Chairman of the Board of the SDF [Soviet Children's Fund], the writer Albert Likhanov. "Now, after the universally known telemarathon—a joint action by Central Television and our fund and which provided 106 million rubles, we have been able to extend this aid and make it more effective."

The inhabitants of Uzbekistan and the neighboring republics speak with gratitude about the thousands of physicians and nurses of mercy from Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia and other regions and who for three summers now have been coming to our region as part of the medical teams and have worked unstintingly in the towns and villages for the sake of saving and improving the health of the children and women. Largely due to this international aid, the figures for maternal and infant morbidity and mortality have finally ceased their fatal rise and are showing a trend toward improvement. PRAVDA VOSTOKA has already described a new, very promising form of direct constant collaboration between medical workers of Leningrad and Bukhara, and where the SDF has also been an intermediary and sponsor. Similar ties are being established between other oblasts of Uzbekistan and the medical centers of the Union. In the Aral Zone, for a second year now nine high-class specialists have been working and these are the visiting physicians of the Children's Fund.

The Comprehensive Program "For the Children of the Aral Region" does not eliminate the traditional forms of aid. Here there is a completely different approach. There is to be proportional participation in building the Center for Protecting the Health of Mother and Child in Nukus with 300 beds with rehabilitation departments, a sanatorium and a diagnostic center. The SDF will assume responsibility for equipping children's hospitals in Nukus, Tashauz and Aralsk, providing personnel and outfitting eight rural medical outpatient clinics. Some 20 RAF vehicles will be specifically assigned for the children's medical facilities of the Aral Region. The SDF has also promised to organize and equip a mobile diagnostic laboratory truck with portable equipment.

Within this same program, the Fund has already reached an agreement with the American firm Abbott to purchase large batches of children's dairy products. They, like the meat and fruit-vegetable products, mixes, juices and purees, will be turned over gratis to needy families in the region of the ecological disaster.

The fund departments on the spot are being provided with the opportunity to pay for treatment and vacations for children of the Aral Region at all-Union resorts, including travel expenses. In collaboration with the Society of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, a patronage and social aid service is being established in this region.

The Red Cross has purchased in West Germany ten desalination units each of which is capable of providing drinking water for 10,000-15,000 persons. The SDF in turn has asked the USSR Ministry of Defense to allocate units for treating water. Help is expected from the USSR Gosplan in allocating on a primary basis for the Aral Zone desalination units and refrigerator trucks for transporting children's food products, preparations and medicines. The SDF has called in the Academy of Medical Sciences for conducting integrated research on the living conditions of people in the Aral Region and working out recommendations for improving them.

These are the approximate limits of our program. And they are approximate because the SDF remains open to opportunities to carry out new ideas and adjust certain points in accord with the wishes of the local bodies and the public. We also turn to our readers with a request that you send to the editors your proposals on organizing aid to the children living in the area of the Aral disaster.

"Let us particularly emphasize that the SDF Program "For the Children of the Aral Region" will merely supplement and aid in carrying out measures outlined by the party and government documents and supervised by the state," said the Chief Special Visiting Physician of the Fund and Chief Specialist of the USSR Minzdrav for Uzbekistan, Viktor Cherepov. "I am forced to state that all we are doing and all we intend to do in this region is a fight against the consequences of ecological and social diseases. Only society is capable of curing the malaise itself...."

More than 18 months ago, a very important decree was adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers outlining measures to fundamentally improve the ecological and sanitary situation in the region of the Aral Sea. Has such an improvement come about?

There has been an outpatient survey of the entire public and more than 2 million persons have been examined in Karakalpakia and Khorezm Oblast. This has confirmed the gloomiest fears. Two out of every three persons in this zone have serious health problems. Almost half the population needs inpatient and resort-sanatorium treatment. Some 2/3 of the pregnant and nursing women in Karakalpakia suffers from anemia.

After the adopting of a republic program at the end of last year for social assistance for improved nutrition of pregnant women, around 6 million rubles have been sent into the region.

It has been possible to increase somewhat the intensity of the work done by the medical facilities in the Aral Region. Emergency measures have been taken. For example, in the summer months, 1/2 of the rural district hospitals in Karakalpakia was converted to conditions of day hospitals and this made it possible to double their capacity. In the Tashkent hospitals and clinics alone, over 600 places have been assigned for patients from the disaster zone. The republic government has allocated 400,000 rubles for free travel to the place of treatment.

But this is extremely insufficient. The main thing is not being carried out. Of the almost 5 million rubles allocated last year for the construction of hospitals, children's kitchens, drugstores and other medical facilities in Karakalpakia, 3 million have not been used. The completion of many public health facilities has not been carried out in other Aral regions.

Nor have the reasons of the high morbidity been eliminated. For example, the supply of drinking water for the rural population of Karakalpakia up to now is just 12 percent. Drinking water is taken from open bodies of water contaminated with chemicals and bacteria. The Amudarya just on the territory of the autonomous republic receives 16 major sources of collector-drainage and industrial wastes. Let us add that here out of the 155 farms, only 17 have special storage facilities for storing toxic chemicals and mineral fertilizers.

This year the large-diameter Tuyamuyu—Nukus Waterline should go into operation. But up to now not a single facility of the initial project is ready for operation. Here only 3/4 of the capital investments has been used. And it is precisely this waterline which should fundamentally improve drinking water supply in the autonomous republic.

"And what happens?" asks V. Cherepov. Society sounds the alarm, the people give hard-earned rubles for the health of the inhabitants of the Aral Region but the existing money allocated by the state is not used. This cannot be tolerated. For this reason, one of the main tasks is seen by the SDF in focusing nationwide attention on how the government programs are being carried out in this greatly suffering region as well as establishing strict and continuous public control over the state of protecting childhood.

Official Comments on Armenian, Azeri Refugee Aid

*90US0910B Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNY
VESTNIK in Russian No 18, Apr 90 p 4*

[Interview with P. Ruden by V. Filippov: "Refugees: A Change of Fate?"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted the decree "On Measures to Provide Aid to Citizens Forced to Leave Azerbaijan and Armenia." This document, at the request of our correspondent V. Filippov, was commented on by the Chief of the Directorate for Migration and Resettlement Under the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Questions, P. Ruden.

I would like to say immediately that the decree is capable of changing the fate of many victims for the better. At present, everything depends upon the efficiency or, if you wish, upon the humaneness of the workers in the ministries, departments and the local self-administering bodies. And (let this not seem strange) also upon the refugees themselves.

How will the material damage be compensated and by whom? As practice shows, this question concerns everyone. It has been established that compensation for expenditures on acquiring or building new housing as well as the purchase of individual housing are to be carried out by the republic on which the housing has been abandoned. Here the total compensation or purchase for a single apartment, house, or living quarters occupied under a rental contract should not be less than 7,000 rubles. In order to receive this money, it is essential to forsake all rights to the former housing in writing.

In the aim of covering the expenditures to compensate or to purchase personal or cooperative housing or apartments, the total amount will be issued calculating 210 rubles per m² of area. In truth, not more than 16 m² per person. The purchasing of forcibly abandoned structures belonging to persons as private property will be carried out as follows: houses calculating 210 rubles per m² of total area; garages and farm structures, proceeding from the appraisal rates of insurance. As for the owners of cooperative apartments, at their request the executive committees of the local soviets must pay the share contributions. If the amount of the share is less than 7,000 rubles, the compensation between it and the designated total will be paid from the budget of the corresponding republic.

The decree also provides that payment will be made for household property and fruit and berry plantings as well as for uninsured agricultural animals as follows: 12,000 rubles to individual citizens, 2,000 rubles to families of two persons and 500 rubles for each subsequent family member. Payment of this compensation is made without considering the total received for the insuring of household property.

It must be emphasized that persons who for valid reasons have lost or abandoned their documents will receive temporary identifications at the MVD bodies. They will be registered at the new place of residence. All the USSR ministries and departments, the Union republic council of ministers together with our committee within a 2-month period must provide jobs for the migrants and provide them with permanent or temporary housing

(with the exception of Moscow, Leningrad and their oblasts). The administration of the enterprises, organizations and institutions together with the councils of the labor collective and the trade union committees will pay one-shot assistance for those hired in the form of 3 month's salary.

Over the 2 years—and our administration has been working virtually without any days off—thousands of helpless men, women and children have passed before us. Human grief knows no nationality nor geographic frontiers. People remain people. As a rule, with the support of the state and with aid from others the refugees are finding the strength in themselves to begin anew.

I will not take it upon myself to judge those whose fate has still not been settled after the tragedy. But let my words not seem harsh to some. I will merely give the facts. Even now hundreds of people continue to live in hotels in the capital, in departmental boarding houses and vacation homes. A certain portion of them has been repeatedly offered a place to live and a job. But the reply has been a refusal. Certainly Moscow and Leningrad cannot receive all those who desire to live here. Moreover, for many months the new arrivals have continued to live free, although, according to our information, many already have a firm income. One other minor matter. Vacation time is approaching. The vacation facilities must be used according to their purpose.

As far as we are able, we endeavor to meet the requests of all turning to us. At the same time, the decree points out that after 1 May there will be no more review of requests from those citizens who are temporarily in Moscow and Moscow Oblast and who have not accepted or who constantly turn down the proposed residences and jobs. The law, as they say, is the same for all. And it must be observed. Otherwise we will never solve the problem of refugees who presently number 600,000 in the nation.

Lack Of Family Planning Noted

90US0841A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA* in Russian 3 Apr 90 p 3

[Article compiled by L. Sergeyeva with contributions by several specialists in the field of family planning and population: "Is It Easy To Be A Woman?"]

[Text] A rhetorical question, to be sure. But we can't ignore it either, especially when we start talking about one of our inalienable rights - the right to free family planning. What is getting in the way of exercising this right?

Viktor Radzinskiy, professor, doctor of medical sciences, director of the Turkmen SSR Minzdrav [Ministry of Health] NII [Scientific Research Institute] on Health Care for the Mother and Child.

In a Turkmen village we went into 100 houses and studied 248 women. Only 12 of them turned out to be healthy. And there's no reason to be surprised. Many

women give birth here with an interval of one year and some even twice a year. The optimal interval between births which allows children to grow and develop normally is 3-4 years.

The only thing to do is to acquaint these women with effective means of contraception. In those houses that we visited, we were able to convince 117 women to use intrauterine devices. Anonymously, without charge, in secret from their husbands and relatives. The women eagerly agreed to this.

Medical care for mothers and children in Central Asia does not stand up to any kind of criticism. Three times fewer doctors and midwives care for the women of Turkmenistan than for women in the Baltic region. Pregnant women work in cotton fields under the broiling sun with no allowances for their condition. That is our disgrace and our misfortune. There have been cases when they have died right in the field.

In our institute we opened a section for the recuperation of mothers whose children have been admitted for treatment. While taking care of her child, the mother has the opportunity to undergo examination and to obtain help. Who comes through our hospitals? One-fourth of the women gave birth this year, another fourth last year; from 12 to 18 percent of the women are pregnant and that is in addition to the fact that more than 70 percent of them have one kind of illness or another! In my opinion, there are grounds to talk about a serious threat to the whole nation.

Kalev Katus, candidate of economic sciences, head of the Estonian Interinstitute Center for Demographic Studies.

In Estonia the birth rate began to fall back in the 1980's. Today it is lower than the maintenance level, that is to say, depopulation is taking place. We know that the other more economically developed republics of our country are also in the same situation. There are many reasons for this. Let's say, the position of women in society. Today she is concerned with self-realization and professional growth, that is to say, her family and children are not the only things she values.

Of course, certain social-economic measures undertaken by the state could influence the birth rate slightly. In this category I would include the provision of credits to newlyweds, not restricted as they are today by a multitude of bureaucratic stipulations; an increase in vacation time for mothers who are raising a young child, the expansion of the network of nurseries and kindergartens.

Today, though, in my view, the only realistic tool for increasing the birthrate is a reduction in sterility. It is possible to assert that more than half of the cases of sterility are the result of abortions.

Archip Khomasuridze, doctor of medical sciences, director of the Georgian Minzdrav I.F. Zhordaniye NII on the Human Reproductive Function.

In my opinion, the women in our country are the most unfortunate in the world. Judge for yourselves. From the very beginning a young girl does not receive adequate sex education. The number of abortions testifies to a true national catastrophe. According to the calculations of specialists the number of abortions in our country in a year exceeds the official statistics by three times and is approximately 20 million! And one-third of them are illegal.

If we seriously want to put an end to this shameful phenomenon, we need to create a situation in which the doctor has a material incentive not to conduct the abortion but to prevent it. If, however, you want to end an unwanted pregnancy, do a mini-abortion, but do it anonymously, without charge, painlessly and without giving the patient medical leave.

It is necessary to provide the woman the opportunity to consult with a doctor, also anonymously and without any record made, to choose the best method of prevention. In our institute we already do this kind of work. On the "black market" an intrauterine device costs 100 rubles but at the institute we give them out without charge and anonymously.

)Bogatova, candidate of medical sciences, senior scientific worker at the RSFSR Minzdrav Ivanovskiy NII for Mothers and Children.

It is my deep conviction that the intrauterine device is currently the optimal method of prevention. It is not necessary to undergo lengthy examinations for this, as is the case with hormone prescriptions which have a broad range of side effects. In addition, the VMS [intrauterine device] has a localized mode of action while the pills affect the entire organism. Finally, the intrauterine device solves the problem of prevention immediately for 3-5 years.

At our cloth enterprise we opened a clinic for women and purchased a shipment of intrauterine devices. Twenty-four percent of the female workers voluntarily began using them. As a result the number of abortions at the enterprise is now approximately four times lower than the national average.

Unfortunately, in the rayon women's clinics you won't find that kind of approach or even a contraceptive office.

Aleksandr Avdeyev, candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific worker at the MGU [Moscow State University] Center for Studies on the Problems of Population.

If in medicine at least something is being done to study family planning, for sociology and demography this issue represents uncharted waters although it has become an extremely important focus of research in the entire world. Entire institutes are devoted to the issue but we don't even have a laboratory working on it.

Recently scientists from the MGU Center for Studies on the Problems of Population elaborated a method of

organizing complex regional population development plans which deal with this problem. The first drafts of these programs have been sent for coordination to the USSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor]. But because of the fact that the methodological level of the demographic and social issues of family planning is far from world standards, the programs which were submitted are far from perfect. And these are supposed to be programs for the next five year plan!

It is necessary to urgently and seriously develop the fields of demography and sociology in this direction. But here we cannot get along without the assistance of public organizations. In particular, work is underway on the organization of an all-union scientific society to study family planning.

Only Numbers

According to the results of selective research every sixth woman who undergoes an abortion is not able to fulfill her need to have children.

For more than 76 percent of the patients who underwent abortions, the pregnancy was undesired; of them 52 percent did not even plan to have more children, 24 percent of those surveyed wanted to have children later. One-third of the women, who did not plan on having more children, did not use any means of contraception.

Approximately 70 million women in the USSR need help in family planning. However, as of today there are only 154 clinics and "Marriage and Family" offices in operation, and even then, the major portion of their work is in the diagnosis and treatment of sterility although originally the idea was to have them deal with the problems of abortion and contraception.

More Speeches from 21st Komsomol Congress Debate

Ukraine's Matviyenko

90UN0813A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 90 pp 1-2

[Speech by Anatoliy Matviyenko, Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary, at the 12 April evening session]

[Text] Comrade Komsomol members and delegates to our Congress:

The delegates from the Ukraine believe that all of us and everyone must observe the conditions for success and abstain from the struggle of ambition. Thus far, unfortunately, they have mostly divided us and are creating tensions. I see neither the logic or the common sense for each of us to stubbornly insist on adhering to only the point of view with which he came to the congress, no matter what, and gratifying ourselves with the illusion of hearing at our congress only what we want to hear. In the final analysis, that means not agreeing on anything no matter where we gather—whether at club gatherings, in

the sections or at our plenary sessions. I think that there are only a few political Herostatos' [anti-heroes] among us who want to destroy the organization, and it is not they who should direct the ball. I am convinced that we need justifiable risk, we need bold action, and we need a qualitatively new organization, or else our congress will not carry out its mission.

The time has come when those who are not risk-takers are taking risks. The political report which Viktor Mironenko delivered yesterday was quite logical and substantial. But I would like to take you back to three years ago.

Perhaps the report at the 20th Komsomol Congress was no less brilliant and interesting. Then we were convinced that we had firmly set out on the path of change, but it turns out that we are standing there to this day. Believe me, there is no gloating in this comparison; rather, a sincere desire that in its essence the significance of the 21st Congress would truly become the first congress after the preceding 20.

Having said this, how shall we rate the work of the central committee during the reporting period? It is surprising, to put it mildly, that with all the critical and objective conclusions in Viktor Mironenko's report, that the activity of the central committee was presented in such cheerful tones. In our view there is little ground to do so. The style of the work of the Bureau and Secretariat in fact did not reflect the alarming processes in the league.

The benevolent philosophical affirmations of the leaders were not backed up by the same kind of solid measures in the localities. With the exception, perhaps, of Iosif Ordzhonikidze, there was no sense of energetic activity by secretaries and Bureau members. Nor has the Komsomol Central Committee carried out its functions entirely. And not because it could not or did not want to. It's simply that in the present structure it could be no other way.

All this was made completely manifest in the course of preparations for the present Congress. I don't know how it affected others; but, for example, the published report to the 21st Congress left me with an impression of a hastily-drawn-up draft report. Having rejected the old slogans, we are once again issuing the summons, to "go to the young people." But excuse me. You need to go with a bright, attractive idea; with clear-cut ideas and tasks, and with a mobile and dynamic organization.

As long as we remain ideologically washed out and organizationally loose, Komsomol membership will be of no assistance, neither to the worker at his lathe nor to the milkmaid on the farm, no matter what epithets we attach to our program goals.

Therefore I want to touch upon the basis for our league. What kind of organization do we want to become? We must honestly declare—a youth organization of leftist tendency, which unites the progressive partisans of

socialistic persuasion. Not simply, as has been said, to consolidate their efforts around the idea of reforming the socialist society, but to more boldly formulate a slogan for the present moment. The slogan of unity which our organization should adopt today, in our opinion, is the slogan, "Socialism in Peril." And, taking into consideration disagreements on tactics, one need not fear the possibility of the formation of factions. It is important to forestall their organizational formation. Thereby we will succeed in avoiding a schism of leftist forces, and instead of internecine conflict, we shall carry out the progressive tasks of our organization.

This path is principally different from an impasse which would turn our league, as was already proposed from this rostrum, into a federation of leftist youth organizations.

If we come to such an agreement, in principle, then we consider it necessary to hold an All-Union Komsomol Conference at the end of the year, and give it greater authority. Thereby we shall solve the problem of holding the congress in two stages.

And we must use this period to put the finishing touches to the program documents and consider the results of the party congresses; and then conclusively formulate our own ideological positions, determine our relationship to the new political forces and hold a re-registration in our league.

While speaking of the ideological platform we must of course not ignore the question of our relationships with the party. The spectrum of opinions is highly polarized: from the "Youth Wing of the CPSU," to an "alternative youth party." It is hard to define a clear-cut position. The situation in the party itself is very unclear. It is difficult to look upon it as an ideologically cohesive and monolithic party, as indicated by the letter to the CPSU Central Committee published in the press.

But obviously, while recognizing ourselves as a new force, we cannot and must not shun close cooperation and interaction with the CPSU, nor exclude the possibility of interaction with other forces of a socialist persuasion.

Today our relations with the party are largely contradictory. One gets the impression that those in the party committees do not notice or do not want to notice the drift of the Komsomol away from the CPSU.

Therefore we consider it necessary for our congress to adopt a special appeal to the forthcoming party forum.

As a CPSU member, I would like to state frankly to those present here, and to the members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo who are following the work of our congress: If the leaders of the party do not seriously turn to the problems of the Komsomol, it will simply be divided by the new political forces.

A few words about a possible organizational structure: We share the thesis in the report, that the time of unitarian organizations has passed. But, unfortunately,

that which is proposed in the draft documents is more likely to cause bewilderment. The draft Regulation, with all of its good points, preserves this unitarianism. What do we need? A detailed Regulation or a document which declares the basic organizational-regulatory principles and genuinely guarantees complete independence? Obviously, the latter. We have sent our own proposals to the commission on this count. We do not need development in the direction of a federation, as they are proposing to us; but affirmation by our own congress of a federative system, under which the subjects of the federation would be the youth leagues of the republics, and possibly, autonomous national-territorial formations.

If we do not want to lose more, then today we must take this forestalling step. In this respect how are we to rate the possible creation of all-union organizations according to categories and interests? In and of itself the idea is understandable and likable, but we must not support it. Why? Because such a step would lead only to increasing centralization. We are artfully erecting new walls within the Komsomol and at the same time are depriving a young person of the possibility of passing through all the stages of political maturation. And could the new organizations, having an undeveloped structure, solve their own problems in the dozens of official organs? Obviously, no. And the student forum confirmed this. As a way out it would be better to set up unions and associations to work out the policy for the entire Komsomol with respect to one category or another, and for its defense.

And finally, a very difficult and, I would say, painful question: on Komsomol property. We know that thus far our position has not found broad support. But we are convinced of its correctness and stand on this. Please hear our arguments.

First. I don't know about anyone else, but for the materially-powerful Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee (I am, of course, speaking of this in a relative sense) to proceed to division of property is not at all advantageous. And it would not be correct at the very least to accuse us of trying to use the diktat of one Central Committee to change others. We are opposed to diktat.

Second. Our goal is to advance each Komsomol member as closely as possible to collective ownership, and interest him in effectively making use of what we have, and in being materially protective.

Third. Let us not deceive ourselves—unitarianism and excessive centralization are largely held together by property. We are striving today to hold a short leash on property illegally acquired in the past. First of all, this is dishonest; and secondly, this should hardly comprise the basis for the unity of our league.

And finally, we have no intention of stretching out, but rather increasing both our personal and our common property. And we are in no way thinking of turning the property of the Komsomol, I repeat the Komsomol, on

the territory of the Ukraine, into our property alone; we want to truly make it the property of the republic youth leagues of Central Asia and the Baltic, of Yakutia and Bashkiria; that is, the members of the federation. We want to relieve everyone of the humiliation of asking for help from the center, and forcing everyone to think on how to live another day.

We propose adopting a resolution on property at the congress. The Ukrainian delegation has sent a draft to the Secretariat. And I would ask you very sincerely, Comrades, to accept our resolution and to not make your conclusions after the first reading. It goes without saying that the ideological platform and organizational structure are not an end in themselves. They merely form the basis for solution of youth problems great and small, with which life has so generously endowed us.

Very concisely, about the rest. First. Above all we must take a more rigid position in the defense of the social interests of young people, and actively utilize the young deputies in the Soviets. And I hold the opinion that we must truly work more closely with the deputies today.

Second. We must be prepared for the fact that the rayon or territorial unit might become the main support in our structure, and not the primary links. I do not rule out the possibility that the entire lower-ranking structure may be changed. This must be considered.

Thirdly. We must make the responsibility of organizations to their members the most important principle of our league, and thereby make them closer and more understandable to the young people.

Fourth. We must retain our press as a powerful means of influence on the masses. Its desire to get out from under the influence of the Komsomol and become an independent youth publication will only weaken our position. And we do not support the vacillating line which the editor of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA expressed today. Understand us properly, we are in favor of good and varied publications, including alternatives. We are even ready to help them get established. But we have no intention of playing the role of the "dumb giant."

Considering the importance of the question, we propose that the congress adopt a resolution on this question as well.

Comrades! A person may be considered an individual of real value only when he is able to rejoice over his neighbor's success, or rejoice in the sanctity of a holiday. I have a feeling that I will surprise many of you, but nevertheless I will remind you. This very day is not only the birthdate of some of our delegates, including my friend and Komsomol comrade Granush Grantovna, Armenian Komsomol Central Committee first secretary; it is also the anniversary date of the founding of the Komsomol organizations of the Khakass Autonomous Oblast and Kherson Oblast. (Applause). Let us congratulate the delegates and remember that millions of people of different generations retain the very warmest feelings

and remembrances of the Komsomol. And therefore I would wish that they and each of us, as we create a new organization, not be ashamed of our own birthday, of our past, our history, our roots.

Kursk Oblast's Kichigin

90US0813B Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 90 p 2

[Speech by Aleksandr Kichigin, first secretary, Kursk Oblast Komsomol Committee; at the 12 April evening session, 21st Komsomol Congress]

[Text] Comrade Komsomol members! Dear friends and colleagues! As I speak today at the 21st Komsomol Congress, I would like to dwell on certain questions associated with the vital activities of our league. The situation which has come to pass in the Komsomol has happened before, when our country entered into the NEP, when Komsomol numbers declined as well, and when the Komsomol was unable to find itself in its new status. This situation, I believe, and the difficulties will be overcome with the help of those delegates who came here today with the intention of supporting and preserving the Komsomol.

Today, in the political moment which has come to pass in our country and at our congress, the position of the Komsomol must be defined and stressed. Today we must not speak of the depoliticization of the Komsomol. We have been and we must continue to be on the same platform with the party. That is simply that. If we take another path, another position—then it's an altogether different league. And we must not fail to understand nor fail to see the events taking place. Moreover, we must quickly master the methods of political work, and teach them to the young people, not forgetting that everything that we do today is done for the sake of the future. And that means for the sake of the future of the younger generation. And what we begin today, is what we shall receive in the future.

At the same time I regret to say that the process of politicization of young men and women today often takes place without the strong participation of the Komsomol. There are several reasons for this. But the chief one is that we did not detect the change in accents on the political scene in time. We must all bear responsibility for this. How could we have planned an election campaign for the Komsomol when the struggle for the Soviets was going on. Even today, as we decide the fate of our organization, pre-election work is going on for the second stage of voting. In certain republics this involves 20 percent of all local Soviets: republic, oblast and city.

In our delegation out of eight people, three are candidates for people's deputy at various levels. And we don't know what to do. Is that not where our political myopia begins today, which revolves around our "lost" youth? But you see by means of the Soviets we can practically solve the majority of the youth problems, of which we speak today with such pain and sorrow.

The range of these problems is growing larger and larger. But instead of solving them, we of late have been trying to talk ourselves into things. We are eroding our league both ideologically and organizationally, trying to combine in one entity things that are incompatible.

Yes, today we are speaking about reforming the Komsomol. Yes, we must work in this direction and we must consolidate our positions. But I would like to state, that a portion of the delegates have come here with a single position, to pull down the Komsomol. And no matter what resolutions we adopt here, they will insist on their on resolution. And I would like to stress that we must clearly define ourselves in the positions we take. I am categorically opposed to those who speak today about breaking up the Komsomol and creating other organizations in its place. And the main thing they have in mind is to divide the existing facilities. I do not know, comrade delegates, how your regions took part in the creation of the RKSM [possibly, Russian Komsomol], but our provincial delegation was among the founders of the Komsomol organization. And we shall not forgive this historical mistake: Those who would like to set up another organization today, have every right to do so; but not within the Komsomol framework; not at the expense of the Komsomol; and not on the facilities of the Komsomol. With the exception of those organizations which remain, I would like to stress once again, on principled positions, to be together with the Komsomol. We worked out this position at our oblast conference, with the aktiv, and we shall defend it. Yes, comrades, today one is forced to say that both the Program declaration and the Komsomol Regulations require completion. I agree with the Ukrainian Komsomol first secretary. We are sending the proposals of our oblast to the Secretariat and I will not dwell on them. But I would like to dwell on one aspect. I disagree with Viktor Mironenko's report in the sense that the apparatus of the Komsomol Central Committee has done a great deal and that it is capable today. I would like to say that the apparatus of the Central Committee which exists today is not active and is not capable. It is not capable of solving those questions which have been raised.

I shall cite a number of examples. During 1989, at the reporting and election assemblies, beginning with the primary group and ending with the oblast group, only at the oblast Komsomol conference was there an official of the Komsomol Central Committee. Central Committee representatives did not attend a single assembly. How could such documents be drawn up, adopted, and introduced at the Congress? If I had had an opportunity to do so today, I would have given the Komsomol Central Committee apparatus a grade of "unsatisfactory" for the work which they have done. I believe it is necessary to significantly reduce the size of the Komsomol Central Committee apparatus today, and direct the assets remaining from this reduction to strengthen the rayon links and the primary Komsomol organizations. I believe that this would be proper. (Applause).

Comrades, yesterday I introduced a proposal to limit the age of the Komsomol Central Committee secretary to 33 years. And I say once again, that I stand by that proposal. I was asked today, why 33 years. For in all countries 35 years represents the limits of youth. And I would like that we would make it possible for a young man to work up to age 35. I would like the young people themselves to solve their own problems without the help of people who are going to be pensioned off tomorrow.

Comrades, I would like to say a few things about the work of the primary Komsomol organizations—very little has been said about them today. Let's face it, the fate of the Komsomol depends on their activeness. It must be said that work in them at present is at a very low level, especially in the small primary organizations which possess neither the material base nor the structure. I believe that the congress should develop a position, and an opinion on working with them; and in the near future, immediately after the congress, hold a plenum or a council of Komsomol organizations for working out positions and a plan of action for primary Komsomol organizations. This is very important. We had been planning to hold a plenum even sooner, but the old membership of the Komsomol Central Committee did not find the time nor the opportunity for that. What is the reason for the poor work in the primary organizations? In my view today we must invert the existing pyramid, and place its apex at the bottom. That is, it is not the Komsomol Central Committee that should draw up documents, which then arrive stillborn at the primary organizations; on the contrary, initiatives received from the primary Komsomol organizations should form the basis for framing the resolutions.

I would like to speak about certain questions associated with the financial activity of the Komsomol Central Committee. Today the Komsomol Central Committee possesses the money, assets and material base and therefore permits itself to dictate its conditions to us. I suggest, comrades, that this question be re-examined. In concluding my remarks I would like to pose a question, and would ask your support for it: on the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent. Vladislav Fronin has already spoken on this, and we had an individual correspondent at the atomic power plant, but right now the question of his removal is being resolved. This individual was not only in Kursk Oblast, he was for a number of oblasts. And I would ask that this question be resolved.

We have asked to make an announcement. On Monday, the question of taxation will be resolved at the session of the Supreme Soviet. Aleksandra Balenko, USSR People's Deputy, is prepared to present her own proposals on this account; the question simply cannot be put off.

Armenia's Akopyan

90US0813C KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian
15 Apr 90 pp 2-3

[Speech by Granush Akopyan, Armenian Komsomol Central Committee first secretary; at the 12 April evening session]

[Text] Esteemed comrades!

All of us—the delegates and participants in the congress—are united in our conviction of the necessity for fundamental changes in the organization of the country's youth organization. Life itself has brought us to this conclusion. An important feature of the present moment is the opportunity to adopt independent decisions, which unquestioningly makes the work of the congress more critical and more responsible.

An urgent task for our congress is the recognition of the republic's independent youth organizations and their autonomy in determining the essence and the form of our unity.

The centrifugal forces in the Komsomol were a result of the extreme concentration of all questions at the center, which in conditions of the nonstandard dynamically unfolding events characteristic of recent years, became a Gordian knot which bound the local Komsomol committees hand and foot, depriving them of their political individuality and independence, and which ultimately led to their isolation from the masses of young people. The delay in taking measures to correct the situation has already led to the loss of several Komsomol detachments. In this case is unity necessary? Is the center necessary? It seems to us that we do not have the right to completely reject all that is positive in the Komsomol. Specifically the broad opportunities for mutual enrichment of the content of our work and our work experience. In the Union of Soviet nations there are not only various kinds of specific questions, but also common political, economic, social and other tasks; there are also complex youth problems, and we must resolve them together. The position of the Armenian delegation with respect to reforming the youth organization is expressed in the platform to the congress. And we completely support the declaration of the intentions of the Ukrainian Komsomol organization. (Applause).

In our view, the most acceptable model is an alliance of leagues, which operate on the basis of their own programs and regulations, without a strictly centralized structure. At the same time, a center must be formed by means of equal representation from all republics and autonomous formations, and must have not a supervisory but a coordinating function, namely: representing the strategic interests of the country's young people in nationwide, state and government organs; participating in drawing up and conducting nationwide youth policy and the corresponding legislation; and representation in international youth movements. In the Regulations of the alliance of leagues it would be expedient to define only the norms which concern the formation of the center, delegating the rights of the leagues to the center, the procedure for forming the financial assets of the league, the authority of the central organs, and so on.

A sharp discussion also spread through the youth environment on the question of the title of our organization.

It seems to us that it must fully correspond with our intended goals, tasks and principles for uniting the youth movement organizations.

The evolution of our youth organization must follow the path of creating a democratic movement based on common humanitarian values, which is open for cooperation with all political and social forces whose activity is directed toward the earliest extraction of the country from the state of political, economic and social crisis. One would think that this is the principal program goal. At the given stage, a political declaration of an alliance of leagues, adopted at the congress, could become an acceptable form of expression of our common interests and positions. The political platform must express its relationship with the CPSU, taking into consideration the fact that a large contingent of Communists works in the Komsomol.

Of course one can understand that a portion of difficult work has fallen to the lot of the present Komsomol Central Committee membership; but this is no excuse for the lack of political character that is often displayed in its activity. We would add that in our view, the Central Committee has not been a catalyst for active politics of the youth deputation to the USSR Supreme Soviet. I say this in connection with the future activity of the center. An active position in setting the dialogue, consistent defense of humanitarian and common human values must be a permanent condition of the political content of the center's role. How can one understand that the Komsomol Central Committee passed by a number of serious political events in the country. For example, the hundreds of thousands of young people who were involved in the tragic events of our region heard no analysis of these events on the part of the leading Komsomol organs. I want to say with all determination that the problem of NKAO is not the only territorial conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The question of self determination has been posed by the oblast's populace itself. They were forced to it by the decades of national discrimination, the policy of intimidation, physical annihilation, deportation; and economic, social and cultural pressure. The problem must be solved in accordance with the experience of the civilized world. No one has the right to turn down a nation's right to self determination; nor, moreover, to refuse the Armenian people the right to take part in the fate of their fellow-countrymen, the indigenous population of Artsakh.

However, this was found to be sufficient reason for undeclared economic war and at times direct warfare against Armenia and Armenians. Who gave them the right to turn the state railroad into a political and economic weapon? A weapon, owing to which products from republic industry so necessary to the country remain in the warehouses. During the blockade period Armenia was shorted 800 million tons of national economic freight, the majority of which was designated for reconstruction work in the earthquake zone. Is this really a method of resolving international conflicts? But it

turns out that the organizers of the blockade of Armenia are certain circles of Armenians themselves, as was confirmed in the appeal to Comrade Gorbachev from the 8th Azerbaijan Komsomol Central Committee Plenum. Here they have truly found a means to justify themselves before the people of the USSR for the two billion ruble's worth of harm dealt to the country. I recall how after the barbaric events in Sumgait I appealed to the Azerbaijan Komsomol Central Committee with a proposal...

[Presiding Officer] Granush Graktovna, I beg your forgiveness, but I would ask that you take a more constructive approach to discussion of the problems. (Applause).

[G. G. Akopyan] I want to be understood correctly. The fact of the matter is that the mass information media are presenting incorrect information, and what I am saying is needed not only by our people, but by you as well, so that you know. (Thunderous Applause).

And here is precisely what I want to say about this.

I appealed to the Azerbaijan Komsomol Central Committee with a proposal to condemn the inhuman actions, and I also raised this question at Komsomol Central Committee plenums. Total silence. I don't understand whom they are afraid to condemn: the hooligans and criminals or the purposeful policy, the continuation of which was the antistate, antisoviet, and inhuman actions which occurred after Sumgait in Baku, in other cities and towns in Azerbaijan, and on the Soviet-Iranian border. (Whistles and commotion in the hall). It is precisely this that led to the natural reaction of self-defense by our people, and they must not be denied this right.

[Presiding Officer] Granush Grantovna, I will simply read the regulation, Article 26: "If the speaker digresses from the topic under discussion, the presiding officer shall call upon him to adhere to the question under discussion, and with the consent of the congress may deprive him of the floor." Therefore I can present the latter option to a vote, but I would not like to do that, and I would ask that you return to the Komsomol topic. I understand how difficult this is; the question is truly a painful one.

[G.G. Akopyan] There can be no Komsomol topic without inter-ethnic relations, my dear chairman.

My dear comrades, in order to separate the wheat from the chaff, one needs not only the latter but the former as well. For example, the events in Dushanbe did not lead to a popular confrontation because they were immediately condemned by the intelligentsia and by the people of Tajikistan. We have demanded and do now demand condemnation of Sumgait and other shameful anti-Armenian, anti-Russian actions; for this is the only path to cleansing oneself and disassociating oneself from the crimes, and precluding their repetition somewhere else in our country. (Commotion in the hall). The congress is obligated to clearly express itself on this question. (Applause).

Turkmenistan's Geldyyeva

90US0813D Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 90 p 3

[Speech by Gevkher Geldyyeva, Turkmenistan Komsomol Central Committee first secretary; at the 12 April evening session of the 21st Komsomol Congress]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, our delegation has worked out its position on the most critical questions pertaining to the future of the Komsomol. First, we are for the VLKSM [Komsomol]; and we agree with the arguments in favor of the title Communist and Leninist presented in the report.

Only time will tell how many of us will remain in the Komsomol. And this is a matter for every Komsomol member to decide.

We are in favor of a socio-political organization. Only a strong political organization can provide anything to a young person, and only a strong socio-political organization can influence politics, in order to defend the interests of the young people, starting with the assurance of liberty and ending with freedom of conscience.

We are in favor of republic Komsomol organizations. But in my view, there has been more talk at our congress than concrete proposals on this plane, on what rights to transfer to the league, and what to leave with the republic.

As concerns questions of transferring authority to the Komsomol Central Committee, we have examined them at our conferences, and our proposals have been sent forth. I think the congress will add to them, but at this time I am obliged to dwell on the question.

We believe that the Komsomol Central Committee must be the initiator in the question of working out a state program for youth employment. In my view—and this is only my personal, subjective opinion—of late, if the Komsomol Central Committee has not been helping the union republics, then at least it has not hindered our work.

As we speak of the delimitation of the functions of the center and the republics, and of the model for the Komsomol, we must not fail to consider the events taking place in our society, and above all those of a political nature.

A law has been passed on local self-administration, on land and property, and a law on delimiting the functions of the USSR and the union republics is being drawn up. And these changes, whether we like them or not, will lead to the formation and approval of the genuine sovereignty of the union republics, and also to formation of a national ideology in the good sense of the word. And this will take place much sooner than we think, because we can already see the contours in our republic. Under these conditions, perhaps the most important task of this congress will be to preserve the unity of the Komsomol.

But we are opposed to perfunctory unity. All attempts to create false unity are harmful.

On the other hand, compromise on an unprincipled basis can lead to the demise of the organization; this is confirmed by the processes taking place in the socialist countries. In this connection I cannot at all understand the people who are calling for us to adopt social democracy as our ideological foundation. I think that this is not the place and not the time to create another organization; one must gather in another place at another time and with different delegates. But since we have assembled for a Komsomol congress, let us resolve questions on the Komsomol. It is not necessary to assemble as a

congress in order to tear down an organization. Experience has proven this as well.

Our proposals on draft documents for the congress and also those on delimitation of functions have been sent to the drafting committee in writing.

And finally. As concerns questions of relationships with the CPSU: the Turkmen have a saying, "One who is leaning will not fall." On the one and we support the CPSU: on the other, we depend on the party: in this we see the guarantee of the continued existence of the Komsomol.