

JPRS-UPA-89-051
16 AUGUST 1989

FOREIGN
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JPRS Report—

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Distribution Unlimited

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

19980616 055

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
NATIONAL TECHNICAL INFORMATION SERVICE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

STIC QUALITY INSPECTED 6

Soviet Union Political Affairs

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**New Supreme Soviet Committee Considers
Ecology Program, Goskompriroda**
*18300749 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Jul 89 p 3*

[Article by S. Turanov, TASS correspondent: "It's Still Not Too Late"]

[Text] Solving the problems of environmental protection should have the same high-priority level as matters of state security—such is the opinion of the people's deputies. Among the first persons whom the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee on Problems of Ecology and the Optimal Utilization of Natural Resources decided to listen to were staff members of USSR Goskompriroda [State Committee for the Protection of Nature]. It was at this meeting that P. Poletayev, first deputy chairman of USSR Goskompriroda, set forth for the first time the principal points of the draft nationwide ecological program.

"So far enterprises have not successfully coped with the task of implementing the outlined measures for protecting nature." That is how P. Poletayev immediately and bluntly put the matter. "In the last few years only about 80 percent of the planned purification facilities have been constructed. The principal reason for this is insufficient funds. In our country only 1.2 percent of the GNP [gross national product]—approximately 10 billion rubles a year—is spent on achieving environmental-protection goals. But in the United States and the FRG more than 2 percent, and in Japan—more than 3 percent of the GNP is spent on achieving these goals."

Such "economizing" on ecology has, in fact, resulted in enormous losses. Thus, according to estimates made by the USSR Academy of Sciences, our country loses about 30 billion rubles annually from direct damage to the environment. And if we take into account the non-optimal utilization of natural resources, this total would increase to 60-70 billion rubles. But even more terrible are the consequences manifested in worsening the health of our country's population.

Already at the present time approximately 70 million persons in our country are living in cities where the amount of harmful substances in the atmosphere exceeds the maximum permissible concentration (PDK) by a factor of 5. And in 68 cities some 43 million persons are breathing air in which the PDK is exceeded by a factor of 15! Although our country ranks second in the world—after Brazil—with regard to resources of fresh water, we have already spoiled a significant portion of its sources. And how, indeed, could it be any different when we annually discharge about 30 cubic kilometers of polluted waste water into these sources?

Is it really possible to extract our country from its ecological crisis? "Yes, it's still not too late," consider the specialists of the USSR Goskompriroda. Specific measures are contained in a long-term "general plan" of

actions, including a concept for developing the utilization of natural resources. This is the draft of the long-term State Program for Environmental Protection and the Optimal Utilization of the USSR's Natural Resources During the 13th Five-Year Plan and Until the Year 2005; it has already been presented for consideration to the USSR Council of Ministers.

This program, which is scheduled to go into effect in 1991, will "cost" more than 400 billion rubles. Included within this amount are more than 130 billion rubles of capital investments in environmental-protection measures; this is almost quadruple the amount invested during the last 15 years. The program's basic goal is the step-by-step, year-by-year reduction of discharges of polluting substances into the environment, as well as a significant improvement in the utilization of natural resources. It is intended to put a stop to the discharge of waste waters into all the USSR's water basins by the year 2000, and to cut industrial emissions into the atmosphere in half by the year 2005.

The program provides for assigning to the local Soviets the tasks of planning and monitoring the implementation of ecological measures. But this conversion from the sectorial to a territorial principle for administering the utilization of natural resources should be accompanied by a substantial expansion of the rights of the local authorities—otherwise they will not be able to influence the enterprises effectively.

All the good ideas contained in this program will remain just ideas unless we succeed in "switching on" an effective mechanism for the use of natural resources. Beginning in 1991, the payment of fines for polluting the natural environment will be introduced; furthermore, such fines will be far from merely symbolic. They will be imposed for allowing discharges, as well as for those which exceed the limits established by the local Soviets of People's Deputies on a manifold basis. The multiplicity factor will be established in such a way that it will be economically advantageous for enterprises to implement the environmental-protection measures.

The lion's share of the funds received—85 percent—should be channeled into the ecological funds of the local Soviets. And 15 percent should go into the republic-level and All-Union level environmental-protection funds, which will be spent only to implement measures to protect the natural environment.

The program also provides for introducing payments for natural resources. The example of the Aral Sea is convincing proof of what the extraction of such resources in excess of the established limit can lead to. And also that ecological catastrophe which occurred in the region as a result of the thoughtless and unjustified damming of water from the Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya rivers. Therefore, in a case where the ecological balance is violated, the payment should greatly exceed the usual norm.

"In order to approbate the methods contained in the program," P. Poletayev stated in conclusion, "official experiments will be conducted this year and at the beginning of next year. Then, obviously, the program will be brought up for nationwide discussion. We must certainly approve its final variant prior to drawing up the plan for the 13th Five-Year Plan."

Most likely, it was not planned to have a detailed discussion during this initial meeting of the concept of developing the utilizations of natural resources. But the deputies are so disturbed by the "urgent" problems of ecology that they wanted to have many factors elucidated immediately.

"Are there plans to bury harmful substances from Western countries?"

"These are just rumors," P. Poletayev said soothingly. "I don't know of any such cases. Not a single gram of such material should be buried on the territory of our country."

"Do we have any ecological disaster zones in our country?"

"So far there has been no such definition; it is being worked out by the USSR Academy of Sciences. But the most critical situation at present is in those 15 cities where more than a thousand kilograms a year per inhabitant are being discharged into the atmosphere annually."

At the request of the deputy V. Nikolayev, a "blacklist" of these cities is being published. They are principally those with a "metallurgical specialization," including Norilsk, Marnupol, Novokuznets, Lipetsk, and a number of others.

Evidently, not all the deputies are yet aware of their legislative possibilities. Certain of the participants in the meeting considered that the introduction of fines for polluting the atmosphere and for the misuse of natural resources, as intended to begin in 1991, could be put into effect earlier. The explanation by the USSR Goskompriroda leadership to the effect that such a decision was adopted by the directorial organs did not satisfy the deputies. However, no specific proposals to change the deadlines followed. But, of course, it is within the powers of the USSR Supreme Soviet to change such deadlines!

As to the status of the USSR Goskompriroda, however, the deputies were unanimous—the committee must be made directly subordinate to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

There was lengthy discussion of the problems on which the committees will be working jointly. And the results of the meeting were summed up as follows by K. Saltykov, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee on Problems of the Ecology and the Optimal Utilization of Natural Resources:

"The deputies must familiarize themselves as rapidly as possible and in detail with the draft of the nationwide ecological program," he said. "We cannot wait until it begins to be examined and considered in the USSR Council of Ministers. Along with the program, we must work out as soon as possible and implement without delay effective measures in places experiencing ecological troubles. We have come to understand why the USSR Goskompriroda has not been actively effectively enough. The fact is that it does not have sufficient rights; moreover, not all organs of the other departments carrying out environmental-protection functions have been transferred to its system. We will be working together on enhancing the status of the environmental-protection organs. We must strive to bring about a situation whereby problems of ecological security have the same priority as matters of state security."

GSSR Supreme Soviet Passes Decree Regulating Informal Groups

Text of Decree

18300758 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
15 Jul 89 p 1

[Ukase of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on Temporary Procedures for Registration of Charters of Citizens' Associations, issued 6 July 1989]

[Text] The Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet hereby **decrees**:

1. That the following procedure for registering the charters of citizen-initiated societies, organs of social activity, and other social organizations, unions of them, and social movements (henceforth termed social organizations) be passed prior to adoption of a Law "On Citizens' Associations":

1) social organizations shall confirm their charters at a constituent assembly, congress, or conference and shall submit them for registration within a month after adopting them;

2) social organizations whose activities range over the territory of the republic, as well as organizations whose activities range over two or more rayons or cities of republic jurisdiction (rayons within a city), shall submit their charters for registration to the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers or to the executive committee of the Tbilisi City Soviet of People's Deputies, as appropriate, which are to register the charters.

A social organization whose activities range over the territory of one rayon or city (or rayon within a city) shall submit its charter to the executive committee of the appropriate Soviet of People's Deputies.

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3) to be registered, a charter shall be submitted in two copies signed by the leader of the social organization or the chairman of its executive organ. The charter shall be accompanied by an attached copy of the minutes of the constituent assembly, congress, or conference.

4) the charter shall stipulate:

- the aims and tasks of the organization;
- the procedure for becoming a member or withdrawing from membership;
- the rights and duties of members (participants in a social movement);
- the structure of the organization;
- the procedure for forming primary organizations;
- the procedure for convening a conference or general assembly, and their jurisdiction;
- the procedure for electing executive organs, and their jurisdiction;
- the procedure for exercising control over the activities of executive organs;
- sources of funds and procedures for using them;
- the procedure for introducing changes and amendments to the charter;
- the procedure for ceasing activities.

Charters may also stipulate other matters of organization and procedures.

5) the organ responsible for registering the charter shall examine it within a month after it is submitted. The charter shall not be in conflict with the Constitution of the Georgian SSR and existing legislation. In deciding the question of registration of a charter, participation by the leader of the organization, or an authorized representative of its executive organ, shall be obligatory;

6) the organ responsible for registering the charter shall decide whether to register it or to deny registration, and shall so inform the organization that submitted the charter for registration, in writing, within three days of making its decision. In the event that registration of the charter is denied, it shall indicate the specific normative act and provision with which the submitted charter is in conflict;

7) a decision by the executive committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies to deny registration of the charter may, within a month after the decision, be appealed by the social organization to the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, whose decision shall be final.

2. New social organizations that are formed before the present ukase goes into effect shall, in accordance with the provisions of the ukase, submit their charters for registration within a month after the ukase goes into effect.

3. In the event that a social organization makes changes in its charter after registration, they shall be subject to registration in accordance with the procedure stipulated in the present ukase. In the event that the social organization deviates from the aims and tasks stipulated in its charter, the organ which made the decision to register the charter may rescind the decision. The latter decision may be appealed by the social organization in accordance with the procedure laid down in the present ukase.

4. The present ukase shall go into effect as of the day it is published.

/Signed/ O. Cherkeziya, chairman of the Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

V. Kvaratskheliya, secretary of the Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Tbilisi 6 July 1989.

Commentary by Justice Official

*18300758 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
15 Jul 89 p 3*

[Interview with Georgian SSR Deputy Justice Minister Aleksandr Taliashvili by Aleksey Sinelnikov: "An End to the Era of the 'Informals'?"]

[Text] The new Ukase of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium may compel us to delete the term "informal" from our vocabulary, because it opens the door to all citizens' initiatives for normal organizational activities. How the ukase was formulated, and what significance is attached to certain of its provisions by those who drew it up, is the subject of discussion by Aleksandr Taliashvili, the republic deputy justice minister who took active part in preparing the document.

[Sinelnikov] Aleksandr Georgiyevich, I am gratified to note that the ukase is an example of the republic legislature's positive independence from all-union legislation. To my knowledge, there is as yet no such law on the all-union level or in such republics as Russia or the Ukraine. Why did the ministry take the initiative, and what necessitated the adoption of such a ukase at this time?

[Taliashvili] It's true, there is as yet no all-union legislation on the registration of independent social organizations. It is well known, nevertheless, that such a law is being drawn up by people's deputies. Similar ukases

have already been adopted in Lithuania, Estonia, and Kazakhstan. In our work we drew mainly on the Lithuanian experience, since the Lithuanian variant seemed the most democratic to us.

What led us to tackle this problem? The specific cause was this: We were approached by representatives of the informal group "Democratic Elections in Georgia." This group has undertaken to monitor how well the course of election procedures conform to the Law on Elections. The group submitted its charter, which lays out the tasks it has set for itself. Incidentally, I should say that its aims are noble ones, and as jurists we can only welcome the group's assistance in maintaining legality during elections. But we immediately ran up against the fact that we lacked a mechanism for registering "informals." Previously, you'll recall, the republic Council of Ministers registered such groups and societies only by decision of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. That mechanism no longer meets the requirements of the time and is not in accord with the level of democracy that we have achieved. What we needed was a law which would spell out clearly and precisely the procedures, terms of registration, and the list of conditions necessary for it. We could not wait for the decision to come down from above, because we felt considerable pressure from below. In such cases, legislation does not have the right to lag behind practice.

[Sinelnikov] Who worked on the draft ukase, and how fast did the work go?

[Taliashvili] It was done by a collective of the Justice Ministry and the Juridical Department of the Supreme Soviet Presidium apparatus. The work went very quickly. Let me point out that the ukase is temporary, which means that a permanent law is yet to be passed. We presume that the registration procedure will exist in its present form for about six to eight months. For that period of time it marks the start of democracy. Take a look at the paragraphs which protect the rights of the "informals" in the registration process. Appeal procedures have been established; denial must be well motivated; and deadlines for decisions have been established.

[Sinelnikov] Naturally, this will stymie bureaucratic endeavors. But let's take another look: the ukase states that organization charters must not be in conflict with normative acts. Could you clarify just what acts you have in mind?

[Taliashvili] The republic Constitution, its laws, ukases of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and decrees of the Council of Ministers. Departmental acts are not laws, hence they are not taken into account in this regard.

[Sinelnikov] What changes were made in the draft ukase while it was being deliberated?

[Taliashvili] The draft did not make special reference to the powers of the Tbilisi City Executive Committee in regard to the registration of "informals." The ukase does grant such powers. Hence, while we were polishing the ukase we moved toward more democratization.

[Sinelnikov] How will the registration of social organizations proceed in the Abkhazian ASSR, the Adzharian ASSR, and the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast? The text of the law says nothing about that.

[Taliashvili] The procedure for registering social organizations and citizens' association is the same in those territories, that is, through the Georgian Council of Ministers. Let me emphasize once more that the law is very necessary and timely. But it is open to improvement. Practice should show what directions any changes should take.

**First Secretary Masaliyev's Report to 19 May
Kirghiz CP Buro Meeting**
*18300703 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in
Russian 20 May 89 pp 2-3*

[Speech by A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee, to the 19 May 1989 Republic Party Aktiv Meeting: "On the Tasks of Republic Party Organizations, Soviet and Economic Agencies in Light of the Resolutions of the April (1989) CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Comrades! You know the outcome of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report and closing speech and the speeches by plenum participants were published in full in the press.

The growth of the people's political activism, of their civic responsibility, and of interest in renovating society was clearly displayed during the elections of the USSR people's deputies. For the first time, we witnessed a genuine pre-election political struggle. For example, in our republic about 10 candidates on the average were nominated for a single deputy mandate. The fact that repeat elections were held in four out of 41 okrugs, and will occur yet a third time in three okrugs, is clear testimony to our expanding democracy.

The absolute majority of the voters decisively supported restructuring and evaluated its first results soberly. The Communist Party received the deserved support of the people. Among the deputies elected from our the republic, 85 percent were communists. In this regard, the election campaign occurred on a truly democratic basis, in full conformity with the USSR Law on Elections.

At the same time, the elections indicated that certain party committees have taken a passive position, have essentially alienated themselves from active political struggle, and did not always know how to conduct a frank dialogue with the people on urgent problems. In a

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number of collectives, narrow departmental and group interests prevailed and citizens who had not proven themselves were nominated. Unhealthy attempts to oppose candidates from the workers, kolkhoz workers and representatives of the intelligentsia were observed. There were political speculations and an unprincipled pursuit of votes. Individual candidates made unsupported, loud promises. Some of the mass information media were insufficiently objective in analyzing the causes of the difficulties that were taking place and in covering the roles of the party committees and organizations in implementing restructuring. Shortcomings and formalism in upbringing, propaganda and explanatory work in the collectives, among the population at their places of residence, and in youth dormitories were manifested distinctly.

As a result, there were a few workers and kolkhoz workers among the people's deputies and some party employees who did not collect the necessary votes. We have received food for deep thought. We must make the proper conclusions from this. After all, the elections for republic people's deputies and for the local soviets are not far off.

On the whole, from the results of the recent elections, one can conclude that people were demanding in their evaluations of activeness of the leading cadres of party, soviet, and economic agencies in the struggle to intensify restructuring. They voiced insufficient satisfaction with the paces and scales of the changes in the socioeconomic sphere.

Unquestionably, the solution to many problems depends on the corresponding union agencies, as stated at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. However, we must also not underestimate the responsibility of the republic and local party committees and the soviet and economic agencies and their leading cadres. The irreversibility and success of restructuring depends on how we organize work in local areas, how we work with people, and how we develop and support their feeling of ownership. The more so, since the entire republic and the region will soon convert to full cost-accounting, self-financing, and self-management, and we will not allude to anyone for various derelictions of duty.

As emphasized at the April Central Committee Plenum, our cadres should learn to work in a new way, to more actively master the political and economic methods of leadership, under the conditions of the growth and intensification of democratization and the development of glasnost. We spoke of this in detail at the Kirghiz CP Central Committee Plenum held this February.

Today, we should remember that economics is the most complex and important area of restructuring. Socioeconomic problems trouble everyone, be it a question of the food supply, housing, or providing the populace with

everyday goods and services. The republic Central Committee, government, and party, soviet, and economic agencies are constantly engaged in solving these urgent problems. On the whole, there are slight shifts.

In the past years of the 5-year period, the growth rates in industrial production volumes, stipulated by assignments, were ensured, and more of various goods were produced and implemented for the population, more paid services were rendered, and more residential homes, general educational schools, children's preschool institutions, and other sociocultural projects were constructed, than had been projected.

The kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and auxiliary farms of enterprises and the population are increasing the production of food. As a result, the per capita consumption of milk, meat, eggs and vegetables has increased slightly. However, the achieved level is somewhat lower than the reasonable standards. In conformity with the March (1989) CPSU Central Committee Plenum resolutions, soviet and economic agencies, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and agroindustrial enterprises are now setting new bounds for further increasing the production of agricultural output. These and other measures to implement the Food Program will be examined at the upcoming republic Central Committee and party committee plenums.

Unfortunately, we are forced to confirm that the leaders of many farms, party, soviet, and agricultural agencies in several rayons have lessened attention to the intensive development of animal husbandry and are not taking adequate measures to increase its productivity.

The situation with meat production remains stressed in a number of rayons in the Talasskiy and Chuyskiy valleys, which are operating below their capabilities. The rayons in the Talasskiy zone, for example, have still not increased the number of cattle after a serious outbreak of infection. This, of course, is no justification, but solutions to this break-down must be found. And what is preventing Keminskiy, Moskovskiy and Panfilovskiy rayons from setting higher bounds for the productivity of animals, as are being achieved by farms in Kantskiy Rayon?

In the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Keminskiy Rayon, less meat was produced last year as compared to 1987, and the production of it has decreased in the first quarter of this year as well. Indeed, what kind of increase can it be a question of, when only 86-90 lambs are obtained per 100 ewes and up to 15 percent of them are lost? It is no accident that the number of lagging farms in the rayon is increasing, and proper attention is not being paid to working and living conditions for animal breeders.

In Moskovskiy Rayon in 1988, a reduction in meat production by 637 tons, as against the previous year, was allowed, and in the first quarter—by 191 tons, as against 1988.

Since the start of the year, milk production in Issyk-Kul Oblast and in Chuyskiy and Kalininskiy rayons has decreased. The people of Kalinin have also decreased the preparation of this product. The average milk yield from cows in the rayon decreased by 18 kilograms, as against 1988.

This year, our shepherds have done shock work, having obtained 100 lambs per every 100 ewes throughout the republic. The output of young animals is high—108 were provided by the workers in Kochkorskiy and Issyk-Atinskiy rayons, 106 and 107—in Bazar-Korgonskiy and Sokulukskiy rayons, and 105 lambs—in Moskovskiy, Lenipolskiy, Tonskiy, Tyupskiy and Kara-Suyskiy rayons. Issyk-Kul Oblast obtained 101 lambs on the whole. The task now is to maximally preserve the number of animals and conduct the shearing and fattening of the herd in a well-organized manner.

Serious difficulties have appeared, comrades, in connection with the recent natural calamity in field crop cultivation. Snowfalls and frost have seriously damaged gardening, viticulture, cotton-growing and other branches. The total damage was assessed at more than 180 million rubles.

Due to a late spring and the elements, fodder production has suffered, the crop yield of rape and barley has decreased, and the first hay-harvest of perennial grasses is late. In connection with this situation, right now the leaders of rayons and agroindustrial committees and associations should already be determining at the expense of what the necessary quantity of fodders in each farm will be prepared. It seems, above all, that the planting of corn for grain must be increased, at the expense of plowing up cut perennial grasses and other crops that have suffered from frost.

The solution of the fodder problem depends to a significant extent on the level of readiness and the uninterrupted operation of equipment, especially fodder-harvesting equipment. Whereas by 1 May, for the republic on the whole, 89 percent of the hay-harvesting equipment had been put in order, in Issyk-Kul Oblast and Kalininskiy, Panfilovskiy and Kirovskiy rayons—somewhat fewer. The picture is the same for self-propelled silage-harvesting combines.

Of the 30,000 hectares of cotton crops, about 20,000 were damaged. Of these, 13,000 have already been replanted, and they want to plant the remaining farm area with tobacco and corn. The specialists believe that the plan for preparing raw cotton can be met if its crop yield per hectare is brought up to 28 centners in the remaining area. The task is not easy and all resources must be used to handle it. Our cotton growers know how to work and have proven this many times through their selfless labor. However, we must help them solve the corresponding problems.

The public sector's and the population's grapes have perished virtually entirely, and gardens—up to 70 percent. In the afflicted farms, it is necessary in the first place to think of how to employ the workers and compensate for the losses.

Party committees and rayispolkoms should consult with the farms and, independent of specializations, expand the variety and increase production of vegetables and potatoes in order to improve the supply of these for the working people.

In general, comrades, we cannot solve the food problem, if we do not earnestly work on the social problems in rural areas and do not create the necessary conditions for agricultural workers, who directly influence the production results. By way of example, I will cite the "Alga" Kolkhoz in Kantskiy Rayon (Comrade Begaliyev, chairman, and Comrade Kolesnikov, party committee secretary). Since the start of the 5-year period, 37 cottages with all conveniences have been built here for kolkhoz workers. A health complex and club with 100 seats has been commissioned and yet another is being built. A polyclinic is in operation, branches of the children's sports and music school have been opened, and a bath and laundry combine is being built. The farm allocates 100,000 rubles annually to improve the settlements.

The people are answering this concern with highly productive labor. Last year alone, the milk yield per forage cow increased by 617 kilograms, and in the 4 months of this year its production has increased at the kolkhoz by 264 tons. A stressed task was set—exceeding 4,200 kilograms of milk per cow for the year's results. The farm's profitability exceeded 58 percent, which is higher than in the rayon on the whole. We have mentioned the high achievements of the Kirghiz MIS many times. The diversity and creative work by the workers and by other kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Kantskiy Rayon to increase milk and meat production deserves the utmost support and broad dissemination.

These reserves also exist in other rayons. However, we need only utilize them capably, work with the people, and show concern for their needs and requests. However, not all soviet and economic agencies or party committees are working on these problems specifically.

In many villages there are no basic maternity clinics and baths, and there are not enough hospitals. The problem of providing rural residents with good quality drinking water is being solved slowly. More than 4,000 kilometers of the water pipelines are in a dilapidated condition.

The Council of Ministers passed a special resolution on construction of rural water pipelines, and it is the task of Gosagroprom (comrades U. Sydykov and D. Dzhaychibayev), Minvodkhoz (Comrade T. Sulaymanov), and Glavkircizvodstroy (Comrade A. Kozhomkulov) to ensure its complete implementation.

Comrades! The situation in the consumer market remains acute. The production of consumer goods in the republic has increased. However, the growth rates and volumes are not meeting the population's demand. One solution is to further increase their output and not depend on deliveries. The CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized that normalizing the market situation requires the most broad and practical participation of the republics, oblasts, and rayons, especially now, when ever more rights are being granted to regions, enterprises, and labor collectives.

Meanwhile, as before, individual leaders are proceeding from local interests and striving for lighter assignments. The Ministry of Light Industry (Comrade S.B. Rutskiy) owes a great deal to consumers. For 3 years, the sector has failed to provide up to 15 million square meters of fabric, 1.2 million pairs of shoes, and many other products.

Issyk-Kul Oblast and Leninpolskiy and Talasskiy rayons have upset the plans for producing consumer goods in 1988. For the second year, a number of machinebuilding plants is not ensuring the fulfillment of assignments for the output of goods for everyday cultural and household use. They are not renewing the assortment of items or displaying concern about raising the technical level. Work to master the everyday and household "Oazis" electric pump is still being done from the last 5-year period at the "Kirgizelektromash" Production Association (General Director Comrade A.S. Morozov, Party Committee Secretary Comrade K. Omorov). Consumers have been waiting a long time for the universal kitchen combine promised by the "Stankostroitelnyy Zavod" Production Association imeni V.I. Lenin (comrades M.I. Paryshkura and N.I. Baylo), small garden houses—by the Ministry of Local Industry (Comrade K. Abdryayev). The "Tyazhelektromash" Plant collective (comrades A.V. Volkov and V.G. Petrukhin), having removed a voltage stabilizer from production, have not established the output of new goods in its place.

The Council of Ministers, party obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, and oblast, city, and rayon ispolkoms must be more demanding toward economic leaders who underestimate the political aspect of this very important social task. Practical steps are needed to reprofile a number of enterprises to produce goods enjoying mass demand, to increase production capacities, to use them better, and to strengthen state discipline.

Comrades, we must realize in all seriousness that if we do not saturate the market with goods and food, then restructuring will be rendered lifeless and, in the words of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, our efforts will come to naught.

The state of the service sphere causes many justified reprimands from the working people. This sphere is inert and reacts slowly to the state of the market and demand.

The population's demands for different kinds of services, the organization of leisure time, tourism and excursions, physical culture and sports, and resort services are not being met. About 70 percent of rural settlements still do not have consumer service facilities or centers. This is not the first time we have said this, yet the situation is improving slowly. To put it directly, many soviet ispolkoms have not yet been penetrated with a feeling of responsibility toward the people for the level and quality of everyday consumer services. In Osh Oblast and Keminskiy, Kirovskiy, Manasskiy, and Panfilovskiy rayons, the volume of services rendered per resident is lower than the republic level by a factor of 2-4.

This year, all material production sectors have converted to the new economic management conditions. However, in many collectives this conversion has been implemented formally. To put it frankly, the restructuring of the economic mechanism is being done slowly and superficially, and the economic reform is spinning its wheels.

The work done by us to improve the management of the national economy cannot be deemed satisfactory. Although the number of ministries and departments has been reduced from 43 to 34 and the number of employees within them has decreased by 5,500 people, or almost 39 percent, the number of management personnel in enterprises and organizations on the whole has grown. This occurred basically due to a shift of weight in a number of republic departments and offices, formally called production subdivisions. It may be question of this kind of management rationalization, for instance, in the Gosstroy, Minzhilkomkhoz, and Goskomnefteprodukt systems, where there are seven workers and employees per administrator, while in Minvodkhoz and Goskomizdat—there are six.

The Council of Ministers should address this problem and bring about the necessary order. Greater activeness in determining the optimum number of management personnel should be displayed by the labor collective councils.

Recently, rapid development in the cooperative movement has been observed. More than 15,000 people were employed in cooperatives last year. There are positive aspects to their activity.

However, the great hopes placed on cooperatives for a supplemental saturation of the market with goods and services has been warranted for the time being. Many of them implement production primarily for enterprises and organizations. In the first quarter of this year, for example, slightly over one-fourth of the total volume of goods and services given to the population was produced by cooperatives. The funds received by cooperative workers from enterprises and organizations are deducted from the funds for the development of production, for social development, as well as from budget allocations, which convert, as a rule, from unavailable to available.

This worsens the state of monetary circulation. Moreover, the sum of cooperative debts overdue on bank loans in Frunze alone was 400,000 rubles this April. This even further increases the tension in monetary circulation.

It is impossible not to speak of the fact that, enjoying the lack of control over the activity of cooperatives on the part of city and rayon ispolkoms, people who have compromised themselves, were dismissed from state enterprises and organizations for various abuses, as well as were previously convicted for mercenary crimes, have joined the leadership of some cooperatives.

Trade-purchasing and public catering cooperatives are provoking the citizens' justified indignation. Some buy up scarce products and goods and convey them beyond the republic borders for profit's sake, and others, basically using raw material from state resources, set inordinate prices for re-worked output. This all strains the working people's pockets and aggravates the shortage of food products.

As written entirely justifiably in PRAVDA a few days ago, a cooperative should not trade in a bought-up product, but should produce its own. Profit should be received not due to groundlessly high prices, but by reducing the cost price of one's own goods.

The Council of Ministers (Comrade M.A. Aseyinov) and the oblast, city, and rayon soviets of people's deputies should accelerate the development of differentiated taxation, which would encourage the development of cooperatives that produce consumer goods, offer services to the population, and prepare and reprocess secondary resources.

The party committee should pay greater attention to the formation of the cadre structure of cooperatives. People with convictions for embezzlement, bribery and other mercenary crimes should not be allowed to lead them. The holding of two jobs, practiced in some places by officials of enterprises and organizations who also work in cooperatives, is also not in the interests of the matter.

Comrades! One of our most urgent tasks is the financial improvement of the economy. A republic budget deficit has formed here. At the same time, last year more than one-fourth of the enterprises, associations and organizations did not fulfill the profit plans and failed to give the state almost 138 million rubles. According to the results for 3 years, the ministries of light and local industry and Gosagroprom are not ensuring the fulfillment of profit assignments. Collectives that operate unprofitably are aggravating the budget deficit. In 1988, 88 enterprises, or 4 percent of the total number, had losses of 34 million rubles. Moreover, 187 enterprises, unprofitable by plan, yielded another 24 million rubles in losses.

The faulty practice of scattering capital investments among numerous construction sites and projects negatively affects the economy's financial condition. As before, the volumes of incomplete construction are not being reduced, particularly of unplanned construction.

The absence of a firm state position in this matter on the part of Comrade Ya.Ye. Fisher, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic Gosstroy, his deputy minister Comrade S. Ablesov, and the leaders of Gosagroprom and Gosplan (Comrade S. Begaliyev) leads to an increase in incomplete construction.

In 1988, the unplanned volume of incomplete construction amounted to 260 million rubles. A "incomplete project" is millions of rubles of material resources and equipment taken out of circulation. It is hundreds of thousands of rubles in wages, paid without results.

The elimination of these and other cases of mismanagement is a significant reserve for improving the financial situation. Of course, a great deal here depends on centralized regulation and practical decisions on a Union scale. Specific steps are being taken in this direction, as stated at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Along with this, the plenum cautions against seeing an exhaustive solution to the problems in measures implemented by the state. We must put things to rights ourselves, locally. Above all, we must get the economic reform operating at full throttle, raise the production efficiency, strictly observe cost-accounting principles, and pay wages according to the final results of labor. Gosplan, Minfin, Goskomsotstrud, and the banks must work more actively and decisively here.

Questions concerning the economy and the financial state of enterprises should be kept in the field of view of soviet and party agencies in cities and rayons, which are obligated to take effective measures to strengthen state discipline. However, in recent years the party committees have alienated themselves from these matters under the guise of demarcating functions. This, apparently, ought to explain the fact that every third enterprise in Kyzyl-Kiya failed to meet the profit plan in 1988, yet salary growth rates exceeded labor productivity growth rates by 8 percent. This state of affairs in industry has not become the target of a principle-minded investigation on the part of the party raykom and the gorispolkom.

As you know, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed a resolution at the beginning of the year which defined urgent measures for financial improvement and for strengthening monetary circulation in the country. The assignment set for our republic was, by mobilizing internal economic reserves, to additionally seek out financial resources amounting to 35

million rubles, to reduce subsidies of unprofitable enterprises and organizations by no less than 30 percent this year, and next year basically to complete work to eliminate unprofitability.

The Council of Ministers, Central Committee, and all economic, soviet, and party agencies must work in earnest to fulfill this resolution. The problem is very complex, demanding a responsible approach to the use of material and labor resources and a careful attitude toward everything already created by the hands of our people on the part of every specialist, leader, and rank-and-file worker.

Comrades! The April Central Committee Plenum raised the question of the party's vanguard role in this complex and responsible stage of restructuring with particular acuteness. Today, as never before, the Leninist position that communists should be in the thick of life, should know life backwards and forwards, and should know how to win the trust of the masses through comradely relations with it, through the thoughtful satisfaction of its needs, is acquiring enormous practical significance.

These questions were discussed at the 12th Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. Practical steps are being taken. The secretaries and responsible officials of Central Committee departments and party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms have begun to work more with the primary party organizations and in the labor collectives. Work on the selection, placement and upbringing of cadres is being improved. Seminars are being held for leading employees of party and soviet agencies on the basis of the experience accumulated in the rayons and labor collectives. They are useful for practical work.

Yet, the activities of many party committees and primary organizations have not undergone noticeable changes in the course of restructuring. For example, the At-Bashinskiy Party Raykom and its buro still have not succeeded in finding effective, political approaches to leading the rayon economy, considering that it was developed according to the available significant possibilities. Today, one-half of the farms here are not very profitable, there are many unsolved problems with socio-cultural construction, and the party raykom workers consult little with the people.

In a number of cases, party organizations do not deeply investigate progressive undertakings in collectives and reconcile themselves to cases of a formal attitude toward them. Thus, at the Sovkhoz imeni Kuybyshev in Alamedinskiy Rayon, which undertook a good task—applying the lease form of work in production—the contracts with the lessees were not concluded on time, the calculated prices were arbitrarily changed, the accounting of created expenses was not performed, and contract obligations were not observed. As a result, the majority of the 120 lease collectives and individual lessees refused to

work under the new economic conditions. Yet, labor productivity in the sovkhoz is low, the cost price of production is high, and profit assignments are not being met.

Having failed to draw the proper conclusions from the mistakes that had been made, the farm leadership hastily undertook to create cooperatives. The sovkhoz party committee looks through its fingers at this confusion, the substitution of blatant administration for painstaking economic work. The party raykom, after investigating the farm's operation several times, was not sufficiently exigent toward its leaders for these omissions. There are similar examples in other rayons as well.

Many primary party organizations in the apparatus of the republic ministries and departments are not actively manifesting themselves in the restructuring that is occurring. Consider the party organization of the Ministry of Trade, which is responsible for solving the important consumer services problem. As study indicated, its role has been seriously depreciated and the primary organization rarely listens to reports by communists-leaders. It is no accident that serious errors were made in the ministry in the selection, placement and upbringing of cadres, which leads to violations of trade rules, squandering and embezzlement. In 1988 alone, more than 50 cases of large embezzlements and shortfalls amounting to 1.5 million rubles were revealed in Mintorg subdivisions. The Central Committee buro has evaluated these cases, but this does not make it easier for society.

In order to accelerate and intensify restructuring, all our cadres, party, soviet and economic agencies, and public organizations must display great practicality and competitiveness and must decisively overcome elements of bureaucratism and command methods in work. Today, every leader, the party official above all, is taking a strict test.

In connection with this, I would like to talk about something else as well. At the present time, complicated for our society's fate, the role and responsibility of party members is being increased severalfold, and unity and cohesiveness among the party ranks are required. The absolute majority of party members understand this correctly and are justifying the high title of communist through practical work. At the same time, individual comrades are displaying indifference and, to put it bluntly, cowardice, and are rejecting membership in the CPSU and turning in their party cards. There are few such cases, but they do exist. Acceptance into the party has decreased in some organizations. This attests to their weakness and inability to work with people.

True communists have always existed and are found on the leading edge of the struggle. Remember the years of the Civil War, the first 5-year periods, and the years of the Great Patriotic War. The party has been at the head of restructuring, and the fire and enthusiasm of bold people, sincerely devoted to the work of renovation, are

needed here. So, let us not weaken our ranks, but let us strengthen them with new, worthy replacements, not yielding to the various defamatory fabrications aimed at the CPSU.

A change of generations is taking place in the republic party organizations, as well as throughout the party. A renovation of cadres has occurred in virtually all agencies. The party apparatus has been reorganized, is increasingly eliminating paper work and speech-making, and is striving to assist the elected bodies. Fewer resolutions than before are being passed in the Central Committee and the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, information is being requested from local areas, and people are being sent to conferences. The functions of party, soviet and economic agencies are being defined more precisely. The buro members and Central Committee secretaries now visit enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, educational institutions, stores, and worker cafeterias more often, listen closely to the opinions of the people, and take them into account in practical work, renovating and improving the methods and style of their activity.

In short, the search continues for optimal approaches to solving the problems, complex in terms of scale and novelty, which face the republic. Right now, active work by soviet and economic agencies and by social organizations is needed, and our soviets must more boldly take up the solution of social and economic problems and should take full responsibility for this. However, this is not happening everywhere. Here, a great deal depends on the bold work of party committees, which, unfortunately, is also inadequate.

Comrades! I would like to remind you that no less than two-thirds of the growth in labor productivity in the republic was to be obtained in this 5-year period due to the use of the achievements of science and technology. For these purposes, Gosplan and the Academy of Sciences have developed a number of scientific and technical programs and plans. However, these are not being implemented, since, as before, they contain a great deal of ambiguity and formalism. As a result, the share of growth in profits and labor productivity from the application of scientific and technical measures in the total volume received by industry is somewhat lower than the set assignment.

The Council of Ministers, departments, and Central Committee Buro know of the situation with scientific and technical progress. However, decisive, cardinal steps to correct it are not being made. It has been a long time since a certain minister, leader of a large association, a specific scientist, academician, or party committee secretary was disciplined or given a party penalty for upsetting the fulfillment of plans to introduce new equipment and technology.

In general, comrades, all is not well with discipline, particularly executive discipline. Strict, exacting demand for assigned work, for the execution of directive decisions, is not a violation of democracy, but conversely, the strengthening of democracy. Any resolution, order, or instruction, if correct, is aimed at solving a certain problem or task required by the people, collectives and society. Therefore, after they have been discussed, approved and passed, they must be fulfilled. It must be taken as a rule to systematically listen, where this is proposed, to executors of all ranks and to place stricter demand on them for the efficient and complete implementation of directive documents.

This must be done, above all, in the republic Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Council of Ministers. The fulfillment of that which was planned must be achieved. We spoke of this at the Central Committee Plenum this February. Important Central Committee and government resolutions have been designated to accelerate housing construction, and the 9th Central Committee Plenum—to implement the reform of secondary and higher schools. Time goes by, yet serious shifts are not tangible for the time being.

I would like to confirm this with an example. In the first quarter, at the expense of centralized financing sources, 20,000 fewer square meters of residential housing was commissioned, than in the corresponding period last year. The gap permitted in commissioning housing in 1988 was not filled in by the Issyk-Kul Oblast Ispolkom, the Frunze City Ispolkom, and Gosagroprom, although the Council of Ministers directed them to do so in a special resolution.

The People's Control Committee (Comrade V.K. Kandakov) and its local bodies were called upon to work on the problems of systematically implementing control over the fulfillment of party and state resolutions. They have weakened their attention to this area.

As noted at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, mismanagement, which has propagated itself in the national economy, compromises restructuring and does enormous damage to it. There are many examples of this in our republic. At the beginning of the year, the warehouse reserves of uninstalled equipment in capital construction alone exceeded 51 million rubles. These are increasing at the Mayli-Say Electrical Lamp Plant and in Minzdrav enterprises and organizations. Millions of rubles are frozen in imported equipment which has not been installed at Gosagroprom, Minsvyaz and Glavkirkizvodstroy enterprises.

Comrades, visit the construction sites: you will see discarded construction materials in many, often the materials that are insufficient for projects: cement, metal, wood, bricks. We talk about cost-accounting, leasing, and other forms of labor organization in construction, but can mismanagement really coexist with

these? One gets the impression that the new forms of labor organization are being introduced among construction workers basically on paper.

Cases of mismanagement also exist in other branches of the economy. There are great losses of agricultural crops during harvesting, transportation and storage. For the sake of fairness, it should be said that in recent years we have started to build more storehouses. Since the start of the 5-year period, their capacity has increased by more than 100,000 tons. The processing sector is being developed and more than 190 million rubles have been invested in it over the last 3 years. However, this is not enough.

Losses in the processing of cattle at meat combines, basically due to violations of technological discipline, are not decreasing. The production of processed meat items is increasing slowly. In 1988, 1 ton of live cattle was processed by Gosagroprom for 1,367 rubles, which is somewhat less than in the Baltic republics. This relates to milk as well. In order to correct the situation, it is necessary to expand the variety of output and actively introduce waste-free technologies in industry. In this case, our machinebuilding plants can and should offer great assistance—in starting up the production of spare parts and specialized production lines and equipment.

Party, soviet, and law enforcement agencies must actively participate in the struggle against waste and mismanagement, against the squandering of material and financial resources. Understandably, we cannot merely make administrative measures more strict. We must uplift communists, specialists, and all workers for this work, arousing in people a genuine interest in reducing expenses, in strengthening the economy, and in thriftiness. Here, an effective lever is the application of the new economic management methods and the intensification of internal production cost-accounting.

In the past year, the lease contract combined with intensive production technologies was able to increase the volume of gross agricultural output by 4 percent on the whole throughout the republic, and the level of profitability—by 5 points. The profits of state agricultural enterprises and the pure income of kolkhozes have grown by more than 100 million rubles. The number of unprofitable farms has been reduced almost by a factor of 2. These figures, it seems, speak eloquently in favor of the new production relations, which are gaining strength in the agrarian sector.

However, I would like to say that not all labor collectives have yet realized that only they themselves, and no one else, provides for their well-being, directly on the basis of growth of labor productivity and raising production efficiency. This can only be achieved if we have good cadres. In this regard, it is disturbing that in some areas, in the election of leaders, people were promoted into management who are not demanding, who willingly or unwillingly repeat the propagation of consumerism and

the slackening of production and state discipline. As a rule, they indulge group egotism and do not want to argue with anyone, which in the final account does serious damage to the common work, including to the collective itself.

In our opinion, the need to improve legislation on the interaction between leader and labor collective council, preserving in this regard the principles of one-man leadership and democratization in forming the cadre corps, is imminent. At the same time, persistent, honest work is needed in order to overcome the distrust of labor collectives, which is rising in a number of places, of party committee opinions on cadres.

Now, regarding the situation in the republic. On the whole, it is calm and the moral atmosphere is healthy and conforms to the spirit of democratization and glasnost. There is constant practical criticism, and a serious intensity in work. We must all restructure ourselves as we go, and must take the difficult circumstances that are appearing in other regions into account. We must make the appropriate conclusions and extract the lessons.

At the same time, we must speak of the fact that the various so-called people's fronts, the democratic union, and informal associations that have appeared on the wave of restructuring are creating an unstable situation in the country. Attempts have been made by their representatives to involve individual strata of the population of Frunze in meeting democracy and divert people from the practical tasks of restructuring. Programs were sent to the republic and their emissaries arrived, but were decisively rebuffed. Only individual people whisper in the corners, sighing for a different kind of democratic union. Central Television discussed the true and openly anti-Soviet purposes of this union a few days ago.

It is impossible not to see how, under the conditions of democracy and glasnost, the dirty scum of social demagogic is flaring up in individual regions, how, under the guise of criticizing shortcomings, essentially an undermining of the ideals of socialism and the historic gains of October is taking place. Therefore, we have no right to display indifference and lack of concern. The Central Committee Buro constantly directs the party committees and organizations toward the development of an uncompromising, principle-minded position in these matters, toward the prompt neutralization of any extreme manifestation.

Democratization and glasnost are not anarchy and permissiveness. Laws exist in society and everyone is obligated to obey them unswervingly. This is the primary condition for forming a legitimate state. The other day, the press published the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium ukases on making changes and amendments in Kirghiz SSR legislation on criminal responsibility for state crimes and for administrative violations of the law.

The people accepted these acts with approval, although individuals, for whom positive changes are not to their liking, see them as an attack on democracy. We cannot reconcile ourselves to this. The expansion of democracy simultaneously requires the strengthening of the struggle against violations of law and order as well as the reinforcement of discipline and organization, but some people are forgetting this.

Recently, an increase in crime has been noted in the republic. The cities of Frunze (comrades U.K. Chinaliyev, A.M. Muraliyev), Tokmak (comrades M.M. Ibrayev, K.A. Lofink), Przhevalsk (comrades R.B. Yeshmambetov, V.N. Vorobuyev), Dzhalal-Abad (comrades R.N. Abdysamatova, R. Sabyrov), and Sokulukskiy (comrades K.A. Turganov, V.N. Kirkin), and Alamedinskiy (comrades O.A. Isayev, O. Tursumatov) rayons are particularly unfavorable in this regard.

The working people justly demand the strengthening of the struggle against criminal elements. The ministries of internal affairs and of justice, the Prosecutor's Office, and the Supreme Court, jointly with soviet and social organizations, should make preventative work more active and more extensively develop legal propaganda, and should persuade people, explain the essence of the laws and, if necessary, utilize the force of the law. Meanwhile, we have slackened attention to these problems. Many law enforcement agency employees have turned out to be unprepared for work under the new conditions.

Touching on these problems, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said in his closing speech at the April Plenum: "We ought to seriously correct the situation. In the interests of all of society, each labor collective, and each citizen, we should do everything possible so that our law enforcement agencies operate decisively, competently and confidently, in full conformity with the law."

It is necessary to strengthen the party leadership of law enforcement agencies and offer them constant support and attention. Along with this, we must also increase exigency toward their leaders for ensuring socialist legality and law and order.

I would like to turn your attention to the fact that the heat of the struggle against drunkenness has decreased here. Yet, after all, in many ways it provides nourishing soil for law violations. Meanwhile, a number of enterprises in Frunze, particularly the "Kirgizelektrosvigatel," ZhBI-1, glass, champagne and wine, and other plants have hastened to close their narcological services. Many trade union committees and organizations (Comrade E. Abakirov) have alienated themselves from this important matter. It is no accident that the number of cases of drunkenness on the job have increased by 41.5 percent. In Sverdlovskiy Rayon alone, 22 reports were made in 1988 against leaders who had not taken measures to dismiss persons found in an unsober state from work.

The party committees and organizations should work constantly and painstakingly with youth and meet with them regularly. They should answer the questions which trouble youth frankly and actively involve youth in socially useful activities. Cases of apoliticism, lack of spirit, and law violations among youth are, comrades, the consequence, above all, of our shortcomings, of inattention to the needs and interests of young people. At the same time, we should make serious claims against the republic Komsomol Central Committee (Comrade T. Tabylidiyev). He has not managed to make the work of the Komsomol organizations more active and there is a great deal of conventionalism and formalism in them.

Today, perhaps, there is not a single collective—production, creative, or educational—which has not discussed the problems of improving interethnic relations ardently and with interest. This is understandable. It is a question of the greatest gain of October—the friendship among Soviet peoples and its further strengthening. The question of national languages and the policy of bilingualism stands sharply in the center of these discussions.

At the present time, a group of specialists consisting of linguists, lawyers, social scientists, and leaders in science and culture, is working on the draft Law on Granting the Status of State Language to the Kirghiz language, as well as equally to Russian. The draft Law will be submitted for universal discussion and there will be an opportunity to discover the opinion of the broadest strata of the population on this problem. However, even now it can be firmly stated that we will carry out a language policy in the interests of all the working people and the unobstructed and free development both of the native language, as well as of Russian and other languages of the peoples of the USSR, and no restrictions or discrimination whatsoever with regard to ethnic groups and nationalities residing in Kirghizia will be tolerated.

The Center Committee Buro is counting on the active work of scientists, writers, artists, actors, and the entire intelligentsia in unifying the efforts of all strata of the population in the matter of further improving the moral and political situation in the collectives, accelerating the advancement of the economy and the culture of Soviet Kirgizstan, and the universal strengthening of the fraternal friendships of our peoples. As never before, we need their persuasive patriotic words and actions, especially for young people.

The mass information media have a special responsibility under the conditions of intensifying democracy and glasnost. On the whole, they are doing a great deal of work and are helping us implement the tasks of restructuring. At the same time, some of their employees are using the public rostrum to disseminate questionable ideas and false political guidelines. You know how sharply the participants in the CPSU Central Committee Plenum spoke about some broadcasts by Central Television, particularly the program "Vzglyad" [Glance].

We hope that the leaders of the mass information media and journalists will draw conclusions from the lengthy and principle-minded discussion held at the Central Committee Plenum and will objectively cover the course of restructuring, work to consolidate society, and will constructively help to eliminate shortcomings and difficulties.

In rating the contribution of the republic press according to its merits, we believe that there are "blank spots" in its work, and a number of important areas and spheres of our life and activity remain without sufficient attention. Sometimes the course of the political and economic reform is covered superficially and the work of party and soviet agencies and social organizations is not always studied profoundly and regularly. Very little is written about discipline, about the citizens' responsibility for the effective fulfillment of the requirements of the Constitution and Soviet laws. Our press, television and radio has many "debts" in the coverage of restructuring of intra-party ideological work, youth problems, and patriotic and international upbringing.

Some of the mass information media show the activities of servants of the cult one-sidedly, predominantly in rosy hues, and are forgetting about atheistic propaganda, although there are no grounds for weakening it whatsoever.

For example, at a recent kurultaye of Muslims from Central Asia and Kazakhstan, there were demands for separate schools for boys and girls and for restricting the promotion of women to leading and public work. The

number of young people who visit Christian churches has increased. All of this obliges us to improve atheistic work and to carry out Marxist-Leninist propaganda more effectively.

Comrades! The Central Committee Buro report has set forth our tasks, proceeding from the resolutions of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum. In discussing them, we see that the Party Central Committee, its Politburo and the Soviet government are carrying out restructuring not only in our country, but are also executing an active, fruitful policy in the international arena. The recently completed visit by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman, Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, to the Chinese People's Republic, is convincing evidence of this. As a result of his personal meetings and talks with the leaders of China, a start has been made in normalizing relations between the CPSU and the KPK, between our great neighboring states, and a great step has been taken on the path of reinforcing peace and security on the planet. The results of the Sino-Soviet summit talks answer the spirit of the times and the hopes of the world community. Unquestionably, they will also contribute to the acceleration of restructuring.

In a few days, the 1st USSR Congress of People's Deputies will begin. This is a most important event in the country's life. Soviet people are expecting a great deal from the congress—both in economics, in the social sphere, and in social development. However, the processes of renovation are inconceivable without stressed work from each of us on behalf of reinforcing the unity and cohesiveness of the Soviet peoples and their further flourishing.

Moldavian Goskomizdat Chairman on New Publishing Policies
18300712a Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIA in Russian 5 May 89 p 2

[Interview with Vladimir Filippovich Stanev, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Goskomizdat: "The Right to Make a Mistake"; date and place not specified]

[Text] To say that we live in interesting times is to say nothing. Information is gushing out in streams; political events are replacing one another like the scenes in a motion picture; and just the faces of the people—on the streets, on the screens—did such things even exist a few years ago?

For it is a time of discoveries, of revelations, of shocks; it is a time of change and great hopes.

Therefore, the first question to republic Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade] Chairman Vladimir Filippovich Stanev, is about the times; and how he sees the committee which he heads, in such times.

[Stanev] When speaking about the times, one cannot but touch upon the situation in the republic. Its complexity is explained largely by the fact that many questions which are being heard so loudly today, had for years been driven into the depths. They were posed twenty and thirty years ago, and they have lain dormant, in the dark. Democracy and glasnost have raised them up, and have faced us with the necessity of solving them. But all of us are people from that period, and stereotypes frequently prevail over us. I reason to myself: If I go to something new, I have to overcome my internal braking mechanism, which operates from time to time. Therefore it is very important at this time, to destroy the stereotypes, and above all—those within us. And we must resolve the questions. We have all, of course, been late for some things, but nevertheless...

[Gamova] You have said that the questions which are now of concern to society were raised 20 or 30 years ago?

[Stanev] Yes, I remember well the article by Georgiy Malarchuk in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA about 15 or 20 years ago; his remarks and commentary was entitled, "Where is the Arabian Racehorse Galloping off to?" His article spoke of the misfortunes of the Moldavian farmers; of the land, which was losing its fertility; and of the coming ecological trouble... Things which everyone talks about openly today. And there were other bold speeches.

[Gamova] Perhaps more accurately—not bold, but wise?...

[Stanev] No, they were in fact—bold. Just to pose a "troubling" problem demanded at the very least, civic courage.

[Gamova] And what was your position as a member of the Moldavian CP Central Committee?

[Stanev] In certain situations my professional intimates would express their opinion, and in particular with respect to the press. But we are all people, and at times the atmosphere turned out to be rather heavy.

[Gamova] And today?

[Stanev] I believe that the accumulated problems must be resolved energetically—with in the framework of the Constitution of course. And we must not wait for emergency situations or work according to the customary "instructions." If you want to talk about the press, that means to take a leap, like, for example, LITERATURA SHI ARTA. There are many controversial questions in it, posed in an uncustomary way. And I do not altogether agree with it. But initiative and boldness, and meeting troubling problems head-on—that it has.

[Gamova] That is, the trial-and-error method?

[Stanev] By all means. Without that one would not have that leap forward of which I spoke. But best of all here is the reaction of the readers: the circulation has gone from 24,000 to 100,000—and that has to mean something!

[Gamova] And how have the new times affected the work of Goskomizdat?

[Stanev] A great deal has happened in the approaches themselves. The staff has been reduced by 50 percent: at the present time, there are 32 people, including the technical workers. Furthermore, we have begun to interfere less in the business of the publishing houses. What was it like before? By administrative decision we have been excluded from the plan of a book. And, I must admit, that was not the worst decision. At present, planning is a matter for the publishing houses themselves. And they in turn do not shut themselves off, but go out into the working collectives, the creative societies, and to the Academy of Sciences. Such encounters help study the demand, and help introduce corrections to the plans being worked out. Later we study them together, argue over them, and arrive at a common dominator.

[Gamova] The principle of going out to the people is operating. And where the people are, as a rule, that is where the lessons are. How do such encounters enrich you, aside from corrections to plans for the publishing houses?

[Stanev] Here is a vivid example. A year ago we decided to hold a joint session of the collegium of the Committee, and the secretariat of the republic's Writers' Union. But while they were talking over the question at the board of the Union, an entirely appropriate question was heard—albeit one seldom heard then: "But why behind closed doors?" And it was decided to discuss the publishing plan with a significant number of writers present. Why

not do it this way? Whoever wants to attend, let them do so. And that is what they did. It turned out that the talk was not all that light, and they had to listen to quite a few uncomplimentary remarks. I am reminded of the speech by the writer Serafim Sak, who was literally not allowed to cross the threshold of the publishing house for 20 years. But now his books are being published. Mikhail Chimpoys spoke out sharply, as did Ion Konstantinovich Chobanu and Yuriy Grekov. But, I must admit, all the speeches were to the point.

[Gamova] Since the conversation has already turned to what is "in the works" right now at the publishing houses, may I ask the following question: Are there plans to publish Moldavian literature in Latin script, and what are the technical capabilities for this?

[Stanev] Already this year a two-volume book by Ion Kryange is coming out, and there are plans to publish other classics of Moldavian literature, including academic works by Eminescu. As far as the capabilities are concerned, they exist but they are limited. At certain publishing houses less time is required; you see, we are now publishing books in French, Italian and Spanish, for example. But on the whole, additional efforts and retraining of cadres are required. But in principle, we can resolve the question.

[Gamova] In the republic today there is quite a lot of talk about "Gagauz" and "Bulgarian" questions. Tell me please, how do we publish literature in these languages?

[Stanev] Above all, I must say, one thinks about textbooks. The Ministry of Popular Education has come to an agreement with Bulgaria, and they can import the books they need from there for school pupils, and in the required amounts. We are publishing the works of Bulgarian writers who live in Moldavia, and we shall continue to do so.

There is a special problem with Gagauz literature. Not so long ago I attended meetings in Vulkaneshty and Komrat. I listened to the people and it was awkward. We are deeply in arrears to them. Right now we don't need any more talk: we need deeds. One cannot say that we have not published Gagauz authors, but it happened this way: someone would bring us his book, and we would include it in the plan. But there was no policy, no special, purposeful policy; the moreso, since this is the way it is: On the one hand, the publishing house publishes the works of the members of the Writers' Union; and on the other hand one is not allowed into the Union unless one has been published. And therefore, there are young Gagauz writers who have something to offer to us, but sometimes years pass before their literary works are published. In a word, there are problems. And the fact that they are being resolved slowly—that's our fault.

[Gamova] But is anything being planned now?

[Stanev] Yes, five or six works by Gagauz writers.

[Gamova] What can one compare these figures with? Is that a lot or a few?

[Stanev] It seems that one should put the question like this: Who will read this literature? Many children do not know their native language. Probably one should start with kindergarten—children's books and textbooks. And publish works of fiction at the same time.

[Gamova] And newspapers? I have in mind independent newspapers, and not supplements to SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA.

[Stanev] In my opinion, we should go ahead and publish national inter-rayon newspapers. Naturally, that will require spending. But in my opinion, when it is a matter of the spiritual sphere, money is not a question.

[Gamova] You brought up children's literature. What are the prospects for publishing children's literature, especially for the very young? We know very well what pleasure the little ones get from books they can play with, and what it costs their parents to give them this pleasure...

[Stanev] Children's literature is a topic of special discussion and special concern. In order to give the little ones the pleasure of which you spoke, Goskomizdat will have to spend a little more effort and resources than their mamas and papas.

It is a matter of setting up a special children's publishing house in the republic. A proposal has already been submitted to do so.

At the present time we have a contract, ready for signature, with an Italian firm that specializes in packaging various materials. I think you'll be astonished by the product. The fact of the matter is that the basic material which is utilized is—a carton, and the articles themselves are made in colors; very pretty. The equipment is completely suitable for manufacture of playbooks. According to the contract, the firm supplies us the equipment and trains the workers, and we pay them later, when production is started up. Incidentally, our small joint enterprise will also basically produce packaging materials—pretty packaging materials, which all the republic enterprises need. I don't want to repeat myself; this has already been spoken of more than once, but at times it is a shame, that here we have fine goods—and they come in such an unattractive package!

[Gamova] And where, if it's no secret, will our enterprise be "registered?"

[Stanev] The question is now under study.

[Gamova] In an article by Vladimir Tsvetov in a recent issue of the magazine OGONEK, Japanese entrepreneurs are quoted drawing a parallel between the automobiles Zhiguli and Fiat, which are in essence produced

from the same model, but in different countries. And they come to the conclusion that it is as if a painted tiger were compared with a real one. This, incidentally is about quality, but it is also about joint enterprises. In this connection, allow me to ask these questions: Will we be able to guarantee high quality production; and why did the Italians decide to go to contract?

[Staney] We will guarantee the quality. Our printers are fine specialists. The equipment will be supplied, and the materials too. We, on the other hand are obligated to supply the pulp for the cartons. As I've already said, the firm is obligated to train the workers. We are now selecting a group which we will send to Caravaggio, the city where the firm is quartered.

Now about the second question: The owner of the firm is a communist, who sympathizes with our country. That is one thing; but the other thing is, on top of all that, he is—an entrepreneur, and he knows how to count money very well. I think that the advantage will be mutual.

[Gamova] The word "question" has been heard quite a bit today. But could I ask one more: What is your view of Goskomizdat for the future?

[Staney] I see one in which a select organ, which includes representatives of the entire system—from the publisher to the manufacturer and the seller—will be occupied in all of its affairs. Then too, there will also be less friction among them. But in spite of all our enterprise, the determining factor will nevertheless be the fact that we are essentially an ideological organ. If we were guided by other considerations, we could publish a large run of, for example, [Moris] Druon, and live a peaceful life. Therefore, we seek advice from the public, we think for ourselves, and we search. Today three priority directions are defined in literature: academic, children's and dictionary-handbook or encyclopedic. There is an acute need for them. We also plan to publish the classics of Moldavian literature, which in the past was apt to be forgotten: for example, Dmitriy Kantemir, Nikolae Milesku Spafariy, and others. Academic publications are needed too, for this is the culture of the people. There is also another idea—to create a series on the order of, "Lives of Outstanding People," on Moldavia. A complex process is now going on in the publishing houses, and the collectives are restructuring themselves both structurally and creatively. One would hope that perestroika will give birth to a great deal of interesting works. As for mistakes? Perhaps there will be some. But in order to take a step forward, to achieve something truly new, one must also have the right to make a mistake...

Adzhubey on Khrushchev, Pamyat, Journalistic Issues

18300712b Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian
6 May 89 p 2

[Interview with Aleksey Ivanovich Adzhubey, by Special Staff Correspondent Mark Levin: "I Believe in Advocacy"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Twenty years ago the name of this journalist did not appear in the press. In his absence, new publications were born; in his absence, new methods of working with

the readers were discovered; in his absence new principles of newspaper structure were invented... It is as if he had never existed.

But you see for entire decades prior to his forced withdrawal to journalistic limbo he had been at the center of public attention; and not merely in our country, but in the entire world. He interviewed the President of the United States, the Pope in Rome, and the Chancellor of the FRG; NEDELYA was his brainchild, and he was the head of IZVESTIYA, the best newspaper in the USSR, in the late 1950's to the mid-1960's.

The fall of Khrushchev entailed his downfall as well. Naturally. After all, he was not only a conductor of the policy of the pensioned-off CPSU Central Committee First Secretary; he was also his son-in-law. And so, they had to shut the mouth of this journalist, who was so incompatible with the regime of "old bushy-brows" [Brezhnev], didn't they? And—it was as if he had never existed.

But nevertheless he was and still is, Aleksey Adzhubey, the journalist. Because for all of those stagnant 20 years, honest newspapermen in the country built on the experience of Adzhubey's IZVESTIYA, and the light of the legendary newspaper nevertheless penetrated the heavy shroud of the period of social stagnation.

The time of renewal and glasnost returned Adzhubey's name to the newspaper and magazine columns. His press articles are once again at the center of attention. And yet, now, while trying to get a grasp of his fresh prose and rejoicing that he is again being heard, it is still hard to rid oneself of the bitterness for his 20 years of silence. And it is hard not to think about the times and about fate...

Today Aleksey Adzhubey responds to questions from MOLODEZH ESTONII.

[Levin] At present it's hard to believe a lot of things: the ideals and standards which not so long ago still seemed permanent and eternal, have today lost their durability—and with that, their value... Against such a background it is also easy to lose faith. What should one believe in? Do you see, Aleksey Ivanovich, a contrast in "faith" and "faithfulness"?

[Adzhubey] In my opinion, "faith" and "faithfulness" are closely-knit concepts. After all, it's not for nothing that they have the same root. Faith in that which determines the soul of man does not proceed from human consciousness. And hence, faithfulness to teachings, to Christianity, for example. And if a man believes, but is not faithful, then it seems to me he is not a man.

[Levin] But we have very often believed in people and identified with their teachings...

[Adzhubey] That is another aspect. I was speaking in the philosophical sense. But what you are asking about... Well, faithfulness to Khrushchev, and faith in socialism—that is different. But it would be appropriate to say, during the time of Peter I, that one was awarded a medal "For love and faithfulness." I think that in such a combination there is meaning, isn't there?

[Levin] Yes. But the very fact that they awarded a medal for that also says a lot. Perhaps it would do no harm to place such a high value on love and faithfulness in our days too... But now another question: Did faith never hinder you?

[Adzhubey] It could be that it is just that kind of complexity that my generation carries within it. I'll explain. In 1939 I was a Komsomol organizer in our school, No 478, in Taganka, in a working-class neighborhood. And if the director called me late at night and said, "Lesha, tomorrow the battalion has to occupy such and such a kilometer on Paveletskaya Road in order to guard the trains with the delegates from the 18th Party Congress," we would all immediately jump up and would be right at the designated place at the appointed time. There was even a certain style to it: we believed that strongly. We were born into that faith. And my future wife, who was then about seven, did not know anything like that. But I lived in a working-class neighborhood, and she—in the government palace. For us Tagankas, the world was Spain, Chapayev, the new delicatessen, and Leonid Utesov who played at our movie theater before the showing, and girls who sold cigarettes and candy by the piece... And no one would arrest us... From Taganka to the government palace was about three kilometers as the crow flies; but that was another world, and there one could get arrested... But we believed that they didn't lock anybody up for nothing, that there were enemies of the revolution all around, enemies of the people; that we had to save our delegates from them... After the 20th Congress we discovered that our own straightforwardness at that time had formed an internal censor within us, which it is hard to overcome to this day.

[Levin] And therefore a re-evaluation of values took place in the struggle within yourselves?

[Adzhubey] I cannot run down everything that took place at some time; I cannot. I do not belong to the camp of Nina Andreyeva or Shekhortsov; but should I renounce our entire past because of Stalin and Stalinism? After all, we are not idiots; we had more than puffed-up heroes and false standards. Even under Stalin there were achievements which the entire world admired. Shaw said that even if the tragedy Chelyuskina had been dreamed up by the Bolsheviks, no one can produce a better theatrical performance on humanism in society. We were beaten and we were frightened, but Akhmatova, Tsvetayeva, Pasternak and Platonov—they are us! Yes, there were tens of millions of people torn to bits and murdered, and I can neither understand nor accept those

who are indifferent to this. This causes me terrible pain. However, neither can I become a traitor with respect to the times in which I lived. Perhaps that is precisely why our generation is now reacting so painfully to everything that is taking place in society and in the country in recent years... By the way, nor can I, like certain of my commentator-colleagues, scoff today at those things the beginnings of which those commentators lived under thirty years ago... And one wants to ask: if the subordinates were so sickened by the leaders, then why were they ready to crawl closer and closer to them?

[Levin] As I listen to you I am thinking that, possibly social and political mimicry and chameleon-like behavior are not only the character traits of a specific individual, but also an expression of its need to join in the new epoch. Do you agree?

[Adzhubey] Perhaps that is so.

[Levin] The moreso that the specific features of the type of occupation itself—commentary—demands of journalists the combining of the interests of the individual and the interests of the epoch. I would like to return to this topic in more detail a little later. But right now tell me please, how you personally relate to those processes which have begun to unfold in our country?

[Adzhubey] Everything that took place then, when we were young, and which took place in 1956 has strengthened the conviction in my soul, that a breakthrough to true socialism is inevitable, although we have had to wait a very long for this breakthrough, and the path has been a thorny one... Nevertheless, everything that is taken place among us now, since 1985, finds a warm response in my consciousness, in my moral sensibilities, and in my party conscience. I think that this is the main thing in my actions—for me.

[Levin] Now permit me to turn to the social problems which have everyone worried, on the solution of which the fate of perestroika depends. It would be interesting to learn your point of view, for example, on the question of the relationships of the republics comprising the Soviet nation...

[Adzhubey] The problem has been neglected—and for a very long time. Under Stalin, Lenin's instructions were subjected to practically a complete revision, and then later this problem was not given proper attention. Now the entire Union needs, I would say, an organizational house-cleaning [ochishchenie]. You see we have observed only the foreign accessories to the agreement on the union adopted in 1922. And the essence was emasculated. A republic must have sound legal possibilities, and fundamental here is—possibility of secession from the state on a legal basis. Although here it is exceptionally important to be a realist.

[Levin] And that one is probably the most difficult of all; the moreso, since we have accumulated so many undeveloped questions—worked out neither in theory nor in practice. Here is one of them: how to draw a line between national pride and nationalism?

[Adzhubey] First, about the undeveloped questions. If for two or three generations one limits the opportunities to acquire in-depth knowledge, to include knowledge of Lenin's legacy in toto; if one is deprived of information; if teachers are jailed, or even shot, and are not allowed to speak out—all this does not take place without consequences... And how can one draw a line between national pride and nationalism? In oversimplified form I would answer it this way: national pride, just as national self-awareness, never springs up, is never nurtured and never triumphs by virtue of compulsion by other nationalities or nations.

[Levin] The events of recent times in our republic show that we cannot yet demonstrate this thesis in deeds. And you, Aleksey Ivanovich, are you aware of what is going on in Estonia?

[Adzhubey] I was a visitor there not long ago; and it's true that I spent only a few days there. But even here in Moscow we are keeping a very close watch on those processes which are now going on in the Baltic Littoral, and especially in Estonia. I cannot and do not want to interfere in your affairs, but simply, as your comrade, I am convinced that you must find a way to remove—and the sooner the better—those tensions which are inflaming your lives—and that means ours too. Otherwise, if this does not occur, you are thrusting a knife into perestroyka. You are diverting other peoples in the country away from perestroyka, and this is painful to admit. We (and here "we" is truly the plural; after all we are very many) firmly hope that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and his comrades in the party achieve what they have planned to do, and our lives will be changed for the better. But then I have said: we must be realists. And the realistic approach shows, that there is not and cannot now be a leader in the country who can, with a wave of a magic wand, instantly, solve all the problems which have accumulated in our multi-national state. While trying to solve your own problems, please do not forget, that you and I must be disturbed by what is now taking place in Georgia, in Belorussia, in Armenia and in Azerbaijan... Here it is especially important that journalists be honest and objective in their articles: we must very carefully take the printed word into account.

[Levin] Are you acquainted with what is being published in Estonia on this subject?

[Adzhubey] In what I have read, there is a great deal that simply depresses me—whether it is the speeches of the leaders of the Popular Front, or the speeches of the International Movement... Because no matter how fairly one looks at the individual positions or situations, the lack of intelligence and realism, a real feeling and real

analysis of the situation is very noticeably lacking. Look, there are rumors going about that Estonia has decided to secede from the Soviet Union. What—did it decide that by itself, or has someone "decided" for it?

[Levin] Such rumors are actually groundless, but this idea, at least for now, is unpopular in the republic. Just as are extreme views. Some hotheads at times shoot off such ideas, but our public opinion in my view is teaching them to cool off.

[Adzhubey] And thank God. Illusory ideas and overestimating one's own importance are fraught with bitter disappointments. You gather in 30 centners of grain per hectare, and that's not bad; but it's nothing to brag about either. Will they "invite you to Europe" with such a "visitor's card"? And who would need you there with such a yield? But here another fact touched me. I watched on television how in Tallinn several thousand people went out to dig ditches. I am reminded of a man who said that he was happy to do a little spade work on the streets of his native city: he was happy to be of assistance—not under duress and not for making a check mark in some kind of report—but for his personal social need to take part in the common cause.

[Levin] Those people were helping construct the National Library...

[Adzhubay] And that's great! But look at Moscow and its mud... I once advised the members of the Pamyat Society to issue a call: "Russians, let's go out with our shovels; let's clean up the Russian city!" Here they are pretending to be the conscience of the nation... No, they didn't turn out.

[Levin] And what is your attitude toward Pamyat as a whole?

[Adzhubey] In my opinion its activity is to a significant extent illegal. After all, it says in our Constitution that propaganda of national exclusiveness and enmity of any kind at all is forbidden by law. The members of Pamyat make 90 percent of the Russians uneasy, the same people whom they are supposedly trying to oblige. We would rather not have anything to do with this "Pamyat." But I think it would be a mistake to close them down, to oppress them, resorting only to the legal norms. It could be that this is a case in which we should not run to the MVD or the KGB, yelling "Protect us." Rather, we ourselves should create an atmosphere of intolerance toward national arrogance—such that the whole atmosphere in society would make the further existence of the Black Hundreds of Pamyat altogether impossible. Even now one cannot take them seriously. And nevertheless it would be a mistake to brush them off: they want to cause a falling out among the nations in our country and thereby reduce it to chaos. However, I think that the events which are taking place today in the Baltic States or in the Trans-Caucasus, in contrast with the assertions of the demagogues from Pamyat and other nationalistic

associations, clearly indicate that the nations are alive! They are not indifferent to their fate, and they are seeking constructive solutions. Sure, they might make mistakes, they might clash in some things and they might become indignant; but the main thing is—they are alive! *And neither the Stalin regime nor the stagnation could kill them. But Pamyat is doomed, if only morally.*

[Levin] Obviously it would be useful for all of us to frequently stop and think, that we are first—people, and then we are Russians, Estonians, Jews, Armenians and Georgians...

[Adzhubey] Would it be easy for Mikhail Sergeyevich and Rajiv Gandhi to sign a declaration stating that there are interests higher than class interests? There are common human interests. And there are common human values. In the milieu of Western "Marxists," this would not surprise them so much, as send them into a dither: "How can this be so? You see, it's against the rules!" But you see, when we declare the priority of common human values over class values, in doing so we are in no way rejecting a class approach or class interests. And with regard to the topic of which we are speaking, I have no intention of asserting that there are no conflicts between the Estonians and the Russians in Estonia. No doubt there are. However, I do not believe that they are of an antagonistic nature.

[Levin] The conflicts are real, and how to resolve them is not all that clear; and, you see, the tension is increasing...

[Adzhubey] That I understand. But I cannot understand how one can make a Russian lathe operator or an Estonian teacher, the people of today, responsible for long-ago political errors, for the crimes of the time of Stalin... And I do not want to believe that Estonian engineers cannot come to an agreement with Russian engineers, or that Estonian television workers cannot come to agreement with Russian newspapermen...

[Levin] But the pain from long-ago errors and the crimes of the past cannot abate with time, and the memory of national misfortune cannot cease... All of this is handed down from generation to generation, and so what is so surprising that those who had suffered would rather keep their distance from those who offended them? It's another question, that at times we cannot determine who is truly the offender, and who is an imaginary one. And then additional errors threaten, which it is also painful to acknowledge, just like the old ones...

[Adzhubey] Maybe they are even more painful. I think about this as I follow the reaction to the Law on the State Language. For me there is no doubt: if you respect the country in which you live; if you want to joint in the system of its life in all its diversity; then you must master the language of this country. That's hard, but what can you do?

On the other hand, no one should be hurt. And if Estonia is one way or another in union with Russia, then it must learn to respect the Russian language to the very same degree that it wants (and rightfully so, altogether rightfully) other people to respect the Estonian language.

[Levin] And I think, Aleksey Ivanovich, that it is our common misfortune in our society, that the feeling of one's own worth is too little developed in us. That's why we can't respect our own native language, nor our own flag; nor the language of others and their flag. And when life forced us, then it seemed that we only know how to endure. We can endure both the Law on the State Language; and we shall endure the national flag in place of the state flag... We shall endure, but we will not understand, much less accept—if only in the depths of our soul. Just as in the past others have endured, for example, the absence of their national symbols... But about the "fraternal love" of the nations; about their "united family," which lord knows how many years in a row was proclaimed from lofty rostrums; now it's somehow awkward to bring it up... Don't you agree?

[Adzhubey] Let's not go against our conscience. The red flag—that is the flag of my Motherland; I went through the entire war, and have lived my life under it. I cannot offer my hand to people who speak about it insultingly... But we, modern Soviet people, both in Moscow and in Tallinn, should not forget that it was not the Russians, but the system of power that existed in our country that brought all that grief to Estonia. I have an Estonian friend. In the graduating class he and his classmates had learned some kind of Estonian poems...and the entire class was exiled to Siberia for many years. That's a fact. But here is another fact: After Beria was dethroned and shot, a prisoner uprising broke out in the camps, and the "zeiks," not only Estonians, you understand, but also Russians, and Ukrainians, and Armenians, and Georgians—there national origin was not worth much—were mowed down with machine guns... Under the red flag! Another of my Estonian friends explained to me the reasons for the complex relationship of Estonians to Russians. He told me something like this: "In 1940 Estonia behaved with loyalty toward the USSR. Let's put aside the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact; what's important is that Estonia became Soviet. And what came of it? Immediately several tens of thousands of people were exiled, and those who remained were forbidden to correspond with their relatives abroad. All more or less qualified Estonians were removed from supervisory positions and were replaced with Russians. And a year later they did not defend us from the Germans. In the first period of the war, the Nazis, until the Red Army began to pursue them, were not especially hard on the Estonians. Then once again Soviet troops came to us—and once again our people were sent to the ends of the earth. Once again they put in their own people, who did not even know our language..." So, how can there be love here? It's not a simple question. We must think. But we must also think honestly. Then the answer to the question will be clear—whether the Russian people are to

blame for the misfortunes of Estonia, and is it fair to reproach those who are living today for the errors and even crimes committed 40-50 years ago? No, we should not divide our flags into "ours" and "theirs;" they should not be in conflict. But we need to unite our conscience. Why do I say that? Because, I believe in advocacy. Maybe I should have become a priest?

[Levin] Allow me to return to you personally. For 20 years it was as if you had disappeared without a trace. But lately everyone can see that Adzhubey's eye is just as sharp, and his pen has not gotten dull either. What helped you to hold out?

[Adzhubey] In all fairness I must say that others had things worse than I did. Take Len Karpinskiy, a brilliant philosopher and propagandist, who was at one time a Komsomol Central Committee secretary and party obkom secretary—was expelled from the party in the years of stagnation, and was deprived of any kind of work... I did not suffer as he did, but the ban on writing which was in effect for 20 years—was awful. Now I have to learn many things anew. Just think how it would be for a pianist to be forbidden access to an instrument for 20 years; after that he wouldn't even be able to play Chizhik-Pizhik. What helped me? The habit of working, come hell or high water—and not hack work, but serious work, overcoming all the evil circumstances that life sends your way. I worked in studios, I wrote announcements, something for exhibits... Here I was not only trying to earn a living, although I have a large family and need money. But chiefly, within me there lived the desire, and possibly the ambition, not to lose my form, and to maintain my qualification... I wanted to prove that I was not a favorite of Fortune, son-in-law of Khrushchev or not. And another thing that helped me was my faith that our people, our country and our party would certainly summon—sooner or later—the forces which would change a great deal for the better. And in April 1985, when I heard Gorbachev's speech, I thought: "Here he is! Now we will be saved!"

[Levin] And now you once again...

[Adzhubey] And now I once again say to myself, "Only forward, only in the line of fire!" But that sounds too ostentatious, and I simply have in mind the fact that we must successfully pass through the present period in the development of our society. We've got to, and that's it. That is the case. Perhaps for some, to sit it out quietly, in a safe corner...

[Levin] That has to be a matter of one's civic conscience...

[Adzhubey] I'll put it this way: It's either us or them. The apparatchiks, the bureaucrats, are against us. And they don't have to borrow forces... Either we create a new society, purged of immorality and irresponsibility, of nepotism and pandering, and create a truly socialist union—or they will defeat us.

[Levin] Do you suppose that social cataclysms will continue to shake us?

[Adzhubey] I once leafed through Valuyev's diary. He was minister of internal affairs under Alexander II. He saw the approaching changes: after all, the peasant reform was looming on the horizon—and he sensed the ferment of internal forces in society. He feared this, but he was also pleased: "Before Russia gets to the precipice, she will get lazy. But if she is at the precipice, then she will show herself." Forgive me if I quote someone too often; you see, I also recall the summons of Ostap Bender: "Those geniuses ought to be strangled!" And I will nevertheless again quote—Churchill, this time. He used to tease Khrushchev, saying that the latter wanted to jump across the precipice in two leaps. Maybe the British politician was write about some things... But now, today, we must learn to jump right away—a double leap; a record leap! This is also the case.

[Levin] Aleksey Ivanovich! In spite of my attempts to turn the conversation to your personal fate, our subject is always expanding: from the fate of a man we went to the fate of a generation, and then to the fate of the nation. I say this not as an objection, but to establish a fact. And nevertheless, "Fate plays with man." Do you agree?

[Adzhubey] It plays, of course. And not always gently. And so she played with Vysotskiy, with Shukshin, with Tvardovskiy... One could make a long list. And is it not a horrible, fatal thought that so many of our most conscientious and most talented people have taken to drink? Especially when they understood that they cannot live and create according to the truth.

[Levin] You too probably had to struggle with your own conscience? When in your IZVESTIYA the critic Yermilov caved in with a disgusting article on "People, Years, and Life," by Erenburg; and then a little ditty was made up among the intelligentsia: "I asked my sweetheart/You kill Yermilov/You Kill Yermilov/And let Adzhubey cry..."

[Adzhubey] No, I didn't cry. You are a newspaperman yourself, and you should understand this... If the editor of IZVESTIYA—the organ of the USSR Supreme Soviet—is called by the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet who instructs you to publish some article or other, it is very difficult not to carry out his instructions. In addition, sometimes these instructions may coincide with your own personal views. But Yermilov's article... I had a good relationship with Erenburg. We had traveled abroad together, we got together at home, and we were next-door neighbors. And nevertheless... When I found out that I was required to severely criticize "People, Years, and Life," it did not especially cause me to protest; after all, at that time my attitude toward his book contained a healthy dose of orthodox arrogance. Nonetheless, I called him up: "Ilya Grigorevich, we will be speaking out against you. But we shall try to find a more liberal critic." And you know

what he answered? "Of course not! Otherwise you will greatly offend me, Alyosha. The criticism must be most severe. Then everything will be more clear." "Yermilov, perhaps?" "Let Yermilov do it; that's fine." And when we printed the article, "A Man with a Walking Stick," about the travel essays of Viktor Nekrasov...

[Levin] I have an unpleasant memory of the article...

[Adzhubey] I could have pleaded that it was not sent to us from above and we were not obligated to publish it; but I didn't do that: those essays by Nekrasov which I had read, gave rise to a feeling of protest in me. The material was published, and I do not repent of it today. But if one were to judge by such a standard, then I can adopt only one criterion: I came to IZVESTIYA when the circulation was 400,000, and five years later when they "withdrew" me from there, the circulation was ten million; and that's that. But time passes and a person's attitudes change. That which was then and there, was then and there, and not here and now. Therefore I am skeptical about newly-discovered "brave ones" who took their courage from hindsight and try to set back the clock. I once knew a history teacher who, while giving a class on Spartacus' revolt, would "reveal" the gladiator's "mistake": He did not distribute land to the slaves, and was cut down because he did not have a grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory on the class struggle... No, this is not historical method; it is opportunism.

[Levin] Your attitude toward Khrushchev when he was in office and now—are those two different attitudes?

[Adzhubey] No, although new facts bring about a certain adjustment. You see, the main thing that he did—was the 20th Congress; and my attitude toward him has not changed.

[Levin] Did you often speak with Khrushchev tete-a-tete?

[Adzhubey] At the time when he was the First Person in the state, we, his close relatives, could not, just could not speak with him about his work. And when we met (Rada and I began to live separately right away), neither did he show an interest in how things were going at IZVESTIYA, nor did it ever come into my head to ask how things were in the politburo... And if someone at home would try to talk about business—right away his eyes would get cold: "Write to the Central Committee!" And there was no point in insisting.

[Levin] All the same, in the West they were at that time referring to you as the shadow minister of foreign affairs...

[Adzhubey] Yes, and lord—what they did not call me! I truly was no minister, neither in the shadow nor in the sunlight. If only because at that time diplomacy was very boring. And secondly, I remembered about the part played by the minister of foreign affairs under Mussolini:

he, Mussolini's son-in-law, was hanged at the end. And thirdly, if under Khrushchev there was such a splendid leader of diplomacy as Gorbachev has, then Nikita Sergeyevich would not have to send newspapermen to all ends of the world to find out what they think of us... Of course, before taking trips abroad, the Ministry of Foreign affairs would advise me to sound out this or that decision or opinion, or to explain or clear up someone's position... And I, as a representative of a major newspaper, tried to meet with foreign leaders. And do not the chief editors of TIME, or the NEW YORK TIMES, travel to Moscow for that reason now? What, are they only interested in balalaikas and decorated spoons? No, they too want to find out, clarify or explain something... Evidently I had something similar too, or why would President Kennedy have received me several times? And no one forced Pope John XXIII to receive me... But what gossip, rumors and fantasies were concocted around that! And not at all only "there," in the West, but by us too...

[Levin] In other words, in order to put out a newspaper such as yours, it was not necessary to be the Premier's son-in-law?

[Adzhubey] Once a student from the journalism department came to me: he had to learn how to start a newspaper. At first I almost growled—can you really describe such a thing! After all, there's a lot to our business—from illuminating facts, to the ability to see the world in terms of subject-matter... Nevertheless, after a while I did answer him. First of all, no matter what happens you have to get a staff together, in which there are at least some talented people. These, I must point out, are the most difficult people, the most contrary, the most independent people—and I can tell you that not many such people turn up... And nevertheless, without them nothing will happen. Secondly: You must rely on letters from your readers. There is no substitute for them; from them a newspaper receives a charge with the current of life. And one other thing is needed: a feeling for the times and the ability to express them must come together in the editorial office. And the fact that my father-in-law is Khrushchev... Possibly this helped me to almost intuitively sense that you simply can't get fired up by your "relatives." But on the other hand, if they beat you, it was to the end...

[Levin] Our profession is sometimes called the "second oldest," having in mind that the very oldest is—prostitution. What do you think, is there a large dollop of truth to that label which is hung about the press?

[Adzhubey] That's an old insult, and I don't care to explore it. I prefer another definition of the press: we—are the sixth continent. And one can be proud of that. And our Soviet press has made a mighty leap since 1985. It has spoken out as the assault division of perestroika: having made a break-through, it has occupied the flanks and is advancing, winning new beach-heads for democracy. Why has it been able to do this? Because,

I think, our journalists have a very strong sense of conscience. Never mind that their workload is punishing, and not very well paid at that. I know. Right now a lot of reproach is leveled at the press. But in essence these are not attacks on the press—these are the apparatchiks, screening off their easy chairs from a fresh breeze, which in my generation was first scented at the 20th Congress.

[Levin] In other words, the times have helped you?

[Adzhubey] they have provided a sense of freedom. True, we did not know how many gulps of this freedom we would manage to drink down. At first we thought that such a thing was forever. The times were contradictory—Khrushchev himself was a contradiction... You see, for a long time he did not understand that it was not enough to destroy Stalin: you have to destroy Stalin's system...

[Levin] And so, did Khrushchev ever grasp that? Perhaps at the end of his life?

[Adzhubey] I believe he understood that at the end of his career. I was a member of the constitutional commission which on 4 November 1964 was to have presented the USSR Supreme Soviet a draft of the new USSR Constitution. At that time we were taking Khrushchev's ideas as our starting point. In the incomplete draft of the Fundamental Law, it was stated that the dictatorship of one class could not be permanent; that it would be replaced by a general popular state; that the point on nationality would be eliminated in personal questionnaires and that passports and registration would be eliminated... Perhaps we ourselves did not entirely understand what would come from such complex questions... But you see we very much believed in the times! But experience has shown that one must not place one's hopes solely on the times. By the way, even today many of our people suppose that the times and the system, socialism, will do everything for them, themselves. Hence comes social infantilism...a terrible thing!

[Levin] And so it turns out that the system which we have created is becoming socially corrupt? Which gives rise to our passivity, and makes us lazier... And perhaps we ourselves (whether consciously or unwittingly) are creating conditions for ourselves in which it is profitable to be infantile? And we call these conditions "socialism"? What can help us here?

[Adzhubey] Freedom and legality. So that man would truly, in fact, become for us the measure of all things. Not a man in and of himself, but his welfare. But in order to achieve this, it is necessary that the sense of freedom, which the times have bestowed, not fall away. Stendhal [Andre Marie Beyle], who was, as is well-known, Napoleon's historiographer, noted, that the emperor remained a great man as long as he wished to see France as it actually was—in an honest reflection by the press. But as soon as that press, having sensed the changes in the emperor's moods, became servile, Napoleon began to see only an illusory France—and it came tumbling down. For in truth—there is life.

Not long ago A.I. Adzhubey completed work on a book of memoirs. It was accepted at the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishing house, and many countries in the world have already placed orders for it. At present negotiations are under way to publish Adzhubey's memoirs in the Estonian language. Aleksey Ivanovich kindly granted MOLODEZH ESTONII the exclusive right to publish certain chapters. In the near future, MOLODEZH ESTONII plans to begin to acquaint its readers with this work.

Possible Commercial Broadcasts From USSR to PRC Kazakhs

18320017b Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh 7 May 89 p 3

[Interview with Gh. M. Shalakmetov, chairman of the Kazakh State Committee for Television and Radio, by Ye. Smaylov: "In Accord With the Spirit of the Times"]

[Excerpts] [Smaylov] News about the life and livelihood of Altay Kazakhs is popular with the people. Several letters have asked if such broadcasts will continue. The letters ask if news reports about Kazakhs in Mongolia, China and Turkey, for example, are to be broadcast.

[Shalakmetov] We also receive such letters. Performers from the PRC are shown via the program called "Alatau." Diplomatic relations are improving indeed. However, we must raise the question about such productions with the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers.

The Miras Cooperative and the Otan Society have collectively suggested various information news reports to our countrymen living abroad on a commercial basis. This would provide financial aid for our obtaining good technology.

**PRAVDA Carries 1940 Declarations of LiSSR,
ESSR's Entries into USSR**

18300759

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 21 July 1989 Second Edition carries on page 4 the Russian texts of the 1940 declarations of the entries of Lithuania and Estonia into the USSR under the title "The Documents Bear Witness." The Russian texts in regular type, each of which contains about 600 words, are accompanied by facsimiles of the original documents in Russian, Lithuanian, and Estonian. An unattributed editorial comment at the beginning of the text states that the copies are being published at the request of PRAVDA's readers.

**Party, Government Open Letter on 14 June
Commemoration of Stalin Repressions**

18001381 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
11 Jun 89 pp 1, 4

[Open Letter to the inhabitants of Lithuania from the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers: "To Focus, to Remember, and to Honor the Memory"]

[Text]

Open Letter to the Inhabitants of Lithuania

The 14th of June is coming—the day which reminds all of us of the tragic element of Lithuania's past. It reminds us of those who were shot, who froze to death, who were tortured, and who died in exile. It reminds us of all those who died innocently, of all the victims whose graves are even unknown. The Day of Mourning and Hope is coming, the day of the victims of our nation.

On the time that we are going through there still lies the dark shadow of Stalinism. For this reason, its careful analysis and frank criticism going to the essence of things are necessary to Lithuanians, Russians, Jews, Poles, Belorussians, Tatars and Georgians—to all the peoples of the Soviet Union who suffered from Stalinism. We endured immeasurable grief, contempt, falsehood, and we are also enduring the full weight of the truth. The nation will have a future if it knows its past. Only the whole fullness of the truth will help it to become revitalized and to go forward. Only this is capable of calling forth new energy of thinking, only this will be a guarantee that ideals will not be trampled on in such a way ever again. Never again must there be a repetition of the type of deals of Molotov-Ribbentrop, which trampled on the rights of entire states and depreciated the fates of people.

This day is painfully recalled in the hearts of those who were affected by the burden of the years 1941-1952. And not only those who survived and who expressed hope. What does the communist hoary with age think about

today, who decided from the days of his youth to link his life with the ideas of Lenin? Is it easy for him today to find in himself the strength to realize the conflicting truth, if the ideals of his youth were suppressed by the Stalinist reality, if he had to sacrifice the freedom, independence, and spirit of the nation?

On 14 June 1940, the Soviet Union presented an ultimatum to the government of the Lithuanian Republic to allow the Red Army unimpeded passage through the frontier. At that time, not only the workers and farm-laborers, but also the intelligentsia and the majority of the peasantry were waiting for changes in their native land; they were already no longer satisfied with the old order. And the majority did not want to believe the sagacity of those who questioned the far-reaching plans of the Stalinist authorities. The Lithuanian toiler put his trust in the fact that such a great power as the Soviet Union cannot act foolishly and chop off the branch on which it is sitting and destroy the peasant and all those who feed the people.

Unfortunately, after 14 June, exactly a year later, on 14 June 1941, the rumor that had seemed improbable for Europe of the mid-twentieth century, turned into bloody truth for Lithuania. While the slogans proclaimed the ideas of freedom and happiness, peace-loving Lithuania, abounding in vegetables, experienced the most cruel injustice.

Freight cars were waiting at the railway stations. They carried living cargo to the east and to the north. This, Lithuania could not have guessed. Long is the road of its people into exile, covered with prayers and curses, flowing with the tears of women, mothers, old men, marked with crosses on the hastily dug graves. And today arises the mute question, which up to now has gone unanswered: "Why?"

The orgy of brute instincts, methodically kindled by Stalin and Stalinism and the forceful sudden expulsion, from their homeland, of tens of thousands of innocent inhabitants of Lithuania to uncertainty or sure death is absolutely beyond common sense. Even in 1956, after the exposure of the cult of the Stalin personality cult, the victims of June 1941 were passed over in silence for another 30 years, for this would serve the denial of a well-concocted historical fraud, as if Lithuania, having become a Soviet union republic in 1940, has experienced only joy, freedom, and happiness.

And now, during the times of perestroyka, not a single benevolently-inclined, thinking person, regardless of his nationality, is able to understand why the action of exterminating the Lithuanian people both in 1941 and in the following years was necessary. It is impossible to understand the sense of this bloody terror. Especially as other people suffered by no means less from the iron hand of Stalinism. Hiding behind the noble name of Lenin and his high aspirations, Stalin subjected to his

schemes the apparatus of monstrous coercion and crushed even the Communist Party itself. This is our common pain, the desperate cry of the soul. . . .

Cruelty engenders cruelty. In dividing the lands seized, Hitler and Stalin provoked a tragic ordeal. After Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, some were haunted by the feeling of revenge, and they shot those who retreated in the back, others took vengeance on the "enemies of the people" remaining here. And blood was spilled again.

Bernardas Brazdzenis wrote: I appeal to you on behalf of the long-suffering earth, on behalf of its meadows and forests: Do not take vengeance, so that the blood spots of revenge do not fall as a curse on the heads of the children of your children. . . .

Under the poem stands the note of the fateful year of "1941." But in the hell of vengeance they did not hear the poet. And for that reason, both those who escaped to the West and those who remained in the homeland. How many graves there are in our land—these are soldiers, peaceful inhabitants, partisans, and prisoners of war of different nationalities. . . . Proceeding from what is now known, there is no reason to be surprised that after the special commissions for the investigation of the crimes of the Hitler occupiers compiled their dossiers and calculated the skulls of those who were killed, in Lithuania they did not at once find out in detail about the Pivonskiy Forest near Ukmurge, the dzukiyskaya village of Pirchyupyay, about Paneryay in Vilnyus and the 9th Fort in Kaunas. And Stalin and his myrmidons understood that it would not be easy to accuse the German invaders of cruelty and murders—after all, they had done the same. Only now, during the time of restructuring, did the young generation find out about the killings in the Raynyayskiy Forest, in Pravenshkes, and other places.

After the war, it would seem, the long-awaited peace should have reigned. But far from it—again internecine war, again exile. Brother rose against brother, neighbor against neighbor—defenders of the people perished, as well as completely innocent new settlers, half-educated rural activists, and those who took off for the woods. This is tragic, post-war Lithuania. For several years in succession, "class selection" continued, and, along with it, forceful collectivization.

Fair is the voice of those who are demanding a final assessment of the Stalinist genocide and its condemnation.

We are already beginning to compensate people for the damage inflicted on them, people who were unjustly convicted or sent into exile in the name of the state. We will create a situation so that Lithuanians will not feel guilty about the fact that their passport lists Irkutsk Oblast, Chita Oblast, or Krasnoyarsk Kray as their place of birth.

By the will of our compatriots, the 14th of June will henceforth be proclaimed as the Day of Mourning and Hope, since in 1941 the tragic foundation was laid to the never-ending terrible ordeals through which all three states of the eastern shore of the Baltic—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, went. So we bow before the victims of these and other peoples.

How much blood was shed, how many graves appeared. And how much hope there is today. How great the desire to become revitalized. So let the 14th of June become a day of meditation about human existence, national reconciliation, a day of all those who died without guilt, all the victims of the nation! Let the native soil receive the remains of the exiles and become the place of their eternal rest. Up to now they have howled for retribution. On this day the bells will be heard everywhere. This will remind us of those who were tortured and killed, it will unite those whom they did not succeed in breaking in torture. Let this day become a day of conscience and self-purification, a day of repentance. Thus let us become resurrected, we will be noble and honest. We will not allow the feeling of fratricidal hatred to steal into our soul. We are to live and live in the kind of rule of law state in which man will become the greatest value and in which no one will ever encroach on his honor and dignity.

Together with all the progressive movements of our land, we are calling on people to work jointly for the good of our fatherland. The deputies of our Supreme Soviet, at a recent session, consolidated the fundamental position—the sovereignty of Lithuania. History will not forget this step.

It is increasingly easier for man to breathe in his homeland—Lithuania. So we will be hard-working, patient, and amicable. The future will bring us the hope of a bright and happy life.

[Signed] A. Brazauskas, for the Lithuanian CP Central Committee; V. Astrauskas, for the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V. Sakalauskas, for the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers

Estonia Notes 48th Anniversary of Stalinist Mass Deportations

18150081 Tallinn RAHVIA HÄÄL in Estonian
14 June 89 p 1

[Open letter from the Estonian CP Central Committee, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers to the Inhabitants of Estonia]

[Text]

Open Letter to the Inhabitants of Estonia

Today is a day of mourning. June 14 marks 48 years from the day the Estonian people first encountered the Stalinist mass repressions.

Forty eight years ago, more than 10,000 of our countrymen were torn out of their homes. This act that so brutally trampled on all human rights and laws was only an opening chord to the suffering and losses endured by the Estonian people, the beginning of a tragedy in the history of a small nation. Similar Stalinist practices also continued later, and culminated in March of 1949, with forced deportations to Siberia involving tens of thousands of people, again mostly women and children. These crimes perpetrated against the Estonian people are timeless, and eternal should also be their lessons: no ideological or political considerations should justify crimes against individuals or whole nations. To the contrary—a political system using violence against a peaceful population, and the ideology justifying such violence, are criminal themselves and deserve to be condemned as such.

Any thinking that is hostile to the people should be weeded out and replaced, ultimately, with a democratic and profoundly humanistic way of thinking. Only truth in its entirety can prevent the repetition of lawlessness and brutality in the future, prevent deals like the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and thus prevent the trampling of nations' and states' rights.

The fear sown into the souls of our people in the 40's cannot disappear until we have finally refrained from justifying Stalinist crimes and create a firm guarantee that these will never be repeated.

Special accountability here rests with the Estonian Communist Party which, due to prevailing circumstances, became jointly responsible for the Stalinist crimes. Ever since the Estonian CP Central Committee 11th Plenum, the Estonian CP has repeatedly acknowledged, through party documents and also through its members, its full political and moral responsibility for what has happened during that period, when it was the directing force for all social activity in the Estonian SSR. It is our moral responsibility to restore the truth and condemn the deportations.

However, neither a well-chosen word, the most effective work of art, nor the most authoritative scientific research can wipe out the injustice, give back life, or restore the physical or emotional health of the victims. The Estonian CP deems it to be its moral and political duty to create a societal order and a political system, where real democracy and justice will prevail, and where the rights and the liberty of all people are protected securely. The

only guarantee for an irreversible course toward the democratization of our society is the cooperation of all organizations, movements and individuals supporting innovation.

Today should not only be a day of sadness and mourning. As we remember those who suffered innocently, let's summon our strength to move toward a sovereign Estonia that manages its own economy and culture and that protects the individual as well as his freedom. Let's take care of our beautiful, Nordic nature, heal our wounds, and revive and restore our homes of the days past.

As we commemorate the sacrifices of the Estonian people and the beginning of tragic events in Estonia, we will lower our blue-black-and white national flag flying on top of the Tall Hermann tower of the castle of Toompea. Let this 14th day of June not only be a day of mourning, conscience clearing, deliberation and purification, but also a day for reawakening and hope.

[Signed] The Estonian CP Central Committee, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers

Stalin's Mistakes Reviewed For Reader

18350020d

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 24 March 1989 carries on pages 3 and 4 a 3,000 word article by G. Gadelshin, director of the Party History Sector of the Turkmenistan affiliate of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee, headlined "We Must Recognize The Truth;" the article was written in response to a reader who claimed that Stalin was not being treated fairly by the media. In response, Gadelshin enumerates Lenin's frequent criticisms of Stalin and the later suppression of these criticisms by "Stalin's dictate," and analyzes a number of facets of Stalin's rule. "Stalin stopped at nothing in order to remain as head of state. He formed unprincipled and temporary alliances with various political factions in order to fight his political opponents, and labelled them 'leftists' and 'rightists' to gain political advantage." He adds that "in Stalin's time, he did not limit himself to removing opponents from their jobs; he had them sent into exile or shot." He cites the fact that "all bureau members of the Turkmen CP Central Committee and most Central Committee members and people's commissars were subjected to repression."

Origins of Adzharian Autonomy Reviewed

18300751 Tbilisi KOMMUNIST GRUZII in Russian
No 5, May 89 (signed to press 10 May 89) pp 78-80

[Article by M. Chavleishvili: "Overcoming Backwardness"]

[Text] After the victory of the Socialist Revolution, Adzharia was declared an autonomous republic on 16 July 1921.

Interest in this matter is so great that numerous different points of view revolve around it. There are those who think that Adzharia's economic and cultural backwardness necessitated its autonomy. Others, conversely, say nothing about economic and cultural backwardness and assert that the external factor was decisive in making Adzharia autonomous. Still others account for it by specific characteristics that resulted from 300 years of domination by Turkey in Adzharia. Let us state that this latter was the chief factor in granting autonomy to Adzharia.

In March 1921, the oblast committee held a special discussion of the question of Adzharia's autonomy and made the unanimous decision to pass it, taking into account specific conditions of such administration.

There were many who opposed giving autonomy to Adzharia, however. They were chiefly the so-called national-deviationists, who at that time made up the majority in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. They agreed only to cultural and national autonomy for Adzharia. It is this factor which accounts for the delay in publishing the decree on Adzharian autonomy. The issue was resolved only after the intervention of V.I. Lenin. I. V. Stalin was informed of Vladimir Illich's view of this issue by the Kraykom and the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee in early July 1921. Seeing that the Central Committee and V. I. Lenin did not support them, the "national-deviationists" chose another means of struggle. In particular, they demanded that autonomy be granted only to rural inhabitants ("autonomy in the village"), with the City of Batumi excepted from it, and that Chakva or Kedi be declared the capital. In doing so they failed to note that Batumi is located only 16 kilometers from the Turkish border, and that it is 35 kilometers by sea from Batumi via Adzharia to neighboring Makharadze Rayon (hence, it would be necessary to cross the whole of Adzharia to get from there to Batumi). The deviationists also demanded that the tea sovkhozes and factories be placed under the direct jurisdiction of the Georgian government.

Stalin informed the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the government of the Georgian SSR of Lenin's opinion about declaring Adzharia an autonomous republic with its capital at Batumi. Also conveyed was Lenin's desire that the decree on the Adzharian ASSR be drawn up and published as quickly as possible; this was actively participated in by G. Ordzhonikidze, S. Kirov, M. Orakhelashvili, Sh. Eliava, and others. Stalin stayed in Georgia until the decree was published.

On 5 July 1921, the Caucasian Bureau of the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik) Central Committee examined the question of granting autonomy to Adzharia and declaring Batumi its capital, and instructed the Georgian Communist Party (bolshevik) Central Committee to discuss it.

Nevertheless, on 7 and 11 July 1921 the "deviationist" Georgian Communist Party (bolshevik) Central Committee took a decision that was exactly opposite. On 11 July, during discussion of the draft statute concerning the Adzharian SSR [as printed], a decree was submitted concerning the removal of Batumi from the Adzharian SSR [as printed] and granting Adzharia cultural-national autonomy. But the Caucasian Bureau of the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik) Central Committee did not endorse it and proposed that the matter be submitted to a Central Committee plenum for discussion.

The Georgian Communist Party (bolshevik) Central Committee Plenum that was held on 14 July 1921, participated in by Stalin and Ordzhonikidze, heard B. Kvirkveliya's address "On Adzharian Autonomy and the City of Batumi," and, despite the opposition of the deviationists, it was decreed that Adzharia would be granted the rights of an autonomous republic with its capital at Batumi. On 16 July the Georgian Revolutionary Committee published the Decree on the Adzharian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Adzharia had been cut off from its Motherland, Georgia, for centuries. And through all that time its inhabitants never ceased to retain their customs and traditions, their national character. Naturally, however, three centuries of alien domination left their mark; the land lagged appreciably behind other districts of Georgia, both economically and culturally.

All these and other specific factors were taken into account by the Communist Party Central Committee when, based on Lenin's instructions, it resolved the issue of Adzharian autonomy in the affirmative. On 9 March 1921 Lenin had written to G. V. Chicherin, the RSFSR people's commissar of foreign affairs, "I am extremely concerned by the fact that the Turks are dragging their feet on the signing of the treaty on Batum, playing for time while their troops head for Batum. We must not permit them to do it. Consider this measure: Halt the conference for a half hour to consult with me, while Stalin has a frank talk with the Turkish delegation to see how things stand and conclude the deal today ("Complete Collected Works," vol 52, p 92).

The following day, the political commission met to hold an official discussion concerning the border. The Soviet delegation declared that Adzharia and Batumi would remain part of Georgia. At the same time, our delegation agreed to have the border run from the frontier village of Sarpi through the Shavsheti Mountains. While accepting this proposal, the Turkish delegation advanced various demands which included granting Adzharia the right of broad autonomous administration. This demand, which was not in conflict with the Leninist nationality policy of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government, was accepted by our delegation. This is why the text of the treaty included the proposal to grant Adzharia autonomy.

(see A. Kheyfets, "Sovetskaya diplomatiya i narody Vostoka" [Soviet Diplomacy and the Peoples of the East], Moscow, 1968, p 111).

Also taken into account, of course, was Adzharia's economic, cultural, and political backwardness compared with the other districts of Georgia, although this factor was not decisive in the issue of the area's autonomy. The Soviet government resorted to various forms of autonomy precisely because autonomy best enabled it to get the masses in the former provinces involved in political life, to link them to the Center. Worth noting in this connection is a 9 April 1918 PRAVDA article which discusses the necessity of bringing the masses up to the level of Soviet rule, a task that would be impossible unless the outlying districts were granted autonomy.

Declaring Adzharia an autonomous republic was a tremendous political event in the life of the working people of that area. It opened up broad opportunities to do away with the vestiges of the past and speed up economic and cultural development. Adzharia's working people greeted the decision with enthusiasm. At numerous rallies and meetings they pledged to defend the gains of the Socialist Revolution.

During the initial period after the victory of the Socialist Revolution, as we know, revolutionary committees functioned instead of soviets both in Adzharia and in all of Georgia; they were extraordinary organs of the state authority of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and were not distinguished by the broad democracy of the soviets. By the end of 1921, when the dictatorship of the proletariat had won total victory, the revolutionary committees had outlived their functions and the time was ripe to form the soviets, permanent organs of the state authority of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In December 1921, elections to the Soviets of Workers, Peasants, and Red Army Deputies were held, and in January of the following year the first Soviet of the Adzharian ASSR elected its permanent democratic organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus did the Adzharian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic consolidate its position even further.

Adzharia's autonomy was confirmed in the first Constitution of the Georgian SSR.

Kazakhs Organize to Rewrite Kazakh History
18320017a Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh
21 Apr 89 p 14

[Article by Beybit Qoysbayev: "The Banner of 'Justice' Has Been Raised"]

[Text] As a result of the creative meaning and special impetus which the process of perestroika has inspired in our minds, we have begun to scrutinize, with sober eyes, grievous pages in our history hitherto unmentioned. QAZAQ ADEBIYETI, which has shown itself ready to help lay the basis for renewal in this area, has made

education of readers in the spirit of drawing lessons from history its duty, as the paper has uncovered all facets of the times of grief suffered by our nation and republic. Through the raising of memorial monuments in its pages to the spirits of those individuals cruelly victimized, QAZAQ ADEBIYETI has repeatedly advanced questions of honor and respect. It has published two letters of public appeal signed by groups. In one of these letters (9 September 1988) a powerful expression of support was given in connection with the creation of the Pamyat Movement in Moscow,—an event which drew the attention of all the people—by spouses, white-headed veterans of party and soviet officials shot in 1937. Such persons suffered torture for decades on end while engaged in hard labor in prisons, in Stalinist labor camps. In the second letter (7 October 1988), representatives of the post-war generation of our writers suggested that there be general discussion of measures to impress upon the minds of the people forever the spirit of the innocents who became victims of the repression of the 1930s, and the great famine of 1932 in Kazakhstan. What we want to discuss here is the raising of symbolic memorials...

2.

It was as if the secrets of a half century had been revealed at Boralday Ravine, located some ten versts from Alma-Ata, when on 3 November 1988 a group of distinguished citizens, together with relatives and descendants of party and soviet workers who suffered from the 1937 repression, came to hold a memorial at a place where the bones of innocents who were punished were thrown, at a place which had become a cemetery without the markings of gravestones. For the first time in fifty years, human footprints of grieving citizens left their clear marks on the saltwort- and reed-covered bottom and wormwood-covered slopes of the ravine which witnessed the sadness of stalinist illegalities.

Well known party veteran, journalist and writer Zhusipbek Arystanov, who was a member of the buro of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee at the time of the sad events of 1937, and who was the object himself of repression for many long years, recalled, weeping:

"There are many ravines in the Kazakh steppe, but ravines as sorrowful as Boralday Ravine are few," he said. "In 1916, officials of the Czarist regime, to keep the people they had conquered in fear, hung old man Bekbolat Ashkeyev, who has participated in the fight for freedom, at the top of that knoll, in front of all the people who had been assembled from all directions to witness the execution. In 1938, Stalinist murderers, in the name of the Soviet regime, shot, in this ravine, out of sight of the eyes of the people, hundreds of citizens in the prime of life who had tirelessly mobilized all their powers to stabilize the victories of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The people were greatly stirred up and pitted against one another. The younger generation must

understand this. Thereby their social and public activism will be increased, and their faith in the creative policy of perestroyka strengthened..."

Boralday, where Bekbolat's uprising and hanging took place, is a part of history. But in fact, the power of the years of stagnation to keep secret the acts of Stalinist oppression which took place there, the leaden "optimism" is no longer possible. Rather, those knowing that the bones of their relatives lie scattered there have visited the ravine again and again. Some have planted two or three spruce trees. Others have raised square markers. However, Marat Suleymenuly Yesqarayev has taken a handful of earth from Boralday to place at the base of a monument raised in his father's native village...

He had heard from Saqpaq Artyqbayev, famous party veteran, that his father had been among 19 party and soviet officials shot in the spring of 1938. The remains of those executed, put into bags, were transported to the Boralday Basin in a truck by the driver of Sh. Artyqbayev, who was then first secretary of the Alma-Ata Oblast Party Committee. The driver later showed Sh. Artyqbayev the place where the corpses were left...

"Crimes" were considered at the 6-12 March 1938 closed meetings by the movable session of the Military group of the USSR Supreme Court. "Nationalist-fascists, Trotskyites and Bukharinists," were condemned to be shot for "treason against the motherland, for seeking to detach Kazakhstan from the USSR and turn it into the colony of foreign imperialism, for terrorist acts, for dangerous and divisive acts, for spying in the interests of foreign governments." The list (SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN 22 March 1988) was as follows: U. Qulymbetov, N. Syrghabekov, S. Yesqarayev, I. Moldazhanov, Kh. Nurmuhambetov, V. I. Ivanov, F. Ye. Sluchak, M. A. Chudochkin, V. M. Berlin, Ya. I. Mikhaylenko, T. Zhurgenov, Zh. Sadwaqasov, A. Dosov, I. Quramysov, S. Saparbekov, M. Musin, Kh. Qashambayev, Zh. Sultanbekov, A. Kenzhin. These persons were the chairman of the KaSSR Central Executive Committee in Aralaryn, commissars for agriculture, finance, public health and peoples education, a republic procurator, chiefs of the Southern Kazakhstan, Western Kazakhstan and Alma-Ata Oblast party committees, division chiefs of oblast party committees, of the Turkistan-Siberia Railways and the republic military commissariat, and other responsible officials whose posts were not recorded at the time they were arrested.

"My poor dear, my Temirbek—I have found your resting place here after fifty years, my husband," thus wept Damesh Amirkhanqyzy Yermekova-Zhurgenova...

This is a place where she has come several times to pour out her tears on a footpath built years later. However...as the honored citizens express their remembrances, relieve their minds, and dispel their sorrows, groaning bulldozers are working right beside us. As the tractor's shovel digs in, evening out the folds of this sacred ravine,

which has shaken us all and moved us, it seems to approach powerfully this place of grief strewn with flowers. But on these glades, which have moved us, and upon which foundations of summer housing for future generations are to be raised, black crows are flying up, swirling...

3.

We—scientist Mardan Baydildayev, my journalistic colleagues Zhanna Akhmetova, Natalya Steblyuk and Ashibek Kopishov—were talking with V. D. Shakhanov, chairman of the "Ptisevod" Gardening Organization, organized as part of the Ile Rayon Chicken Farm. He had discovered many depressions in the ground before the bulldozers had dug in with their blades—he said that there were scattered human bones, and that he had found them in large fragments. He showed a single unbroken humerus. We recalled this later. Old people living in "Ozhet" Sovkhoz in Qaskeleng Rayon, in the village perched on the side of Boralday Ravine, provided more information. Many of them remembered the sounds of the guns going off again and again in that sad year, and the sound of vehicles heard before dawn in the lower part of the ravine. However, if they knew in their hearts what was behind this, they shed no tears...

Thus there must be no doubt that Boralday Ravine is a place where the bodies of those shot during the Stalinist repression were left. It is possible that the bones of classical writers such as Saken Seyfullin, Iliyas Zhansugirov, and Beymbet Maylin, founders of Kazakh Soviet literature, and of the great educator-scientist Akhmet Baytursynov lie there too...

But how can we prove it? In particular, we must go through the Unified State Political Administration of the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars and NKVD archives of the era carefully. We must collect information from elderly witnesses, carry out the necessary research with the help of knowledgeable specialists, and delve into primary sources. In doing this, however, not just Boralday, but many sad, inconspicuous byways will be found and explored, byways which witnessed the crimes of the era of the "great terror," and many graves will be identified, discovered by our unknowing hand, which must be taken into our care from lands polluted by human remains...

QAZAQ ADEBIYETI has received a decision regarding its request made to the appropriate authorities. The construction now going forward at Boralday has been halted temporarily. A special committee of officials of the city soviet and of the people has been formed.

4.

As the secrets of the political prosecutions and illegalities of the 1930s and 1940s, and the early 1950s, continue to be revealed, the stimulus to restore the truthfulness of the people's history has grown. Finally, on 6 December

1988, representatives of the people of the capital (distinguished citizens, officials and party and soviet organizations, cinematographers, writers, journalists and historians) assembled in the Alma-Ata Movie House, felt it necessary to unanimously move to support the "Memorial" Movement. A special organizational committee was chosen to prepare for an organizational conference for the new society, after the question had been considered in detail, and republic organization of the movement regularized. This 17-member organizational committee (chairman Bolat Ilyasuly Ghabitov-Zhansugirov, deputy chairmen Edward Ferdinandovich Ayrigh, Mardan Keldenbayuly Baydilbayev) held its first meeting on 10 December and discussed questions before it.

It is well known that the Kazakhstan Writers Union has formed a special committee and has opened account No 1700319 in the Zhilsotsbank with the aim of collecting funds from the people for a memorial monument to the victims of the famine and repression. It was noted at the meeting of the organizational committee that the first to contribute to this fund were Damesh Amirkhanqyzy Yermekova-Zhurgenova, Sholpan Akhmetqyzy Baytursynova-Baysalova, and Gulnar Mirzhaqypqyzy Dulatova. The question of complete accounting for all funds collected by the fund was discussed at the meeting.

The organizational committee, in close connection with organizations participating, and which will participate in the movement, prepared for the organizational conference...

"Some 10 delegates from Kazakhstan have returned after participating in the all-union organizational conference held in Moscow on 28-29 January of this year," said scientist Mardan Baydildayev, one of the active organizers of the movement in a conversation with us. "We are making broad use of what we have learned from this conference in preparing for our own organizational assembly...Knowledgeable citizens, who personally suffered due to Stalinism, who are very much aware of the Stalinist distortions of the "blank pages" of our republic's history, and are investigating them (scientists, writers, journalists, arts figures, distinguished citizens) will participate in the organizational conference. We intend to decide how the society will be organized. We are, with everything we are doing, directing ourselves towards tomorrow's great assembly. Considering whether or not we will organize within the scope of the Memorial Movement, whether or not there will be peculiarities in this movement in accordance with the special characteristics of our republic, whether or not our society will be named 'Justice,' and whether or not we will make proper plans beneficial to the people and to general interests, as we discuss in a restrained manner questions of correcting the deviations which took place during the era of Stalinism, of raising monuments to the victims of Stalinism—those innocent persons who were punished, and the victims of the famine of 1932—and of providing the proper historical education to the younger generation..."

Thus, a beneficial movement brought into being by perestroika is at a critical stage of its development. The task which stands before it, its direction of development of the line to be propagated among the people, and fundamental conception on the mass horizon—questions of discovering the victims of Stalinist repression and famine, of restoring justice to them and of establishing memorial monuments at the places where their bones have been cast—have been defined in detail as functions of the society formed at the organizational conference.

5.

Ramazan Bimashuly Suleymenov, corresponding member of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences, academic-secretary of the academy's Social Sciences Division, delivered a report at the conference entitled "Let us restore social justice and the trampled reputations of the victims of Stalinist repression." The goal of the Kazakh voluntary historical-educational "Justice" Society, which wishes to establish itself, and which the reports of speakers examined from every side, will be to eliminate the "blank pages" in the history of the peoples of the USSR, to restore the honorable names of those who suffered during the era of distortion of the ideals of socialism, and to mobilize the efforts of the public in further consolidation of democracy and glasnost.

The role to be taken by the party in openly discussing the distortions which have taken place in the history of our nation, in resolutely correcting them, continues to grow. Last year in our republic, a specially organized commission of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan CP cleared, at one stroke, four of our countrymen (Shakarim Qudayberdiyev, Akhmet Baytursynov, Maghzhan Zhunabayev and Zhusipbek Aymawytov) from Stalinist distortion, and completely rehabilitated them. Their names and creative endeavors were returned to our people and our spiritual life. Our new society will assist in continuing such work in the future. In the views of delegates, those persons who are members of the "Justice" Society, should, in the future, collect materials on illegal punishments which took place in the areas where they live, and, in general, materials on the victims of Stalin of every period. A certain amount of work is being done on this theme. However, a great deal of work must still be done to create a "Justice" research volume. For this purpose, as a matter of priority, the society is involved in the search for information on those suffering Stalinist repression, and facts and remembrances concerning the sorrowful excesses of the time of sedentarization and collectivization, the sad truth of deviation from the Leninist path—that is, honorable and open truth about the 1930s. In Kazakhstan more than two million persons died of hunger. According to incomplete information, repressive measures were employed against nearly 70,000 innocent persons. Some peoples were moved here as punishment, through Stalinist tyranny. Koreans, prior to the war, Germans from the Yedil Basin, Crimean Tatars, Sheshens and other groups from the Caucasus,

during the war, were brought to Kazakhstan. We must collect memories and other documents about the difficult conditions to the end suffered by these peoples whose civil rights were trampled under foot. We must know the facts about the labor army (trudarmia) organized in the centers of production, and must collect the memories of persons involved. All of this will be possible only with the participation of the broad masses...

6.

Although the Kazakhstan Cinematographers Union, which was the nucleus of the society prior to the organizational conference, and the journal QAZAQ ADE-BIYETI are known for their leaderships to groups of citizens showing initiative, and although the journals ARAY-ZARYA, and the Young People's Historical Education Association in the KaSSR Central State Archives have utilized the banner of the society, our republic's Artists, Architects, and Designers unions also joined the ranks of "Justice" Society organizers as the conference did its work. Representatives of the previously mentioned creative unions, along with other delegates, participated actively in discussion of regulations of the "Justice" Society, and made their views known.

In general, conference delegates, that is, those personally tortured in Stalinist labor camps, distinguished citizens, historians, journalists, writers and party officials, honestly and openly shared every aspect of their reasons for participating in the establishment of the "Justice" Society. They spoke about what must be done about the ill effects of Stalinism and completely correcting them, and, in connection with this, the goals standing before the society which we are establishing.

Participating in and speaking at the organizational conference was Yu. N. Afanasyev, one of the heads of the All-Union "Memorial" Voluntary Historical-Educational Society, rector of the Historical Archives Institute and USSR People's Delegate.

The delegates to the organizational conference proclaimed the establishment of a society called the "Justice" Society in Kazakhstan for republic voluntary historical-educational purposes. They ratified society

regulations, set the membership of the organization governing the society, its administration, choose a control commission and likewise choose Sanzhar Orazuly Zhandosov unanimously by voice vote as chief of the society's administration.

In the future, officers from the administration will be placed as representatives in the branches which must be established in the oblasts.

It was decided that individual citizens, organizations and work collectives may make contributions to account No 1700319 of the operational administration of the Housing-Social Bank (Zhilsotsbank), in order to finance the work of the "Justice" Society.

Thus, the banner of "Justice" has been raised. With what enthusiasm the work of the society will now go forward will depend upon the activism of the voluntary society and civic feelings. The "Justice" Society has the goal of restoring completely unvarnished truth, bitter reality about our past. Its task will be keeping in our memories always the victims of illegalities, and making a contribution by educating the younger generation in truthful history.

The honest aims which the "Justice" Society has taken upon itself on a voluntary basis, are fully in accord with processes of humanistic cleansing and renewal going forward in our country under party leadership. Thus, branches of the "Justice" Society being organized in the oblasts, in rayons, in various labor collectives and at educational institutions, and activists are actively participating with their activities in the work of the appropriate commissions of local soviets.

Taking a creative approach to the work of fund raising for the "Justice" Society (special lecture-concerts, public debates, exhibits and other measures) is an important question.

As one of the organizers of "Justice," QAZAQ ADE-BIYETI is ready to discuss, in its pages, local activities.

We believe that flying the banner of "Justice" is our civic duty.

Criminologist Seeks Roots of Racketeering
18120105 Moscow NEW TIMES in English
No 26, 27 Jun-3 Jul 89 pp 22-25

[Interview with Gennady Khokhryakov by NEW TIMES correspondent Boris Balkarei: "Detectives vs Racketeers"]

[Text] Gennady Khokhryakov, LLD, the well-known Soviet criminologist, has granted the following interview to NEW TIMES correspondent Boris Balkarei]

[Kokhryakov] To begin with, let me remind you of a common legal truism: the nature of crime depends on the nature of the society it is engendered by. The words "mafia" and "racket" have become current here, but in this country they do not quite mean what they do in the West, although at the same time that is not to say that they are substantially different. What our "mafiosi" and "racketeers" have in common with "theirs" are such externals as, say, the division of spheres of influence, "specialization" in certain crimes, clanishness, all of which used to be regarded here as exclusive attributes of the Western underworld. Another common characteristic of organized crime is graft. In a word, there is no denying outward similarities. But if you get to the root of the phenomenon, you will see that our organized crime is essentially different from "theirs."

[NEW TIMES] Does that apply to racket too?

[Kokhryakov] Racket means plain extortion, as a matter of fact. Its "corpus delicti" is well defined in our criminal legislation. But it's not terms that matter, of course. Although terms do not seem to matter much in this case, I think there is a reason for words like mafia, racket, laundered money and clans having found their way into our vocabulary. Our society has discovered that organized crime is widespread and corruptive, but the "discovery" has caught us unawares psychologically (after all, organized crime used to be hushed up here before, and I know cases of certain interior Ministry officials having been victimized for trying to talk their superiors into exposing it). This is why the Western underworld's terminology has been borrowed by us so promptly. We simply had no words of our own to describe the all-pervading organized crime believed to be a monopoly of the West...

[NEW TIMES] When was the existence of organized crime admitted in this country?

[Kokhryakov] Towards the mid-seventies our law-enforcement agencies put together a body of evidence which indicated that the underworld was reforming and taking on a new quality, so to speak. Until then we had laboured under the delusion that most of the crimes committed here were petty - and before we knew it, criminality assumed forms of extraordinary danger to society. It all went gradually. Extortionists resorted to torture as far back as a decade ago (now this is being

much written and talked about, but at that time the subject was taboo, as indicating the emergence of something which "can't happen here").

[NEW TIMES] What was the immediate cause of the outbreak of organized crime?

[Kokhryakov] Organized crime has two intertwined roots, I think: the "shadow economy" and the command administrative system. Incidentally, it was the latter that has produced the shadow economy.

[NEW TIMES] In what way?

[Kokhryakov] We did have market relations, but deep underground. There was even an underground free market where underground businessmen could buy any material resources. They still can do so now, which is another argument in favour of perestroika, of the need for a free wholesale market. The command administrative system gave rise to problems which were dealt with by illegal means.

Take, for instance, the notorious "providers" typical of the stagnation period (a species far from extinct today). A provider is a respectable man who has a strong pull with those in high places. When detailed off by his boss to obtain, say, vital raw materials for the factory, he would be authorized to offer his connections anything - deluxe accommodations at a plush seafront hotel, a safari in exclusive taiga game preserves (with all the expenses paid, of course) - in exchange for their services. And the provider always succeeds in overcoming the departmental barriers the insurmountability of which has become proverbial. Being banned, this underground market rammed its way through departmental and legal barriers, breaking the law and eroding morality in the process. As he bribed a high-placed ministry official, wined and dined him and tempted him with good things of life, a provider bought not only raw materials for his factory - he bought a man. Both the provider who seduces an official into circumventing a ban (even with the best of intentions) and the official himself became law-breakers. People, laws and authorities became just commodities to be bought and sold. Hence the cynical, philosophy: "Every man has his price."

In the documentary "How do you do?" a hard-currency-only prostitute says: "Show me a hotel doorman who won't let me in for my money. If he won't for 50 rubles, he will for 70. We tried one for endurance. He gave up at 200 rubles."

Or take another example. Six out of every 100 robbery victims in Moscow condemned those who reported the robbers to the police. "Those men did the right thing, so why have the law on them?" Moral attitudes have reversed somehow. A profiteer or an extortionist is not infrequently looked upon as a benefactor, and the one who fights them - as a rogue. Under the circumstances a

criminal ceases to feel a social outcast. He is thick-skinned enough to preserve self-respect. In the late 1970s and the early 1980s the bosses of the underworld stopped being shy of demonstrating their affluence. They were no longer afraid, and they realized that their "success" in life would be an object of envy rather than resentment. No one would point and say: "There goes the rascal who steals to deck his wife in diamonds." Instead, people will admire the "smart guy who sure knows how to play his cards right." That was, first and foremost, what prevented a criminal from having the "inferiority complex." A poll conducted in a school revealed that every fifth of its senior-formers wanted to be a "professional criminal." Gradually but surely the worst is coming to the worst....

There is another important point I'd like to bring up in this connection. What has been keeping organized crime alive for so long is its being incorporated into the command administrative system, whose contradictions it helps to solve.

[NEW TIMES] Where does racket come in?

[Kokhryakov] Racket is part of organized crime. This phenomenon has two specific features. First, racketeers seek to have a steady income and, second, top act with maximum efficiency and at minimum risk. Knowing this, one can explain their choice of victims, understand the logic of their actions and, the most important thing, devise the tactics of combating them.

Racketeers "levy taxes" only on those who can pay them constantly and who fear exposure themselves. Racket also threatens those who, even if they cry for help, can hardly expect the public to be sympathetic. Now it is probably clear why racketeers prey chiefly on cooperators and those in business for themselves - still identified with what was previously known as the "unearned income bracket."

Characteristically, racketeers are by no means indiscriminate: they show a marked preference for the cooperators who are "between the devil and the deep blue sea," so to speak. Many cooperative societies have found themselves in a situation where they simply can't help breaking the law. There has already appeared the word combination, "state racket." Unfortunately, cooperators are "arm-twisted," all too often, by the local authorities suppliers. Cooperators are forced to make all sorts of unlawful compromises. Supposing a doughnut cooperative depends on its guarantor - a cafeteria and restaurant supply agency - for flour, sugar, etc. Naturally, the cooperative wants these products to be readily available. For its part, the supply agency is not always in a hurry to fill this demand, and its representatives have their own demands to make at times... The result is not hard to guess: the cooperative is forced to pay up. This is a slippery slope which may land the cooperative not only

on the wrong side of the law, but in the bear hug of the racketeer as well. People get drawn into a whirlpool with officials, cooperators and racketeers moving in a vicious circle.

This is not all there is to it. Our cooperators and "private entrepreneurs," the racketeers' pet targets, function in a society wary of, and even hostile to them. Note that the law-enforcement agencies' attitude to them is also far from friendly.

You see, a racketeer does not pick up his victims at random (unless he is a "wild racketeer," of whom later). He starts with collecting evidence injurious to the reputation of his world-be prey. So there are two courses open to a cooperator - either to abide by laws and thus be immune to blackmail, or to deliver... More often than not, the first option is out of the question: a law-abiding cooperator won't stay in business for too long. Besides, if he turns to police, the latter seldom steps in as promptly as it does in cases of assault and battery or bank robbery.

Aware of this, a cooperator is not in a hurry to holler cops. He pays racketeers and makes up for the loss at our expense - yours and mine - by boosting prices.

[NEW TIMES] How do you think can the situation be remedied?

[Kokhryakov] If we are to promote cooperative movement, we must ensure it against extortion in whatever form. Let's give them a chance to feel normal. Cooperators' and private entrepreneurs' unions must be guaranteed protection. It is only in that case that we shall have the moral right to demand that they should charge reasonable prices for their products and services. I believe it necessary to take harsh action against racketeers. At the same time, the public should be unfavourably disposed towards the racketeer, instead of regarding him as justice incarnate, a Robin Hood of sorts... I've often heard people say: "Serves them right, those cooperators!"

[NEW TIMES] Is our militia ready to combat racketeers? Shouldn't its powers be extended? When our militiaman carries a pistol, he is sometimes more afraid of firing it than a criminal is of being fired at. Why can't our militiaman act like his dashing Western counterpart we see in thrillers who breaks into a room, yells "hands up and turn to face the wall," searches the suspects deftly and pulls the trigger without warning should anyone try to make a getaway?

[Kokhryakov] I am sure that eventually our militiamen will be as resolute and as ready to use legal powers as their Western colleagues are. However, you can't borrow their methods "out of context," as it were. As soon as our imaginary militiaman of the future points his Makarov (the Russian answer to Colt) at a criminal and arrests him, a lawyer is to turn up at the detainee's side rightaway. Legal protection ought to be available to both

sides. This calls for the restructuring of our entire system of justice - criminal investigation practice above all. Everything must be well balanced.

[NEW TIMES] Is that to say that if he knows he can use the services of a lawyer, a criminal won't try to escape?

[Kokhryakov] Exactly. He won't try to escape if he knows for sure that if he does, he will be gunned down without a moment's hesitation, and that if he gives himself up, they won't beat him up at least because he will be under legal protection. Today neither a criminal running away from a Soviet militiaman, nor the militiaman himself believe in legal protection. The militiaman won't shoot for fear of criminal punishment, and the one he is in pursuit of knows it. Criminals know the limitations of our militia full well. They knew, for instance, that at one time the daily supply of petrol was barely enough to see a police car through a 100-km ride.

I am convinced I repeat, that harsh action should be taken against organized crime - but always within the limits of legality. Militia should be independent, professional and resolute. But its criminal investigation service should not be a law unto itself: every citizen must be guaranteed legal protection. They say that an American policeman is ready with his Colt. That's right, but mind you, he draws his Colt only in self-defence.

As one reads reports about racketeers knocking a militiaman down and escaping scot-free, one can't help wondering how come that an armed "limb of the law" has been put out of action so easily.

[NEW TIMES] Does this mean that Soviet militia is at a disadvantage?

[Kokhryakov] So far our militia is simply unequal to the task of combating the forms of organized crime it has now come up against. It lacks the requisite knowledge, skill and psychological training. Picking up drunks and dealing with petty offences is one thing, but fighting professional criminals is something else again. They try to take minimum risks. Most see a "mafiosi" or a racketeer as a burly character, his hands deep in his pockets, clasping a knife handle or a pistol grip. I wish it were so. A professional is always careful to leave no traces and therefore avoids violence. As to the "wild racketeers" of various kinds, they are not too squeamish about it. By "wild racketeers" I mean teenage gangs and "guest performers"... True, special anti-racket squads are now being formed.

[NEW TIMES] What is the professional racketeers' tactics?

[Kokhryakov] It's very simple, really. First, they select a "solvent" target; second, they satisfy themselves that the target is threatened by "wild racketeers"; third, they provide for their own security by implying that turning to militia for help will do the victim more harm than

good, because militia is under their control. Another important point is that racketeers offer a cooperator protection against other gangs, which is flexible tactics. Besides it is a rule with professional racketeers never to rob the victim of all his money.

[NEW TIMES] Does the victim's social environment make any difference to racketeers? As far as I know, they are rather "choosy."

[Kokhryakov] Indeed, there have been no cases of racketeers pestering industrial or research cooperatives. This is explained by the fact that these cooperatives are under public protection. But it is safe to predict that should any prosperous industrial coop fall into public disfavour, racketeers will step in rightaway. Now, if these cooperatives' social status is high, if we admire their business flair and their prompt responses to shifts in market demand, if we invite them to appear on TV along with successful collective farm chairmen - then racketeers will think twice about putting the squeeze on them.

As for the cooperators specializing in public catering and those running small businesses on their own, most of them come from the trade or service spheres. Their social status is low, and society treats them accordingly. These spheres are actually closed shops, well away from the public eye, and illegal practices are not uncommon there. If you think that an experienced racketeer is a tough, highway robber "fork-up-or-else" type, forget it. Things are much subtler than that. Supposing I want a car badly, and you work in a car store. So I call at the store and fall into a conversation with you, watching your facial expression and gestures, waiting for you to guess at last what I am driving at, and to show interest. Don't I invite you to cooperate that way? Such mime performances, thinly disguised as innocent conversations, go on for as long as there are commodities in short supply and people willing to appreciate shop-assistants' (or whoever's) cooperation in obtaining them. I don't think that a racketeer acts much too differently when approaching a cooperator. It all happens in more or less the same way...

Having collected all the information of interest to him, a racketeer calls on a cooperative, exchanges greetings with the man behind the counter, asks how the business is going and why the choice of merchandise has become scantier. Upon learning that the supplier has increased the charge for his services from 50 to 80 rubles a month while cutting down on certain items, the racketeer clicks his tongue disapprovingly and says he might as well help the coop to curb the cheating supplier's appetite...

[NEW TIMES] Whom are racketeers recruited from?

[Kokhryakov] This is to be found out yet. I think racketeers come from the so-called marginal (borderline) youth groups, from the milieu where social contradictions are especially acute. Reports on athletes and ex-athletes being active in racket come in now and again. The motives these people are actuated by require serious study.

[NEW TIMES] One can hear talk sometimes that money made by dishonest means is laundered in cooperatives. Is that so?

[Kokhryakov] This is to be found out yet. I think racketeers come from the so-called marginal (borderline) youth groups, from the milieu where social contradictions are especially acute. Reports on athletes and ex-athletes being active in racket come in now and again. The motives these people actuated by require serious study.

[NEW TIMES] One can hear talk sometimes that money made by dishonest means is laundered in cooperatives. Is that so?

[Kokhryakov] Hardly. Bosses of organized crime show no inclination to join the cooperative movement. Had they become cooperators, there would have been no racket. Dog does not eat dog...

The danger lies elsewhere, I think. Organized crime had powerful connections in various ministries. These connections are now on sale. The result can be a partial merger of the new movement and the underworld. According to Alexander Gurov, an expert on professional and organized crime, the shadow economy and the underworld practically joined hands during the stagnation period. For all we can tell, the cooperative movement may land in the same predicament. It may find itself under criminal organizations' covert control. The partners will learn to share profits, drawing on underground dealers' experience, and society will have to foot the bill as usual. The gang wars and robberies predicted by certain publications are hardly likely in this country. A more fearsome prospect is that of new cooperators being told by old hands that they will have to share their profits with the underworld... In that lamentable case a beginner cooperator will know that he has to register not only with the local executive committee, but with the local branch of the crime network as well.

[NEW TIMES] Is there a way of preventing this?

[Kokhryakov] I've already mentioned it. What we need is stringent legislation and its strict enforcement. Today our law enforcement agencies are often not up to the mark: inadequately equipped, lacking in competence, often unequal to the occasion... The challenge today is to pit our strength against that of organized crime, to outdo it professionally, technologically and morally. By the latter I mean moral protection of cooperatives. If we are against the cooperative movement, let's call it off then. It would be unrealistic, of course, to claim that organized crime - racket in particular - can be eradicated in that case. But life often compels one to make sacrifices for his own and others' good.

[NEW TIMES] You have dwelt on racket in great detail but, frankly, I'm not sure we'd be well advised to make all this information public. There is a school of thought

which maintains that by talking about criminogenic phenomena we kind of publicize and provoke them. So what we'd rather do: speak up or keep silent?

[Kokhryakov] The "school of thought" you've mentioned is a delusion our law-enforcement agency have been labouring under for years. By now we've learned from our own practical experience that it's absurd to regard public exposés of negative phenomena as crime-provoking. Silence has not been of much help to us, as the record of organized crime in our country shows. Could people like Churbanov and Rashidov have thrived on glasnost?

Our research findings bear evidence to the fact that newspaper articles or films about certain aberrations of social behavior can produce imitations in real life only given the appropriate social climate - say, if society is ripe for violence. This must be taken into account, of course. Now, if respect for the individual prevails in society, the show of such phenomena will provoke nothing but disgust.

I have tried to explain the origins of organized crime with a view to convince the readers that it is much older than the Decrees on Cooperative Movement, although some still identify cooperatives with racket. And this despite the fact that up to 40 per cent of the cooperators polled recently named racket among the main barriers in the new movement's way...

Estonian Police To Be Issued Rubber Truncheons
18001375 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 20 Jun 89 p 4

[Interview with A. Yaska, Estonian SSR deputy minister of internal affairs, major general of the militia, conducted by ETA correspondent F. Kaazik: "Information From Reliable Sources"]

[Text] The reason for our conversation with A. Yaska, ESSR deputy minister of internal affairs and major-general of the militia, was the report that the equipment issued to workers of the militia will soon include rubber truncheons. The conversation began with an explanation.

[Yaska] The task of maintaining order today is given much attention. The people are concerned by the increase in crime and demand improvement in the work of the law enforcement organs. Many proposals have been presented for improving the equipment of the militia with technical means and protective devices. We can present the following example: The residents of the village of Aegviidy have officially asked that their section inspector be provided with a rubber truncheon. A similar proposal was received from the representatives of the People's Front in Paydeskii rayon. The use of rubber truncheons was also supported by the rayispolkom chairmen.

There is nothing extraordinary about this. As we know, the subdivisions for maintaining order in many countries are equipped with rubber truncheons. In the USSR, rubber truncheons are also part of the standard equipment of the militia, as for example in Moscow, Latvia, certain cities of the Lithuanian SSR and others. Yet our militia man is armed with only a whistle and a pistol. Unfortunately, he has no other equipment.

As for the increase in crime, we must unfortunately conclude that in the last 5 months the number of hooligan acts and robberies has increased by 50 percent as compared with the same period last year. The number of burglaries has increased by 1.5 times, and the number of crimes committed in the streets has almost tripled! The relative share of crimes committed by persons under the influence of alcohol is increasing. Cases of resisting the militia have become more frequent. Last year an officer of the militia was killed in the line of duty. Cases of group and organized crimes are becoming more frequent. For a militia worker who usually uses only his whistle to call people to order, an encounter with a dangerous criminal may have a bad ending.

Taking all this into consideration, the decision was made to issue rubber truncheons to the Estonian militia.

[Correspondent] In what case can the militia worker use this truncheon?

[Yaska] First of all, in preventing aggressive acts and controlling unruly disruptors of the peace, as well as in fulfilling his service duty, and in self defense against attacks on workers of the militia, public combatants, as well as citizens. Uniformed militia men on patrol or post duty and highway patrol duty, as well as workers of the operative-management staff, have the right to use the truncheons. Section inspectors are also numbered among the latter. The rubber truncheon may also be used for stopping the actions of a criminal or for detaining him. The rubber truncheon may also be used during group unrest and for curtailing the actions of unruly hooligans and criminals.

In the case of an unexpected active attack by lawbreakers, the militia workers have the right to use the truncheon without warning. In other cases, it may be used only after giving a warning. The following condition is in effect: The rubber truncheon may be used only when there is no other way of stopping the actions of the lawbreakers.

In my opinion, carrying a rubber truncheon requires discipline, high culture, responsibility and a sense of professionalism on the part of the militia worker. Therefore, the need for carrying the rubber truncheon is decided by the chief of the internal affairs organ based on the situation prevailing in a given territory.

[Correspondent] When is the use of the rubber truncheon prohibited?

[Yaska] It is categorically forbidden to use it against women, children, the elderly and invalids, as well as against those who offer no resistance to the militia and who have stopped violating the public order. The use of the rubber truncheon is also prohibited in buildings of the department of internal affairs. All cases of use of the rubber truncheon should be recorded with the internal affairs watch section and reported to the chief of the militia section.

[Correspondent] Here is a more delicate problem. Perestroika has entailed a broad democratic movement. People are exercising their civil rights in every way. Perhaps this may raise certain doubts for some people?

[Yaska] I affirm with complete responsibility that this is in no way associated with infringement of civil rights. In other words, they will not be used against the people who are realizing their constitutional rights.

To what we have said above, we will add that the militia will be equipped with the rubber truncheons in the second half of the current year.

Militia Official on Racketeering in UkrSSR
*18110027 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian
4 Dec 88 p 4*

[Interview with Ya. Kondratyev, chief, Criminal Investigation Administration, Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, by RADYANSKA UKRAYINA correspondent Ye. Krasnovskyy: "Tribute for Racketeers"]

[Text] "He has income from illegal sources. He likes beautiful women. He maintains two apartments. He lives with his family in one of them and sees other women in the other." The members of a criminal gang obtained the above "intelligence" on a certain resident of Kiev for their gang leader. The criminals' subsequent actions were set up on the basis of this information. The following day a luscious blonde "happened" to encounter this Kiev resident. Supposedly she was about to be married, and she had come to Kiev to buy gifts. Naturally she was a complete stranger in town and would be very grateful if he would serve as her guide. They celebrated the successful shopping expedition at his other apartment, but the following morning the blonde's angry "fiance" and "father" appeared at the door. The confrontation ended amicably: fearing that the story would get out, the Kiev gentleman paid the criminals 8,000 rubles. An interview between a RADYANSKA UKRAYINA correspondent and Ya. Kondratyev, chief of the UkrSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Criminal Investigation Administration, began with this story.

[Correspondent] The deal pulled by these criminals has a name—racket. Does this mean that rackets are being pulled in our republic?

[Kondratyev] Unfortunately, yes, although for a long time we did not want to admit it. It is true that until recently rackets "did not exist" anywhere in the USSR. It took perestroika and an atmosphere of glasnost to force us to look the truth in the eye and admit it: rackets and other manifestations of organized crime exist and present a certain threat. In addition, this threat has taken on such forms precisely due to the silence and a desire not to see realities. The situation has now changed radically: an uncompromising campaign against racketeers has been announced, evidence of which is the establishment of special police subunits. Recently there have been several trials of criminals of this category in this republic.

[Correspondent] How widespread is this kind of crime?

[Kondratyev] I wouldn't say that it is extremely widespread. It is just that there has been a broadening in the category of blackmailed or extortion-targeted individuals. In the past racketeers would victimize certain dishonest individuals, persons who were getting rich with shady income. Today they are also targeting members of cooperatives. And money is being taken from them not only on the basis of threats and extortion but also for "good and proper" reasons. They demand money for protection against encroachments by their competitors. They are even taxing prostitutes. Their terms are simple: if you don't pay, we won't let you operate.

[Correspondent] Well, isn't the announced anti-racket campaign helping?

[Kondratyev] Things are not as simple as they might seem. First of all, they extort money for the most part from those who do not wish to have the police find out about their income. Such persons consider it better to pay a certain amount of extortion money than to have it get out that they possess large sums of illegally-obtained cash. The criminals count on this: silence by their "clients" is the best guarantee that they will not be caught. But the main factor is deficiencies in our laws. The racketeers' actions are classified as common extortion. Therefore the longest sentence that can be given for such crimes is three years. Is this right? I feel very strongly that it is not, because do you know what racketeers sometimes do with those who resist their demands? They tie them up, take them into the woods, hang them from a tree by their feet, pretend they are going to execute them, and subject them to torture. Do you call this an act of common blackmail or extortion? No. In my opinion this is robbery with violence, although it is not so easy to prove the racketeers' illegal actions. And what is the result? If a criminal gang takes 200 rubles worth of jewelry from a victim, they can get 7 years each plus confiscation of property. But no such penalty threatens racketeers who have extorted several thousand rubles from a cooperative. I can back up this

statement with many actual examples. I also feel that it is high time for our lawmakers to call a spade a spade, to add articles to the criminal code which specify severe penalties for racketeering.

The same applies to prostitution. I recently talked with a prostitute. I said to her: "You are engaging in immoral conduct. You're going to catch a disease." She replied: "Why do you think I do this? Do you think I like it?" That's the way it is. But what can I do other than give her a lecture? A strange situation, don't you agree? If a prostitute tries to avoid paying protection, the racketeers present her with a persuasive argument—if you don't pay, we'll rearrange your face so that even a cripple will not envy you. All we do is shake a finger, or at best levy a small fine.

[Correspondent] Rackets are only one form of organized crime. How successful is the campaign against other types of organized crime?

[Kondratyev] When I mention the need for increased penalties, I am not trying to say that this is the only thing that will help us stop crime. The end result depends in large measure on the attitude of the public and the atmosphere in which lawbreakers operate. Recently, for example, a resident of Kiev by the name of Petro Khmaruk was brought to trial, charged with operating an underground printing operation and engaging in the forging of documents. Although he is a criminal, you've got to give him credit: he was a master of his trade. He could produce a diploma from any higher educational institution, a driver's license and license coupons, and he printed Sprint lottery tickets bearing winning numbers for Volgas and Zhigulis. And he forged all these documents so skillfully that even experts were not entirely certain that they were forgeries. Khmaruk did not himself sell these documents but used "wholesalers." He had confederates who disposed of them literally in wholesale lots.

One wonders if such trade could successfully prosper if people did not exist who with the aid of phony documents sought to assume a certain status in society which they do not deserve, sought to obtain various benefits, etc.

[Correspondent] Yaroslav Yuryevich! I have one more question, possibly not a very pleasant one for you. Have the actions of certain militia personnel not encouraged such activities?

[Kondratyev] That is certainly not a pleasant question. One must have the courage to admit, however, that there have been people in our ranks who have sullied the honor of the militia. Cases where criminals, wearing police uniforms, have committed illegal acts became possible precisely due to this.

Cleansing of degenerates from our ranks is currently in progress. A number of individuals have been fired and charged with criminal offenses. At the same time conditions are being created for increasing the effectiveness of our efforts. Facilities and equipment are being improved: computers and other modern equipment are coming to our aid. Highly-skilled personnel are being trained. New structural subdivisions are being established. I hope that, combined with improvements in existing laws and involvement by the general public in our efforts, this will enable us successfully to accomplish our assigned tasks.

Armenian MVD Reports Continued Increase in Crime

18001394 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
1 Jul 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Armenian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] The Armenian SSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] has discussed the results of five months of work and tasks in law enforcement.

Although the crime level in the republic is considerably below the all-union average, alarming tendencies can be observed in its dynamic. Thus, for example, the number of crimes subject to criminal investigation has almost doubled compared with the same period last year. Of special concern is the rise in property crimes. Thefts of state and social property increased by 2.4 times, while thefts of citizens' personal property rose by 110.6 percent. Such crimes constituted 72.9 percent of the total residual criminal cases halted in progress [ostatok priostanovlennykh proizvodstvom ugolovnykh del]. There has also been an observable rise in such dangerous crimes as robbery, assaults on citizens, and a continuing rise in auto thefts and bodily injuries, including severe injuries.

The current situation is due to a number of circumstances of a social nature as well as intensified migration processes, aggravated interethnic relations, and natural disasters. At the same time, the republic MVD is continuing to impose stricter requirements on ensuring complete registration and recording of all crimes.

However, we cannot ignore facts which attest to shortcomings and oversights in the work of the MVD organs. It is an intolerable fact that the number of crimes committed by persons in a state of inebriation has risen by 86.5 percent. One out of every four murders and cases of severe bodily injury, almost one third of all rapes, and one out of every six auto thefts are committed while in a state of intoxication. The situation in the domestic sphere is also deteriorating. Almost 70 percent of all murders are the result of family and domestic conflicts. One out of every four crimes on the streets and in other public places, which often involve bodily injuries, is committed by hooligan elements.

An unhealthy operational situation has taken shape in the earthquake zone. Overall, the crime rate has risen in the cities and rayons that suffered from the natural disaster, and now constitute more than 27 percent of the total number of crimes in the republic.

In the context of economic reform, special urgency attaches to the problem of protecting social property and waging an uncompromising fight against organized crime. Vigorous efforts have been made in this regard. Officers of the BKhSS [units to combat speculation and the theft of socialist property] have caught a number of dangerous criminal gangs involved in theft and bribery, as well as various hustlers. However, a broad frontal assault against corrupt elements has yet to be implemented everywhere. The fight against concealed thefts of the people's property, mismanagement, and waste and figure-padding that have become so widespread in the republic, must be intensified.

Efforts against speculation are not very satisfactory. Even in terms of formal quantitative indicators, the results of efforts to detect such crimes this year have gone down somewhat.

There has been a noticeable rise in the rate of transport accidents. A total of 253 persons have died in auto accidents, and 733 persons have been injured. The number of road accidents involving driving a vehicle while under the influence of alcohol has more than doubled. For this reason, the State Automotive Inspectorate has stepped up its efforts on the roads. In the past five months, 3750 drunk drivers have been stopped and punished; this is almost triple the number recorded during the same period last year.

The number of fires, and amounts of losses due to them, is rising.

The collegium of the MVD has drawn up specific measures designed to further perfect its routine operational activities and enhance the professional qualifications and ideological training of its officers. It has mapped out the most important tasks for radically improving the work of the city and rayon MVD organs and providing help to militia units in the rayons that suffered from the natural disaster.

TuSSR: Criminal Investigations Ineffective

18350019a Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen 11 Feb 89 p 3

[Turkmeninform report: "In the Turkmen SSR Procuracy"]

[Text] The loss of effectiveness of procuracy investigations has been one of the reasons for the serious situation in the fight against crime and violations in the safeguarding of law and order. In a decree of the Bureau of the Turkmen CP Central Committee a principled evaluation

of the Turkmen SSR Procuracy's work was made: it was concluded that the work of communists who are leaders of law enforcement organs was unsatisfactory.

A Turkmeninform correspondent met with Ye. N. Mateyko, chief of the Organization and Control department of the Turkmen SSR Procuracy, and asked that he discuss what measures are being taken in the fight against violations of law and order.

"First of all I want to say that for many years the management of the procuracy was part of the command-administrative system. They viewed it as a force of compulsion and an active preventive mechanism in both the economy and social life of the country. The procuracy, under the conditions of a state established under socialist law, should not be only a management organ, but also a high authority for control over the compliance with the law by individuals and organizations.

When citizens' rights guaranteed by the Constitution or laws are violated, when responsible people exceed their authority, betray the faith vested in them or fail to do their clear duty, the procurator can and must use his authority. Sometimes, however, our procurators have not done this.

A very troublesome situation emerged in the consumer cooperative and trade system with regard to the preservation of socialist ownership. Over the last three years damage done by major errors and theft in these systems amounted to close to two million rubles. For example, last year in Chardzhou the damage done in state trade operations increased five times but according to a procuracy investigation only two trade workers were found to be legally responsible. This kind of work by procurators in Tashauz Oblast, Krasnovodsk and other regions of the republic is creating a lot of dissatisfaction.

A very unpleasant situation has emerged in the agro-industrial complex in which the harm done by mistakes, theft and the illegal payment of funds is increasing annually. It has reached tens of millions of rubles. In cotton production, especially in Chardzhou and Mary Oblasts, such instances are accumulating without abating and dozens of tons of fruits and vegetables never reach consumers because of criminal negligence of workers at fruit and vegetable preparation bases. Under these circumstances it is the duty of procuracy organs to compel auditing and juridical officials to act jointly with arbitrage and control organs and to be especially demanding on the leadership of agricultural operations who are not guaranteeing compliance with the law.

This is one aspect of the work of procuracy organs. At the present time the crime situation in the republic is very disturbing. For example, recently the amount of serious crime has increased, including murder, armed robbery and theft of personal property.

In fact, the situation in the republic is extremely complex. This was discussed very openly at the last meeting of the college of the Turkmen SSR Procuracy. This was brought about by mistakes in the organization of the procuracy's work in the fight against crime and the lowering of demands placed on cadres. The poor professional preparation of investigators and operational militia workers has led to the fact that a substantial number of crimes go unsolved. In many places symptoms of the old disease—the manipulation of statistics or concealment of certain types of criminal activity—are still emerging. The newly appointed procurator of Tashauz city, Yu. Bayjanov, revealed dozens of concealed crimes in December of last year alone. Unfortunately, there are still instances when a procurator resists these kinds of facts.

Cases of the theft of citizens' personal property, automobile theft and pickpocketing are very often concealed, and we must work hard to expose these crimes. Along with this, the theft of personal property has political overtones. In many citizens' complaints there is direct discussion of the incompetence of law enforcement organs in guaranteeing the protection of their property. Every procuracy worker must think about this. They should think about it and do everything to prevent it. But this is not being done.

Recently procuracy investigations into fulfillment of laws in the fight against narcotics and alcohol addiction have weakened.

Activism in the work control over the fulfillment of laws concerned with teenagers has slackened off and crime among them has not diminished. Instances of the violation of legally guaranteed rights on citizens' work and housing are quite widespread.

All these are only a superficial part of mistakes in our work which must be straightened out in order to strengthen socialist legality and law in the republic. Thus, the first thing that is needed is an improvement in cadre selection. At present the work of the accreditation commission of the republic Procuracy is formalistic in many sectors. Its duty is not only to purge procuracy organs of random, inexperienced workers. It must scrutinize careerists and unscrupulous individuals and place obstacles before them. There must be glasnost in the commission's work and it should attract members of trade union and party organizations to it.

Other than this, by acting together with other law enforcement organs, it must analyze on a case by case basis the status of work in the fight against crime in the cities and rayons of the republic, and qualitatively renew all sectors of procuracy investigation work. We cannot do this without the help of public organizations and workers in the republic. Procuracy workers must appear often at workers' collectives, and search out new and especially effective forms of legal propaganda.

We must also give greater independence to procurators without weakening the demands placed on them. Last year we authorized the Mary procuracy to plan its own work with regard to the legal situation in the city on an experimental basis. As an investigation has shown, the work improved. Planning became more enthusiastic, and it became possible to examine operationally changes in the local situation. We are continuing this experiment.

At the end of my talk I want to explain that the present time is placing very great demands on procuracy organs. Perestroyka has cast light anew on the importance of human rights and freedoms. The party has put the interests and needs of the citizenry on a footing of renewal. Actions by the procuracy must be equal to this task.

Problems, Data on Alcoholism, Drug Addicts in Uzbekistan

18300725 Tashkent *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian
18 Jun 89 p 3

[Article by Yu. Kruzhilin, UzTAG correspondent: "Statistics and Life: This Is No Longer a Secret"]

[Text] People assert (some out of inertia, some out of ignorance, and some even out of malicious intent) that the "apparatus" continues to conceal important information pertaining to the health of the people: Data on infant mortality and other alarming figures.

But information about infant mortality is regularly published in the yearbooks "Narodnoye khozyaystvo Uzbekistana" [The National Economy of Uzbekistan], which is put out by the publishing house "Uzbekistan". These collections are sold in the bookstores. Another matter is the fact that they are published in a small edition. It would not be a bad thing for us, journalists, to make wider use of the materials inserted there, in order not to give any room to reproaches.

But the figures which we are publishing today were secret until recently. It is time for this to be over, and we will trust that it will not return. A regular press-release acquaints us with the level of alcoholism and drug addiction in the republic.

The statisticians cite figures obtained from physicians: How many alcoholics, drug addicts, and persons addicted to poisonous substances are registered. And here, it turns out, there were 436 alcoholics and 24 drug addicts and persons addicted to toxic substances per 100,000 people in our republic last year. For example, there were 87,300 people suffering from chronic alcoholism and alcohol psychosis, including 660 women.

Next to these figures is a column of data for 1987. The first that struck the eye in a comparison is the fact that the number of alcoholics is falling (it was 452), and the number of drug addicts is growing (it was 21). It follows, the measures against hard drinking, which we criticized

so much and not without reason, nevertheless produced a certain result. But against drug addiction we have not yet developed either similar or other effective measures.

The fewest alcoholics are in Khorezm: 150 per 100,000. Their number increased only in Kashkadarya—from 299 to 310. All in all, there are fewer people suffering from this illness, everywhere they are below the average indicator, and the indicator itself is lower than in many other union republics. In a manner, not bad.

But, as a matter of fact, such data should have been expected: Does the peasant, the eternal worker, engage in hard drinking, do his sons get drunk, who work hard in the fields and farms together with their fathers and mothers? According to statistics, the level of the number of cases of alcoholism of the rural population is 4 times lower than that of the urban population. The reason for our alarm is the capital Tashkent. Last year it registered 1,073 alcoholics for every 100,000 inhabitants (a year earlier there were 1,089); in Tashkent Oblast—512 (there were 545). We will not rejoice over the reduction in the numbers, but we will ask with pain in our soul: Why does 1 person out of every 100 in our beloved city drink heavily?

You hear talk and you read articles of other economic managers: They say, the Tashkent Gorispolkom made an irrational decision, having compelled the payment, into the state budget, of more than 16,000 for every worker being invited from other regions. Yes, it is unreasonable, if one measures with the old—departmental—measures. But, if we remember the thousands of young people, who were born in Tashkent, grew up in it, and now do not know where to turn, both in their free and in their work time? Yes, indeed, to create normal conditions of work and leisure for them, to secure their adaptation in production, even from a narrow departmental point of view, is far cheaper than to treat analcoholic, to alleviate the pain of his family, and to throw additional means into the struggle against crime. The figures are implausible: Adults have started to drink less, adolescents have not. The number of people who are sick with an established diagnosis of alcoholism has decreased from 40 to 33 per 100,000 a year, the number of adolescents who have become inveterate drunkards remained the same.

On drug addiction.

We will recall, first of all, that by far not all drug addicts are registered by physicians, but only those who already can hardly be helped. . . . Secondly, let us recall the increase by more than 14 percent. Only in Namangan and Khorezm oblasts has there been a slight reduction in drug addicts and people addicted to toxic substances, and in the same Tashkent, for example, there were 25 and are not 35 per 100,000—20 percent more.

However, the most rapid increase of the most terrible of illnesses, which destroys not only the organism, but also the personality of man, has been registered in Andizhan.

Samarkand, Syr-Darya, and Tashkent oblasts. The people have a saying: When you are next to a boiler, how can you not get dirty with soot? The closeness to the land, on which the "grass" grows, and, it goes without saying, the prices at which the operators of the drug mafia buy up the death-dealing harvest become for some of our unfortunate fellow-citizens a terrible temptation, leading to an abyss from which there is no return.

Separately about the situation in the Kara-Kalpak ASSR. Here, as the figures indicate, things are most alarming: For every 100,000 people, there are 83 drug addicts—four times more than the average republic level. How much ink have we, journalists, spent in describing the victorious operations of the customs organs of internal affairs against the planting of hemp and poppy. It turns out, we have been in a hurry.

At first glance, there are few drug addicts in our republic: At the beginning of the current year—4,843. But we will again recall: By far not everyone is registered. The danger of the phenomenon does not lie only in the destruction of the people who have become addicted.

At the USSR Congress of People's deputies, there was a pointed and agitated discussion about the increase of crime in the country. Drug addiction is impossible without drug business. Among the drug addicts that have been exposed in the republic are 232 boys and girls who are 15-17 years of age. This is the rising reserve of the criminal world, which for the sake of poison will go to all lengths. And frequently it already is going to all lengths. No mercy for the sowers, the buyers, the couriers, the sellers, and the concealers—this is what our society demands of all those who are called upon to guard the law.

Poll Reveals Estonians' Political Preferences
*18001283 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian
23 May 89 p 3*

[Article by Yu. Kiviryakhh, scientific associate of the Maynor Special Technical Design Bureau: "The Path To Political Pluralism: Results of a Sociological Survey"]

[Text] Social life in Estonia is on the path to political pluralism. Various social groupings and movements are beginning to exert a real influence on political life in our republic. Last December, for the first time, Maynor conducted research by means of a survey on which political force enjoys the greatest support. The research was conducted according to the following scale:

- 1 - I like it very much, and support it completely;
- 2 - I support it, but do not like everything;
- 3 - I have an attitude of indifference;
- 4 - I don't like it very much, but I support it;
- 5 - I am totally opposed.

The results of this research were reported in a brief survey in the newspaper RAHVA HAAL on 17 February. In mid-April a second public opinion survey was conducted (932 people were surveyed on the basis of a representative model of the Estonian SSR); at the same time the December questions about support of political forces were repeated. This article compares the results of the two surveys.

At the end of 1988, as one would expect, among Estonians the most popular movements enjoyed the greatest support: the Popular Front, the "Greens," the Society for Preservation of Ancient Monuments (80, 99 and 75 percent, respectively, received full support). Behind them came the Church, independent youth organizations and the Estonian CP. Among Estonians, the Estonian CP enjoyed the full support of 18 percent; among non-Estonians, 19 percent—but at the same time one must note that it had the majority of the so-called wavering supporters, those who do not like anything. Among Estonians, the latter comprised 61 percent, and among non-Estonians, 50 percent. Together with those wavering in the degree of support of the Estonian CP, Estonians were in 4th place, while non-Estonians were in 3rd.

The Greens and the Society for Preservation of Ancient Monuments were in first place in the estimation of non-Estonians as well, while the NFE (Estonian Popular Front) took second place to the OSTK [United Council of Workers' Collectives] in their estimates; but, in terms of the number giving complete support, it surpassed both the Estonian CP and the Intermovement [Interdvizhenie - ID].

Estonians spoke out decisively against Intermovement and OSTK. Among Estonians there were also more opposed to Intermovement than supporters (26 and 14 percent, respectively). Among non-Estonians, 25 percent spoke out against NFE, and 41 percent were opposed to the Estonian National Independence Party [PNNE]. The first three months of 1989 were very intense in the political life of Estonia, and various movements had an opportunity to display themselves in various measures and take part in the election campaign. Therefore, it was somewhat unexpected that the survey conducted in mid-April did not indicate any noticeable advances in the disposition of the movements and organizations, although certain changes did take place.

Among Estonians, the Greens have become the most popular movement; 83 percent supported them completely. In comparison with December the number of people totally supporting NFE declined, as was the case with the Society for Preservation of Ancient Monuments (now their numbers are 68 and 69 percent, respectively). The number of supporters of PNNE and the independent youth organizations showed a slight increase, while the proportion fully supporting the Estonian CP remained the same. If one considers the number of full and wavering supporters, who are supportive but do not like everything, it is apparent that among Estonians there is growing support for movements which adhere to a platform of national independence: the number of supporters of PNNE increased from 39 percent in December to 52 percent in April. At the same time the number of supporters of the Estonian CP fell from 79 percent to 64.

Among non-Estonians Intermovement and OSTK picked up a few percentage points of supporters. But opponents of NFE clearly gained (25 percent had been opposed, and the number increased to 47 percent); opposed to PNNE (formerly 41 percent, now 57); opposed to independent youth (was 29 percent, and now 44); and Society for Preservation of Ancient Monuments (2.0 percent had been opposed, and now 20 percent). The proportion of those not approving of the activity of ID increased somewhat.

The relationship between the full supporters and opponents of various movements and organizations is shown in the following table:

	Full Supporters (%)				Opponents (%)			
	Estonians		Non-Estonians		Estonians		Non-Estonians	
	Dec	Apr	Dec	Apr	Dec	Apr	Dec	Apr
Estonian CP	18	19	19	16	6	12	11	13
Komsomol	1	2	7	4	34	42	25	25
Popular Front	80	68	21	12	1	2	25	47

Monument Preservation Society	Full Supporters (%)				Opponents (%)			
	Estonians Dec 75	Estonians Apr 69	Non-Estonians Dec 52	Non-Estonians Apr 37	Estonians Dec 1	Estonians Apr 1	Non-Estonians Dec 2	Non-Estonians Apr 20
Greens	79	83	50	50	0	1	3	6
Intermove- ment	2	1	14	16	77	88	26	30
OSTK	4	3	26	30	68	74	17	16
Christian Union	—	36	—	7	—	3	—	18
Church	38	—	22	—	3	—	8	—
STK	—	28	—	22	—	15	—	16
PNNE	15	18	8	2	16	16	41	57
Independent	25	29	9	4	7	6	29	44
Youth Orga- nizations								

Note: The table includes as opponents those who do not support or are completely opposed; that is, points 4 and 5 of the scale of estimates.

A somewhat different picture emerges if those surveyed are presented with a choice of which one party (or movement) they would give preference to in an election to an Estonian parliament. Here it is clear that support on the principle of "like - dislike" does not yet signify political support. Here NFE takes first place among Estonians with a large preponderance,

followed by the Greens, with PNNE in third place. The CPE and the Agrarian Workers's Union which is being formed enjoy approximately the same support. Among non-Estonians, the CPE receives greatest support, followed by OSTK, the Greens, ID and NFE. The order in which the organizations and movements are found is as follows:

Estonians	Non-Estonians
Popular Front	50%
Green Movement	13%
PNNE	10%
Agrarian Union	8%
CPE	7%
Society for Preservation of Monuments	6%
Christian Union	2%
OSTK	1%
STK	0.2%
Intermovement	—
CPE	32%
OSTK	18%
Green Movement	12%
Intermovement	11%
Popular Front	9%
STK	6%
Agrarian Union	4%
PNNE	1%
Christian Union	0.6%
Society for Preservation of Monuments	0.3%

According to the results of the survey it has become known that 80 percent of Estonians and 44 percent of non-Estonians support a multi-party system. Opposed to multiple parties are 4.0 and 17 percent, respectively. Those taking part in the survey could note on the form, which parties they considered it expedient to establish. Most of all respondents stressed the necessity of establishing a Green Party (94 Estonians and 11 non-Estonians responding); Eighty-five Estonians and 16 non-Estonians believe it necessary to establish a party or Union of Agrarian Workers. Seventy-three respondents, including seven non-Estonians, believe the NFE should be turned into a party; 54 (only Estonians) named the PNNE. Twenty-three of the responses indicated the necessity of establishing a Democratic party under various names (social-democratic, liberal-democratic, popular-democratic, and simply democratic party). Among

the most often named one should also note the Christian Union, the Communist Party of Estonia (independent of the CPSU), the Worker's Party, the Youth Party, the Society for Preservation of Ancient Monuments, and others.

Upon analysis of the distribution of supporters of political forces by the so-called "maximum correlation" method, one can bring out those groups, movements and organizations for which the given estimates are the most characteristic. In this manner one can obtain a picture of the structure of political forces, which contains a great deal of interesting information.

Last December, striving and consolidation were characteristic of Estonians: at the center of the political structure here are the CPE and NFE; moreover, the former is

establishing ties with the ID and OSTK, and by means of the NFE, with the national Estonian movements. Among non-Estonians a split in political forces took place as early as last December: the NFE and OSTK began to oppose one another. In their opinion, the party and the Komsomol were on the side of ID and OSTK, while all the so-called Estonian-language movements were associated with NFE.

The results of the April survey show that according to the estimates of both Estonians and non-Estonians, the ID and OSTK represent separate groupings and oppose not only the NFE and the other Estonian-language movements as a whole, they also oppose the CPE. Here it is appropriate to recall the words of Mikk Titma to the effect that one may consolidate only with those who acknowledge Estonia as a sovereign republic. The present platforms of OSTK and ID testify to the fact that these two movements have placed themselves in opposition to the rest, who are not indifferent about the future of Estonia.

Estonian Autonomy, Nationality Issues Viewed
18150071 Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 21 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by Raivo Palmaru: "Thinking of March 14"]

[Text] During the last few days of February, the draft of a party meeting decision was being circulated at centrally-controlled plants in Tallinn and Narva. It was signed by the of the Work Collectives' Joint Council Ideology Commission and demanded, in the tone of an ultimatum, that the Estonian CP convene a session of the republic's active party membership within 10 days. Also prescribed were the agenda, norms of presentation, and the presence of the USSR Central Committee's first secretary. On March 1, this draft was passed as a resolution at several of the centrally-controlled factories. This is an unprecedented instance of one social movement trying to impose its will on the party organization. On March 4 and 5, the founding congress of the Intermovement was held in Tallinn, where insults and threats were voiced. On March 14, however, a meeting with thousands of participants was held.

It is clear by now, that we are dealing with a centrally directed action, the goal of which was to discredit the forces of perestroika across the entire Soviet Union just before the CPSU Central Committee plenum and a few weeks before the USSR Congress of People's Deputies was about to open. The excuse was the hoisting of the blue-black-and-white national flag. It should be mentioned that similar meetings took place in Latvia and Lithuania. It is known that help with the preparation of Intermovement materials came from scientists in Moscow and that, in all likelihood, the draft of the Work Collectives' Joint Council resolution, under the signatures of the Ideology Commission, was not prepared in Estonia either. On March 14, speakers from Moscow and

Leningrad showed up on the platform who, without a quiver of hesitation in their souls, considered themselves competent to have a say in the affairs of Estonia.

Even the motives of the local organizers of these events were transparent. The influence of the Estonian party and government organs has been too small up until now to interfere with the monopolistic stance of the centrally-controlled trade unions within the economy of our republic. Many of the centrally-controlled plants have an extra-territorial status. Or how else could you explain the fact that access to the Dvigatel plant is limited to only four of the Estonian party workers. Now however, the changes occurring in Estonia, like IME [Self-Managing Estonia], primarily, but also the language law and steps taken toward the sovereignty of the state, have threatened the independent status of the centrally-controlled plants, and understandably also the interests of the trade unions and officials. In addition to these, there is a sizeable group of people in Tallinn, who are given the privilege of settling down in Estonia, who get relatively high retirement benefits and who, in addition to all that, have obtained cushy jobs at all possible offices. They now find, and justifiably so, that the qualification requirements enforced under IME and the language law will threaten their comfortable livelihood. This is why there are attempts, from one side or the other, to instill in the Russian-speaking population the idea that something horrible is happening in Estonia that will endanger the Russian people, the interests of the working class and socialism itself. To this effect rumors are circulated, mistrust and enmity spread. The social makeup of the delegates to the Intermovement congress (65 percent of the delegates were white-collar workers) showed clearly whom we are dealing with. The real interests of this group of people were expressed in the presentation of V. Rudjak, where he stated, "Intermovement is opposed to the unrestrained liquidation of Union-controlled plants and Union republic ministries, and to taking from all of them, without exception, the centrally controlled enterprises that would legally be subordinated fully to the leading organs of the Estonian SSR."

Before the meeting of March 14, there was reason to believe that the people don't take what's happening too seriously. This also seemed to be confirmed by the fact that even though the meeting was originally scheduled for March 18, it was hurriedly moved up to a work-day, as participants were recruited from other union republics, also from Narva, Sillamae and Kohtla Jarve.

Contrary to expectations, however, tens of thousands of people were assembled, and most of them went along with what was happening. They were hardly interested in the ambitions of office holders in the centrally-controlled industry. The reasons are elsewhere. There are many things changing in Estonia that are bound to induce a feeling of uncertainty, and force one to seek a

more stable foothold. Under these circumstances, one tries to preserve the old, and seek solace in the ideas of Stalinism and the stagnation era.

The rise of national awareness among Estonians also poses a question to the Russian-speaking people: who am I, and where do I belong? No doubt, a Russian person born and raised in Estonia will already feel a stranger in Moscow or Vladimir, his home is here. At the same time he can grasp the strivings of Estonians with his intellect, at best, but not with his heart. If his ties with the Russian culture are severed already, or if they never existed, the answer is simple: I am a Soviet individual, an internationalist.

Significant factor: when speaking of the national problems of Estonians, it has often been emphasized that, due to the extensive development of our economy, the Estonian segment of workers has shifted from the main branches of industry, resulting in Estonia becoming a nation with an incomplete structure. But there is another side to this phenomenon: the Russian-speaking population also has an incomplete social structure. Their ties to the Estonian culture are very weak, and even the number of intellectuals in humanities is relatively small. Estonia, for these people, thus becomes nothing more and nothing less than a distant borderland of Russian culture. This explains why a typical Russian in Estonia, especially a worker, is not a person of ideas. He limits himself to a simple, once acquired black-and-white scheme of things. And more so since, in the current situation, this will lend him support. The philosophical value of such a scheme is negligible. Its main thread is in the primitive emphasis on class interests, and a super-state version of internationalism. The latter is perceived as a uniform conglomerate of Russian-speaking people, and is as such being used to justify any untoward phenomena. On this ideological level, there is a vigorous search for enemies. This mentality is well described by the Moscow drama critic Nina Agisheva: "For us, not being able to give up one's principles does not mean that someone is attacking my beliefs, but rather that I'll either force others to live according to my principles or I'll destroy them altogether."

The March 14 meeting confirmed that speakers who could have an influence over such people must be simple and aggressive like their public. Even though ETA [Estonian Telegraph Agency] inferred that the meeting's chief organizer V. Jarovoi in his speech "analyzed the political situation in the republic", those present only heard generalized accusations. Things happening in Estonia damage the dignity of the Russians. This raises questions among rationally thinking Estonians. There are some 800,000 Russians currently living in the USA, 150,000 in Canada, 50,000 in France, and 40,000 in Romania. Each of these states has its own state language, citizenship and national symbols, yet no one has ever suggested that these things could damage the honor of Russians or some other nationality group.

The only speaker at the meeting who tried to substantiate his views was some school teacher who found that citizenship would be unacceptable, because if people already have to show their passports in the stores now, then after passage of the citizenship law, the Russian population will no longer be served at all...

The March 14 meeting clearly disclosed a shocking fact: Estonia has split into two warring nationality factions. The organizers' attempt to start the meeting with an address in Estonian was accompanied by a chorus of whistles. Eduard Tinn, the only Estonian on the program, was whistled out. In the spirit of the worst Stalinist tradition, those assembled assumed the responsibility for saving Soviet Estonia. In substance, this would mean that the life of the Russian-speaking people in Estonia is regarded like some kind of an international obligation, giving them the right to decide over the fate of the local people and that, naturally, without considering the opinions of those involved.

There is no alternative to the present course of the Estonian CP. Already back in the forties, Estonian CP activities were geared to put the interests of Estonia first. Back then, this resulted in the removal of Estonians from leadership positions for Estonia. If, in 1941, there were roughly 90 percent of Estonians in the Estonian CP, then, by 1946 their proportion was reduced to 48, and by 1952, to 41.5 percent. After the infamous 8th Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee 90 percent of the Estonian-born lead-workers were dismissed. A large part of the local industry was transferred to central-ministry reporting, and new industrial plants were started whose labor and raw materials had to be imported. What all this has lead to is known to everyone.

By now, centralization as a developmental strategy has exhausted itself completely, and the Estonian CP has once again a real-political chance to protect the interests of Estonia. In a situation where ambitions of trade ministries have been the cause of devastation across the nation, democratization of nationality relations would seem to be the unavoidable prerequisite for any economic or political reform. Unfortunately, however, the first steps toward the equality of nations, their sovereignty and their right to self-determination, have elicited raging opposition. Nobody has been able to justify it, only generalized accusations abound: there is supposedly discrimination against the Russian-speaking population, violations of human rights, and an attitude of doubt about the value of socialist accomplishments. Even in the darkest days of the Stalinist and the stagnation periods, nobody dared to publicly deny the priority of the native population within its ancient territory. Now, even this is done. In this context, it would be interesting to know how the Work Collectives Joint Council and Intermovement ideology experts understand the equality of nationalities and what they think of native nationals' relations with representatives of other-nationals, who have settled down in their territory? At the Intermovement congress, among other things, there was talk about

autonomy for north-east Estonia. It should be pointed out that self-determination applies to total ethnic entities only, and that it is a privilege that ties a native population with its national territory. Before anybody can establish this kind of autonomy, a request will first have to be made that the USSR government remove its signatures from the UN document dealing with the self-determination of the nations.

The future progress of perestroika in Estonia depends largely on the extent to which the idea of democratic nationality policies can be spread among the Russian-speaking population. What's more, a real place, and some real interest in Estonia's innovation should be found for the Russian-speaking population. Otherwise we will be running into these feelings of insecurity, and the anti-perestroika forces exploiting them, every step of our way to innovation.

The present situation has once again pointed out the need to work out a plan of action for the Estonian CP. It is understood that it should be based on the program documents of the CPSU, but also on the uniqueness of the republic, its distribution of social forces, and its local sore spots. This would help to strengthen the authority of the Estonian CP that has begun to crumble especially among the Russian-speaking population, get rid of the malevolent fabrications, secure the unity of action among communists, and unite all those concerned with the fate of Estonia.

The beginning of March brought to light another truth. Democratization, and the emergence of different social movements, has created a new situation, in principle, where all the social forces of Estonia express their will through movements. What's becoming more disturbing with time is the fact that these movements lack a political outlet that would help them shape politics based on the wishes of the majority. This inevitably cuts off many opportunities for participating in professional politics and leaves, in fact, only the right to hold conferences and meetings. This being the case, the determining factor will not be the merit of the position, but the volume of noise and the boldness of expression, and the influence of extreme positions with a small base of supporters will go up inevitably. There is only one conclusion to be made from this: The political system of the Estonian society is getting in the way of progress. One of the tasks brought about by innovation is the formation of a new political system taking into account the democratic traditions of Estonia, the political culture of the society, and the organizational pluralism so far developed.

And last but not least. "It would be good," English philosopher Bacon found, "if people with their renewal would imitate Time itself, that does a lot of renewing, but always calmly and in barely perceptible increments."

Recruitment of More Estonian Language Teachers Urged

18001498 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 14 Jul 89 p 3

[Open letter from the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for the Protection of Language to the Government of the Estonian SSR and the Estonian Public]

[Text]

To the Government of the Estonian SSR and the Estonian Public

The demographic and cultural situation in northeastern Estonia has not improved. Overcoming the consequences of distorted policies which have continued for decades now demands uncompromising intervention and extraordinary measures from all of us.

First of all, there are not enough teachers. For years departments ignored the need for an Estonian-language education, resulting in the fact that Estonian schools were required to substitute courses taught in Russian for those taught in Estonian. There is another reason why the use of Estonian is confined to an ever-narrowing circle—more and more native Estonian speakers and propagators of Estonian culture are leaving their native land. There is a great shortage of Estonian-language teachers in Russian schools.

It is our duty to preserve Estonian language and culture in northeastern Estonia. It is also our duty to lend a hand to those of our countrymen who want to begin carrying out the provisions of the Estonian SSR Law on Language but can't begin to learn the language on their own. In the long run, it probably makes sense to establish Estonian cultural centers in the major cities of Virumaa—first of all in Narva.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission for the Protection of Language is calling on everyone—the government, local soviets, committees, funds, institutions, enterprises, as well as individuals—to find a way to pay bonuses to teachers in Estonian schools and to Estonian-language teachers in Russian schools in northeastern Estonia, as well as allotting them apartments and other benefits.

A preliminary agreement could allow the expenses to be charged to the executive committees of local soviets.

[Signed] The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission for the Protection of Language

LaSSR 14 May Repeat Election Results
*18001177 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
17 May 89 p 1*

[Report from the District Election Commissions:
"Report on the Results of the 14 May 89 USSR People's
Deputies Repeat Elections Throughout the Latvian
SSR"]

[Text]

Territorial Election Districts

709. Daugavpils Election District

Total number of voters is 234,616.

186,855 voters took part in the voting.

Voting Results:

	For	Against
Barsukov , Vyacheslav Nikolayevich	9,614 (5.15%)	173,835
Gegers , Daynis Petrovich	9,660 (5.17%)	173,789
Grigorev , Averkiy Kiryanovich	65,068 (34.82%)	118,381
Chepanis , Alfred Kazimirovich	94,060 (50.34%)	89,389

The number of ballots recognized as invalid was 3,406.

Chepanis, Alfred Kazimirovich, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, CPSU member, residing in Riga, was elected a USSR People's Deputy.

711. Kuldiga Election District

Total number of voters is 274,560.

241,010 voters took part in the voting.

Voting Results:

	For	Against
Barkanov , Aleksandr Viktorovich	5,823 (2.42%)	230,806
Kezbers , Ivars Yanovich	176,333 (73.16%)	60,296
Rakshans , Talis Klemensovich	32,145 (15.72%)	204,484
Repshe , Eynars Ayvarovich	12,977 (5.38%)	223,652

The number of ballots recognized as invalid was 4,381.

Kezbers, Ivars Yanovich, Latvian CP Central Committee secretary, CPSU member, residing in Riga, was elected a USSR People's Deputy.

National-Territorial Election Districts

296. Kirov Election District

Total number of voters is 41,949.

28,430 voters took part in the voting.

Voting Results:

	For	Against
Baltmanis , Yanis Yanovich	352 (1.24%)	27,290
Belaychuk , Anatoliy Konstantinovich	5,798 (20.39%)	21,844
Vulfson , Mavrik Germanovich	16,654 (58.58%)	10,988
Dzenitis , Yanis Eduardovich	1,616 (5.68%)	26,026
Dimans , Sergey Leonidovich	1,159 (4.08%)	26,483
Lantsers , Yanis Avgustovich	175 (0.62%)	27,467
Rukmane , Marite Karlovna	1,144 (4.02%)	26,498
Silinsh , Elmars Karlovich	113 (0.40%)	27,529
Terentev , Aleksandr Aleksandrovich	378 (1.33%)	27,264

The number of ballots recognized as invalid was 788.

Vulfson, Mavrik Germanovich, senior instructor at the Latvian Academy of the Arts Department of Social Sciences, CPSU member, residing in Riga, was elected a USSR People's Deputy.

302. Daugavpils Rural Election District

Total number of voters is 34,078.

30,848 voters took part in the voting.

Voting Results:

	For	Against
Breydaks , Antons Antonovich	4,849 (15.72%)	25,627
Geyba , Yanis Aloizovich	16,748 (54.29%)	13,728
Kozakevicha , Ita Yurevna	7,379 (23.92%)	23,097

The number of ballots recognized as invalid was 372.

Geyba, Yanis Aloizovich, first secretary of the Latvian CP Daugavpils Raykom, CPSU member, residing in Daugavpils, was elected a USSR People's Deputy.

305. Ekabpils Voting District

Total number of voters is 44,743.

34,627 voters took part in the voting.

Voting Results:

	For	Against
Bresis, Vilnis-Edvins Gedertovich	23,529 (67.95%)	10,470
Dambrans, Yanis Yanovich	3,294 (9.51%)	30,705
Dobelis, Juris Yanovich	4,414 (12.753%)	29,585

The number of ballots recognized as invalid was 628.

Bresis, Vilnis-Edvins Gedertovich, chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, CPSU member, residing in Riga, was elected a USSR People's Deputy.

306. Liepaya City Voting District

Total number of voters is 90,068.

74,000 voters took part in the voting.

Voting Results:

	For	Against
Drozda, Alfred Dmitriyevich	1,011 (1.37%)	70,557
Zubrik, Mikhail Platonovich	3,165 (4.28%)	68,403
Mantulnikov, Oleg Nikolayevich	23,762 (32.11%)	47,806
Pauls, Raymond Voldemarovich	40,757 (55.08%)	30,811

The number of ballots recognized as invalid was 2,432.

Pauls, Raymond Voldemarovich, chairman of the Latvian SSR State Commission for Culture, residing in Riga, was elected a USSR People's Deputy.

**Latvian Democratic Union Organizing Committee
Members Interviewed**

18001332 Riga SOVETSAKAYA MOLODEZH in
Russian 1 Jul 89 pp 2,5

[Interview with Democratic Union organizing committee members conducted by columnist Yevgeniy Orlov: "The Democratic Union: Who Is With Whom?"]

[Text] We walk up the stairs to the fifth floor (oh, how we would like Sergey to blindfold our eyes before ringing the bell at the right door! We want to hear the password, to feel like we have found our way into the underground!). The door is not even locked—"Come in!". There is a small corridor, and beyond it a room, where they are already waiting for us. "Are you going to tape record the

conversation. Go right ahead. A video recording? Why, be our guest!..." (Oh, there is no conspiracy here! Your plan is all for nothing, comrade correspondent...).

This is the Latvian Democratic Union. Today these are 12 people who call themselves a party. There are also some sympathizers, among which is Ariya—the owner of this apartment. The Democratic Union maintains ties with many organizations from other republics. At today's meeting (and it was called specially to meet with the author of these lines and with the camera crew filming the video supplement prepared for SOVETSAKAYA MOLODEZH), aside from the members of the organizing committee of the Latvian Democratic Union—Sergey Konchi, Oristsa Treylons and Sergey Knyazev—there were also guests present from the Ukrainian National-Democratic League—Yevgeniy Chernyshev and Leonid Pivovarov.

What else can we add before recording our conversation?

In my desk I have a whole packet of documents from the Democratic Union. At first I was shocked by what was written in them. Evidently, this also awaits the readers of SOVETSAKAYA MOLODEZH. The views of the Democratic Union members on many of our problems do not fit into the currently permitted framework of "pluralism of opinions". Although...

Let us cast aside the long words of introduction.

The Latvian Democratic Union exists. Its members speak out at meetings and in collectives. Therefore, we will give it the unhindered opportunity to express its ideas on the pages of the official press, to present its understanding of the situation, its position...

Particularly since it has not had such an opportunity prior to this.

[Columnist] The Latvian Democratic Union... Why was it organized?

[Koncha] Our union consists of people who want to replace the totalitarian regime with a normal democratic arrangement of society. So that the people can themselves elect that government which they believe can bring them to a better life.

[Columnist] "The totalitarian regime". We associate this concept with the epoch of Stalinism... You, as I understand, are also speaking of the present day?

[Koncha] We understand the totalitarian regime to be that order which was formed as a result of the bloody overthrow in October of 1917. When the Bolsheviks usurped power by force and from that time on, ever

increasing their number of victims, ever more usurping the law in ideology, in spiritual life, and in ecology, have brought the country to the point where its people have nothing of their own. Everything is in the hands of the CPSU.

[Columnist] You are an opposition party. That is what is written in your program documents. Are you the opposition to the Communist Party?

[Koncha] To the order. To the totalitarian order. We are fighting for democracy—such a democracy in which the power will be in the hands of the people.

[Columnist] How do you intend to fight for this?

[Knyazev] Our first principle is a non-violent change of the order. When they say that the Democratic Union calls for violence, that is not true. That cannot be. That is provocation. Several people were excluded from the Democratic Union for trying to promote violence. Our methods are: enlightenment of the people, agitation, propaganda of our ideas, exposure of reality and its essence through meetings, demonstrations, actions of disobedience, and leaflets...

[Chernyshev] Possibly also strikes—that depends on the will of the people themselves.

[Koncha] Yet we have one basic method—to alter the consciousness of the people. When they understand what democracy is, when they realize that they must not stand on their knees, that man has a right to all the freedoms, since they are granted to him not by the party, but by nature—then this order will change.

Communists will not give up power by themselves. It can be taken away only by non-violent disobedience.

[Columnist] What is your attitude toward the socio-political organizations and movements created in Latvia?

[Koncha] The Latvian People's Front, in our opinion, is the left wing of the Communist Party. The International Front of Workers of the Latvian SSR is the right wing of the Communist Party...

[Columnist] And without the "wings"?

[Koncha] While the Interfront wants everything to remain as it was before, so that they may live as before, the People's Front wants to achieve Latvian independence, but in accordance with their, communist, views, i.e., like that which today exists in the GDR and Czechoslovakia... Under cover of Soviet tanks to again build some kind of socialism, which has long ago discredited itself. If the leadership of the PFL, and it does have a leadership—a Duma, a Duma governing board (in our opinion, in a democracy there is not and should not be leadership "from above", as power belongs "to the

bottom"). [if this leadership] does not change, if a movement "from below" does not begin, then nothing good will happen. The people who have entered the PFL are waging a struggle while lying on the sofa and watching television. Only the PFL leadership is working, the apparatus, while the people are practically only awaiting orders (we might add, this is very reminiscent of the situation in the Communist Party). The aspirations of the people are really represented by such organizations as the Radical Association (the former Informal People's Front), the Movement for National Independence of Latvia, and "Helsinki-86". They are radically affecting the change in the consciousness of the people and representing their interests.

These organizations, we might add, have begun perestroika in the republic, but the Communist Party in October seized the initiative, created the PFL, and placed its own people in it. You remember that Janis Peters became the leader of the PFL. A year earlier he spoke quite differently. You recall how the partkoms viewed the appeal to enter the People's Front... Naturally, they brought all their own people into the Duma: Skapars, Kalniyete, and others...

[Columnist] This means you support the opinion that "the hands of the Central Committee" are involved in the PFL leadership?...

[Koncha] Not the Central Committee, but the Latvian CP Central Committee apparatus.

[Knyazev] As for the MNIL [Movement for National Independence of Latvia], we are brought together with it by common ultimate goals, and specifically—an independent democratic republic of Latvia, a multi-party system, and so forth. Recently we met with several leaders of the MNIL and achieved full mutual understanding.

[Columnist] Is there a difference in the positions of the Democratic Union and the MNIL?

[Knyazev] The difference is that the MNIL sees the reason for the misfortunes as the events of 1940 in Latvia, while we see it as the October revolution.

[Koncha] We also want to return to the Constitution of 1922, but then with the aid of a referendum to introduce changes which correlate with the fact that over these decades mankind has performed great work on the continued democratization of life and building of a legal state. I, for example, am in favor of a presidential republic, with the president being elected not by the parliament, but by all the people. We must have direct general elections on a multi-party basis.

[Treylons] I would like to add that the Democratic Union, although emanating from its own program, cannot return to 1940 (as the MNIL does), since at that

moment Latvia was an authoritarian state. The Democratic Union is in favor of Latvia as it was in the period from 15 February 1922—the adoption of the Constitution ("Satversme")—to 15 May 1934. The Democratic Union condemns the subsequent period...

[Koncha] This is the opinion of Ogistsa. Yet I have a great deal of respect for Ulmanis and understand the reasons which forced him to opt for authoritarian rule...

[Treylons] As a Latvian, I have high regard for Ulmanis because he created our state. However, I cannot forgive him the fact that it was he who created 1940. And he did this in 1934, when he took power into his own hands and took it away from the people. Had it not been for this, Latvia would never have become the victim of collusion.

I believe that a parliamentary republic in 1940 could have achieved the "Finnish variant". The army was ready to fight, and the people would have supported it. Yes, there would have been a war, many people would have perished, but no more than were lost during the period of the communist regime—during the times of the deportations... The Finns, if we recall, lost a little bit of territory and population, but maintained their freedom...

[Columnist] It is tempting to travel through the past. However, Latvia in any case would have been in the path of the fascist army's march to Moscow, so we do not know how the struggle between Ulmanis and Stalin would have ended. Yet let us return to 1989 and talk about your economic program for revitalizing the republic...

[Treylons] First of all, it is necessary for all forms of ownership to exist and compete, ranging from private to state ownership. Let the former owners return. We will give them back their property. Let them raise [this ownership] on a new level.

Secondly, if Latvia secedes from the Union, it will immediately join the ranks of the developing countries and will be able to ask for aid from the Bank for International Development...

[Columnist] That means there will still not be complete independence?

[Treylons] Yes.

[Koncha] Why? That is independence. That is the path travelled by both South Korea and the FRG... Are these dependent states?

[Columnist] Will Latvia have her own army?

[Koncha] What for? We will not be able to defend ourselves from the USSR anyway, and the western boundaries should be fashioned after the borders between the FRG and Denmark or Yugoslavia and Italy.

[Treylons] There is a viarant with declaration of neutrality and formation of a national guard.

[Koncha] Today it is difficult to speak about the economy of the republic or to create certain programs, since it is necessary first of all to perform a revision, to count everything up, and then to perform accounting. Why has at least a slightly constructive economic program not been created? Because we have no data. We do not even know exactly how much is being exported from the republic, and how much is being imported.

Before speaking of the "Danish" or "Swiss" variants, we must make a full accounting. We must start with new technology, and not patch holes as, I am convinced, will be the case at VEF [Riga Order of Lenin State Electrotechnical Plant Imeni V. I. Lenin, Valssts elektritehniska fabrika] after all consequences of the fire have been eliminated...

We are taking a break. The conversation flowed, with one thought interrupting another. Each of us could hardly hold back within the framework of the conversation from, God help us, entering into an argument. There will still be time to argue!

Here is a brief description of my fellow conversationalists.

Sergey Koncha: A devout Democratic Union member, a clear leader and party organizer. He makes use of any opportunity to speak out at meetings. He is religious—a Christian. He is opposed to any form of dictate. He believes that the most important thing in his work is to achieve changes, as he says, "in our psychology of slaves". He has a good mastery of the Latvian language. He blames himself for the current crisis situation of the Latvian people. He believes that the representatives of all nations who have come to Latvia after the war must feel themselves to be representatives of the occupation regime and do everything for the benefit of the native nation on whose land they live.

Ogists Treylons: He recently came to the Democratic Union and represents the organization "Daugavas vangi". He is a correspondent for SVOBODNAYA YEVROPA. Officially he is not employed anywhere, considers himself a "professional revolutionary", and lives off of the income from his political activity. He is the organizer of the Day of Memory of the Latvian Legionaires and a number of other measures. Unlike Koncha, he believes that the ultimate goal of the Democratic Union's political struggle is the struggle for power and for participation in a coalition government. He has an excellent command of Russian.

Sergey Knyazev is a student. He likes to participate in discussions and engages in active propaganda of the ideas of the Democratic Union among the youth...

Now the break is over. Again we gather in the room where the discussion is already underway...

[Columnist] Let us agree that each one of us already has his own faith and his own "I do not believe!" Let us stop arguing in a non-constructive manner. It is better to express our opinions. The readers of SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH will themselves understand whose truth is the closest.

[Koncha] Let us, especially since that is our principle. I hope we do not start shooting at each other.

[Columnist] Let the ideas shoot...

[Koncha] I do not like that word—"idea". Idea, ideology—that is what the fascists and communists had. The question is, what is the truth? For me "thou shalt not kill" and "thou shalt not steal"—those are truths. I am fighting for fairness—and in it I see the truth.

[Columnist] I have noticed that you pronounce the words "bolsheviks" and "communists" with a certain angry irony. Do you hate them?

[Koncha] No, we are speaking not about people, but about communist ideology, which up until now, I might add, has not rejected its basic goals of conquest throughout the world. Their documents state as before that their strategic task is the victory of the world revolution, the victory of communism on earth. Of course, I can say about people that have entered the Communist Party... After all, they have read its Program, and that means they knew where they were going...

[Columnist] Let us talk about your party. At the beginning of the year, SM published an article about the Democratic Union, after which people called the editorial office expressing their dissatisfaction at the discreditation of a member of your party, Boris Sokolov. Today you have the opportunity to tell about this person yourself...

[Koncha] I will begin by saying that we do not drag anyone by the ears into our party. We accept those people who agree with our charter and who have come to us voluntarily. Boris Sokolov is simply a dishonest man. He fooled us several times. He did not return a certain sum of money to us, and therefore we had to bid him farewell.

We do not ask for papers, and we do not check a person's past... We trust people, just as we trusted Leonid Sinitsyn. I will also mention him in particular, since he is today a representative of ISHR [International Society for Human Rights] in Riga. This is an absolutely dishonest man who came to us at Sokolov's invitation. At the very first meeting he volunteered to conduct the protocol, and immediately presented the proposal to create a group which would deal with "technical questions" within the Democratic Union. What technical questions, I asked? "I am a former worker in store security and signal communications," he said. "We could take over the stores..." I was appalled... Then he took his words back.

Later, making use of our absence, he gave an interview to a correspondent from SVOBODNAYA YEVROPA and represented himself as a secret member of the Democratic Union—Lesin (an abbreviation of "Leonid Sinitsyn"). He said that he is speaking out in favor of "Stalinist methods of combatting the existing order". This was a hint that Stalin was preparing operations to take over the banks, so as to give money to the party treasury... This announcement of his completely contradicted our basic principles. How can one say this?

I spoke out against Sinitsyn and proposed that he be excluded from the Democratic Union, but a democracy defends itself in a difficult manner... Leonid apologized, and everyone else decided to leave him in the party.

[Treylons] Sinitsyn gave me that interview, as a correspondent of SVOBODNAYA YEVROPA, and I let it go no farther. I cut out these pieces...

[Columnist] What about your connections with Moscow, with the Democratic Union leaders: Novodvorskaya and Tsarkov?

[Koncha] The Democratic Union as a party was organized on 7-9 May of last year. Novodvorskaya and Tsarkov are its founders. They are totally honest people. They proposed the charter and political principles of the Democratic Union and its program. Sokolov entered the Democratic Union in Moscow, brought these documents, and this became the basis for the emergence of our party in Latvia.

At our first meeting we took these materials as the basis, but decided that, since we are in the occupied territory of Latvia, in an entirely independent country, we would create a Latvian Democratic Union which was entirely independent of Moscow. Thus, on the whole the Democratic Union in its structure is a confederation of parties without the "vertical pyramid" of subordination. We are equal. There is such a party Council which includes representatives of all the coordinating councils of the cities and republics. The party council may make decisions only as recommendations. None of its documents are binding.

[Columnist] We understand what ties you have with the Moscow group. What is it that you do not find a common language in?

[Koncha] There is almost nothing. The only thing is that we are against solving the problems of regional councils at the Party Council.

[Columnist] Who are you financed by? Do you receive aid and financial support from the West?

[Koncha] No. No one feeds us. We do not even collect dues. Everything we need we get for our own money, from donations. We even take business trips at our own expense.

[Treylons] All the incoming information which I have—which I receive through my channels—I do not pass on to the Democratic Union. Everything I receive from abroad—that is not as a member of the Democratic Union.

[Columnist] The following question: Are we now in the apartment of a conspirator?

[Koncha] We are an entirely open organization. We do not have the concepts of "conspiracy" or "underground"... Is that not obvious?

[Columnist] Has the Committee for State Security called you to order?

[Knyazev] Me personally—no.

[Koncha] No.

[Treylons] As a member of the Democratic Union—no.

[Columnist] Have you suffered because of your convictions? Have you had any difficulties at work or in school?

[Response] For now, no...

[Columnist] Let us return to the beginning of our conversation. You said that soon there would be chaos. Therefore we must create civil committees. But what if there is no chaos?

[Koncha] That is a question for conjecture... That cannot be!

[Columnist] Yet you promote this chaos.

[Koncha] Not in any case! We are only against the cosmetic repair of our building. We need a capital repair—that is all. I repeat, the CPSU must voluntarily reject power. Right now. [We need] Gorbachev to introduce a multi-party system, and then we would legally, in a normal political struggle, begin to define how we must bring the country to normal life and to bring it out of crisis.

[Columnist] You are thinking about the entire country?

[Koncha] I am referring to the country of Latvia. How individual other countries decide is their business. Personally, I do not want to interfere in their affairs.

[Treylons] In short, it is written in our program that the Democratic Union stands in favor of disintegration of the empire. That is all.

[Columnist] It seems we have already grown tired and bored of each other. The last question: The Democratic Union—this is a union of who with whom?

...I believe the last question was somewhat out of place. It was not even very appropriate as the headline which I selected. The answer, I hope, was clear already in the middle of the discussion. It is a union of democrats with democrats. A union of Christians and non-believers... We can go on in a lengthy and eloquent manner. Ogists Treylons answered quite simply: "It is a union of like-minded people"...

And yet I would like to leave this question open. For a number of reasons. First of all, because as long as the Democratic Union and its leaders remain under the fire of one-sided criticism, we perceive the opposition as "the enemy, and that is all...". Whether we want to or not, we fall back to that time when repressions are possible. We have a return to forceful measures of ideological struggle. Yet we cannot allow that same force to make a 180 degree turn and strike out against all of us. These are lessons taught to us by our history.

Secondly, because today a number of the Democratic Union's goals and tasks are dear not only to the proponents of this party, but also to the members of the Communist Party (and this is confirmed by their announcements in the press, on television and radio) who do not want to be monopolists and who fight for a multi-party system in government (of the republic as well as of the Union).

This is why, it seems to me, contacts are possible with the Latvian Democratic Union.

Yet all this is under the condition that the Democratic Union members themselves first take a look at those around them. If they first clear out their ranks. One can argue, converse, or discuss only with someone who does not hold in his pocket the master key for "taking over" a store...

LiSSR Supreme Soviet Unity Appeal to Ethnic Poles
18001496 Vilnius CZERWONY SZTANDAR in Polish
11 Jul 89 p 1

[“Proclamation of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet to the Poles of Lithuania”]

[Text] The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet notes that the resolute aspirations of the people of Lithuania for the creation of a civil society on the basis of a democratic state is the single appropriate path which will allow for the creation of the foundation for unification in an undivided society not only for Lithuanians but also for other peoples residing in the republic. It is a path which allows assurance of restructuring in all areas of economic, social, and political life.

At the same time, residents of the republic are disturbed by the fact that in certain districts declarations of so called "Polish territorial autonomy" are taking place.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet addresses the Poles of Lithuania with the following pronouncement: "The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet supports the cultural-national rebirth of the Poles of Lithuania and proposes that all Polish forces in Lithuania unite in the name of the attainment of this lofty goal.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet expresses its decided opinion that the territory of Lithuania is monolithic and indivisible and that this corresponds to the moral and historical aspirations as well as to the will of the majority of the residents of the republic. With this as its starting point, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet calls on the local soviets of peoples' deputies to retract the resolutions which they have taken regarding the creation of autonomous Polish districts as incompatible with the Lithuanian SSR Constitution.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet appeals to the Poles of Lithuania with an appeal to participate together with the representatives of other nationalities as actively as possible in the development of the law on nationalities."

Mass Graves Discovered at Chelyabinsk *18001305 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Jun 89 p 4*

[Article by A. Terekhin, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA own correspondent: "A Kuropaty in the Urals?"] txt

[Text] Chelyabinsk—Mass graves, not indicated in any documents, have been discovered on Bald Mountain [which is just what this place near Chelyabinsk was once called]. There is every reason to believe that here lie the remains of the victims of the Stalin terror at the end of the 1930s.

This is confirmed by the results of many years of research by amateur students of local lore and history, as well as by the most recent data gathered by members of the Memorial Society. Long-time residents tell about regular processions of closed trucks under heavy guard, which used to come here at night to the deserted prospect holes and mine shafts. Later, barbed wire appeared and barracks for the guards.

The mines were closed, but after the war prospectors were once again given permission to work here. Here is what Yu. Gerasimov of the village of Gradskiy Priisk recalls (I shall quote his story from the article published in CHELYABINSKIY RABOCHIY).

"We were digging pits on the slope. At the 15-meter level, a horizontal mine-working began. But we went in no more than a half-meter when we came upon an old drift. Prospectors know that one must not crawl into an

old working right away; you might get poisoned by accumulated gasses. So we went away. The next morning, equipped with a carbide lamp, I asked them to lower me down. Right away, in the first few meters I sensed the sharp odor of ammonia. Reaching the bottom of the pit I actually began to doubt whether I would return or not. But the flame of the carbide lamp was burning well, and I did not want to look like a coward in front of my comrades. I moved slowly: in old drifts there may be both cave-ins and sinkholes. The working turned to the right, and the odor intensified and became almost unbearable. And suddenly the flame illuminated something formless, which was stirring slightly. Over all this a vapor swirled.

It was a cul-de-sac, crammed full with a jumble of human corpses. Apparently the entire 15-meter shaft was completely filled with them. After opening the new prospect hole, we allowed the air to get to them, and intensive decomposition began. Hence the movement of the mass, and the swirling vapor, and the sharp odor.

I don't remember the way back; I don't remember how my comrades dragged me back up..."

A terrible tale. But it is corroborated by other long-time residents. Lots of prospectors have stumbled upon corpses in the old mine-workings. It finally turned out that the artels were ordered to halt the work on Bald Mountain.

An investigation of these facts was begun upon the insistence of the public, and this Spring the gorispolkom set up a special commission, and geologists were brought in. They investigated several old, filled-in prospect holes. From three shafts, they brought up human bones. And then archaeologists began their work.

I was on Bald Mountain when archaeologists from Chelyabinsk University, with the help of workers from Chelyabspetsdorremstroy [Chelyabinsk Special Road Building and Repair Association], brought up the remains of the first thirty people, either from the drift that was uncovered, or from the mine shaft. Below them there were bones once again. According to A. Ionov, chief of the geological exploration expedition, the results of the digging showed that in some places the bones lay in layers several meters thick.

It's terrible. It is hard to convey what we saw. It is even harder to comprehend. How many people had their lives snatched from them here on Bald Mountain? According to certain information, people arrested in other oblasts had been transported here, to Chelyabinsk. Not long ago OGONEK published a letter from G. Izhbuldin, a jurist, who cited figures of the number of people repressed in the Southern Urals—more than 20,000 people in 1937-1938 alone. It is impossible to confirm or refute this figure today. But even without that it is clear, that the scale of the crimes of the Stalin regime against its people was enormous.

Many of the victims of the 1930's to early 1950's have been rehabilitated. But the certificates on rehabilitation issued to the relatives have no information about the place of burial. The Kuropaty's—in Belorussia, in Moscow, in the Urals—are mass graves for them all. Thus it is understandable that the people of Chelyabinsk want to know the truth about the burial places on Bald Mountain.

Procuracy officials have been tasked with investigating the facts. Their principal mission is to establish the date of the burials, and to bring to light just who was buried in the old prospect holes. Witnesses, you see, assert different things. They say, for example, that dispossessed kulaks who had died from distrophia had been transported here from the resettlement camp. Others assert that at night they would hear shooting from Bald Mountain, sometimes until dawn.

"It's not an easy job," says G. Nigmatullin, deputy chief of the investigative department at the oblast procuracy. For example, galoshes were found in the grave, with the brand name 'Red Triangle.' We will send samples to the factory in Leningrad, in order to determine the date of manufacture from the old catalogs. A three-kopeck coin minted in 1936 was found, and a small flask containing 'Geliotrop' [Heliotrope] cologne; the latter, they say, was made before the war; the peak from a forage cap of the characteristic uniform, a 'Stalinka'; and right over here a pince-nez; a Narzan [mineral water] bottle etched with a Pyatigorsk eagle; and ampules of various kinds. Skulls and other parts of skeletons were removed for expert analysis. Many skulls bore clear traces of wounds by hard objects—possibly bullet holes. Others bore no such damage at all. In a word, we are just starting our work..."

In May the Chelyabinsk gorispolkom adopted a resolution to establish a memorial zone at the burial site of the victims of Stalin's repressions. Apparently a memorial will be opened on Bald Mountain. Quite recently that place was included in a plan for building a new housing complex; the architects took that decision in spite of reports on the fact that old mine workings were situated there. The fact of the matter is, that information about prospect holes and mine shafts appear only on old maps. On later maps, from the 1950's, there are no markings. One can only guess: was this information omitted intentionally?

And yet another fact, a terrible fact about the Chelyabinsk Kuropaty. In the early 1950's a dumping site was established on the old prospect holes. There is an assumption that the site for the dump was not chosen by accident. I was told about this by not only those taking part in the exhumations, but also by procuracy officials, and by the chairman of the special commission, Chelyabinsk Gorispolkom Deputy Chief L. Ivanova.

Is such a thing really possible? Yes, it's possible. When for decades a person's life was worth nothing; when "in the name of the happiness of the people," lawlessness ruled—in such a situation, everything was possible. How then can we now exculpate ourselves for all of our Kuropatys, and for the dumping grounds for corpses, and the garbage dumps on top of them?

USSR's First Technical University Established
18001468 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jul 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The First Technical University in the Country"]

[Excerpts] The collegium of the USSR State Committee for Education considered the appeal of the Moscow Higher Technical School imeni N.E. Bauman and adopted a decision on renaming the country's oldest technical VUZ [institution of higher learning] the Moscow State Technical University imeni N.E. Bauman. The rector of the university, professor A. Yeliseyev, comments on this event.

Such an important decision was not adopted right away. The issue was considered for over two years. On the one hand, in accordance with the 1987 decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, radical restructuring of all spheres of activity is taking place and a new type of VUZ is being created in which the best traditions of university and technical education are combined. And we would like for the new name to correspond to the new educational and scientific work. But on the other hand, the school spent nearly a third of its life with the former name and it is a pity to give it up.

[passage omitted]

The appellation "university" will be the fifth name in the school's history. In our opinion, it responds completely to the present condition of the VUZ. We carried out a whole series of measures which will enable specialists to be trained on the basis of leading scientific research and priority experimental-design developments. Seven scientific-research institutes have been created which work simultaneously with the academic departments. Starting with the 1989-1990 school year, all of our students, beginning with the first year course, will be drawn into scientific work.

Our basic training programs approximate university programs as much as possible. We seriously improved humanist education. Students study the history of culture, sociology, perfect their knowledge of Russian, and master the ability to have an active command of foreign languages.

[passage omitted]

Who knows, maybe someday this well-known academic institution will become a Technical Academy.