

JPRS-UPA-89-025
27 APRIL 1989



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JPRS Report

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

19980203 397

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SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

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**Speech Excerpts, Resolution from TuSSR
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*18300380 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in
Russian 31 Jan 89 pp 1, 2*

[Unattributed report on the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet 10th Session, 11th Convocation: "Discussion on the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers Report on the Implementation of Voters' Mandates, Critical Comments and Recommendations Expressed by Deputies at Sessions of the Republic's Supreme Soviet, and the Decrees Dealing With Deputies' Inquiries"]

[Text]

**From the speech by Deputy Dzh. Babakuliyev
(Bereketskiy Electoral District No. 320):**

This report by the republic's government on the implementation of the voters' mandates and the critical comments and recommendations expressed by the deputies attests to the constructive processes of deepening democracy and to the atmosphere of glasnost and openness which are being confirmed in the republic.

A definite amount of work to implement the voters' mandates is also being done in Chardzhou Oblast. Of the 2000 mandates, more than half have been executed. The deputies, with a consideration of the public's demands, have taken active part in resolving questions of carrying out a fundamental economic reform and providing the workers with housing, food products, articles for which there is a broad demand, and services.

However, the achieved results are only the first results of the perestroika that has begun. For a number of years the oblast has not been fulfilling the plans for production of grain, vegetables, fruits, and grapes. Serious disruptions have occurred in the production and procurements of output from animal husbandry. In order to resolve these problems, we are attempting first of all to local the internal reserves in our own oblast. However, the effectiveness of the work would be better if the responsibility for executing the mandates were higher.

It must be said that the Council of Ministers, when making decisions, does not carry out the proper monitoring of their fulfillment by the subordinate ministries and organizations. For example, Ministry of Light Industry has not been fulfilling the decision made by the republic government to construct a kindergarten for the Chardzhou Garment Factory. In order to resolve the Food Program, it is necessary for the oblast to use as much as 30 millions rubles a year. However, during the current year less than half of that sum was allocated for all the land-reclamation operations. And yet it is extremely necessary to include in the plan the continuation of the construction of the collection and drainage network on the Yulangyz and Gaurdak tracts and at the Gaurdak Machine Canal. It is necessary to begin the

construction of a corn-growing sovkhos in Khodzhambasskiy Rayon, and new lead structures at the Karabekaul and Khodzhambas systems.

As a deputy, since 1985 I have requested Turkmen SSR Gosplan and Gosstroy to complete the construction in Chardzhou of the building at Secondary School No. 11, but I have not yet received any resolution of the question. This forces me to direct a deputy inquiry to the session and to request the taking of steps for the immediate completion of the construction of that school.

**From the speech by Deputy Sh. Ashirov
(Kizyl-Arvatskiy Electoral District No. 86):**

Acting on behalf of the voters of the city of Kizyl-Arvat who have been experiencing difficulties obtaining drinking water, O. Orazov, deputy of the Supreme Soviet, and I, at the 5th Session of Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet, introduced an inquiry concerning the speeding up of the construction of a filtering station in Kizyl-Arvat. We wanted to speed up the activation of that station, with a capacity of 20,000 cubic meters of water a day, the construction of which had been begun in 1985.

At that session A. D. Sviridov, Deputy Chairman of Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, assured us that the necessary steps would be taken to improve the city's water supply system and that the construction of the station would be completed in 1988.

Actually, after that session the republic's Minkomkhoz [Ministry of Municipal Services] and the former Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Water Management], in addition to the local agencies of authority, were immediately involved in resolving the question. Those ministries planned and carried out measures that made it possible to improve somewhat the city's water supply. Filters were modified and put into operation in accordance with a temporary scheme, and two wells were drilled in Purnuar Valley. That made it possible to increase the capacity of the daily receipt of water to 7000 cubic meters.

But the year 1988 has ended and only have the estimated cost of the project has been used for the filtering station. The year 1989 has already begun and the project continues to lack the basic equipment and the dates for its delivery are unknown.

In addition, the work of activating the filtering station is being hampered by the subdivisions of Gosnab (Elektrosnab and Mashsnab) which have not yet given us any allocation notices for the materials and equipment. The slow rates of construction are also linked with the shortage of hoisting and earth-digging machinery.

The rate of erecting the project is being hampered by the low quality of the brick being supplied by the Kazandzhik Brick Plant. The resolution of the question of the delivery of reinforced concrete for the contact

chamber is being drawn out. The republic's superior agencies are devoting insufficient attention to this project that is so important for the city.

From the speech by Deputy B. Sh. Kerimi (Sayatskiy Electoral District No. 306):

At the previous session of Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet in November 1988, my inquiry concerning the state of affairs at the construction of the Sayat Central Rayon Hospital was read. That inquiry was met by a brief and, I would say, unintelligible, extemporaneously prepared reply by M. G. Aliyev, First Deputy Chairman of Turkmen SSR Gosagroprom. A special resolution on that inquiry was adopted and published.

The incompleting built hospital was transferred from hand to hand, alternating being included in the plan and then excluded from it. The rayon interkolkhoz construction organization previously belonged to Ministry of Rural Construction. Then it was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Turkmenagropromstroy republic-level association, which is part of Turkmen SSR Gosagroprom. But last year the Sayat interkolkhoz construction organization was combined with mobile mechanized column No. 26. Currently this new organization is called interfarm mechanized mobile column No. 45 and is subordinate to Turkmen SSR State Committee for Construction of the Water-Management Complex.

During these eight years it could have been possible to build four such projects. Now it is planned to activate the hospital in the fourth quarter of this year. But is that a realistic task?

The state of affairs is also known to the administrators of the Turkmenagropromstroy Association. But they are limiting themselves only to making tentative plans for measures to accelerate the hospital construction rates. It is doubtful that, during the course of the year, operations with a total value of 883,000 rubles will be fulfilled if the total number of operations carried out in January had a value of only 35,000 rubles.

And now for a bit of self-criticism. It turns out that two more mandates had been given to me: I was asked to promote the installation of central heating and to provide illumination at the Sayat settlement. I did not learn that until four years ago, when I dropped in at the Presidium of Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet. It was at that time that an examination was made of the lists of deputy mandates and I was told about them. Until that time no one had told me that they had been officially registered as mandates. Of course, I was also partially to blame. The Administration of Capital Construction, Chardzhou Oblast Ispolkom, was supposed to fulfill those voters' requests, but nothing had been done. And I failed to check on what had been done.

From the speech by Deputy N. F. Baleshev (Ekonomicheskii Electoral District No. 19):

Today, when the main idea of political reform—complete power to the soviets—is being carried out, it is more important than ever to fulfilling the practical actions that have been planned.

The workers of Ashkhabad have made a considerable contribution to developing the republic's national economy. The growth rates for volume of industrial production during the first three years of the five-year plan were almost 21 percent, and consumer goods with a total value of 26 million rubles were produced in excess of plan. Last year, for the first time in recent years, the plan for activation of housing was fulfilled, and the assignments for the construction of schools, children's preschool, and medical institutions, for commodity turnover, and the rendering of paid services to the public were overfulfilled.

Out of 52 mandates given to deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, for the city, 44 have been fulfilled. In particular, a school was built in Minirayon No. 11, schools No. 15 and 28 and the children's center were expanded, and operations to divert the ground water in Minirayon No. 6 and to normalize the power supply of individual housing areas and production sites were fulfilled.

At the same time it must be noted that the construction of items to meet social-cultural and production needs is being largely hampered by the weak capacities of the construction industry. Although these questions were repeatedly raised at sessions of the republic's Supreme Soviet, little has been done to build up the production base. Despite the fact that the volumes of capital investment to develop the city's construction industry increased by a factor of 1.9 as compared with the previous five-year plan, the use of the funds during the three-year period constituted a total of only 56 percent here. This state of affairs attests to the fact that the republic's Gosstroy is remaining aloof from fulfilling the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers with regard to the development of Ashkhabad.

A critical situation also prevails with regard to the tasks of introducing state acceptance in the construction of housing and items intended for social and cultural purposes.

The republic's Council of Ministers has been tardy in resolving questions of the additional allocation of capital investments, equipment, and material resources. We submitted a draft directive on this matter to the government as long ago as early September 1988, but no decision was made until this week.

When the changeover was made to state acceptance, no consideration was taken of the capabilities of the enterprises that had been called upon to provide the components for the housing, educational, and public-health structures being built.

Without removing the responsibility either from the party's gorkom or the city's ispolkom for the state of affairs with state acceptance, I feel that considerably more dynamic action must be taken by Turkmen SSR Gosstroy to resolve the critical questions.

In directing the construction workers and the labor collectives toward the most rapid implementation of the Zhilye-92 [Housing-1992] program, we plan during the current year to increase the volume of housing by more than 25 percent. Obviously, it will not be possible to resolve that task by drawing only on the funds in state capital investment. Therefore we are attempting to give the labor collectives a taste for the in-house method and for the rendering of all kinds of assistance in the individual construction of housing. In 1989 it is planned to use these methods to build approximately 50,000 square meters of housing.

Recently there has been an increase in the coordinating role of the party's city committee and the soviets of people's deputies in the comprehensive resolution of economic and social problems. Whereas in 1986 the republic, practically speaking, did not have a single industrial enterprise carry out remodeling or expansion, in the current year ten collectives already are carrying out that work. Moreover, that process will also develop in the future. In connection with the inquiry made by Deputy V. I. Lushnikov, who is a fitter at the Gosstroy Machine-Repair Plant, concerning the construction of a trolley bus roundhouse, I would like to continue the discussion concerning the insufficient reaction to the proposals and requests that originated locally. The trolley bus roundhouse has been under construction since 1976. A total of 15 percent of the funds have been used. Even after the previously mentioned inquiry, not a single kopeck has been used. But the crux of the matter is that the responsibility of carrying out that construction was given to an organization that simply is incapable of building major projects—the Zapstroy Trust. This is the second year that we have made a recommendation to the planning agencies to transfer the construction to a city construction agency—to the administration of Turkmentsentrostroy. Speaking on behalf of the residents of the city, I again make a request at this session that the construction of the roundhouse be included in the plan for the administration of Turkmentsentrostroy.

From the speech by Deputy V. V. Rashidov (Arabskiy Electoral District No. 207):

The discussion of the report from Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers on the implementation of the voters' mandates and the critical comments and recommendations of deputies, at the session of the Supreme Soviet is of

great importance, because the voters' mandates are one of the forms of carrying out democracy, of expressing the will and interests of the public, and of allowing the citizens to participate directly in the administration of state affairs.

The ispolkoms of the local soviets in Tashauz Oblast record, compile, and study the voters' mandates and develop measures to implement them, which measures are then considered at session of the ispolkoms and the soviets of people's deputies.

By way of monitoring the execution, at a session of the oblast ispolkom we listened to a report submitted by Tashauzskiy Rayon Ispolkom concerning the rate of implementation of the mandates and studied the work of the Takhtinskiy Rayon Ispolkom and the oblast planning commission with regard to this question. Sessions of the permanent commissions of the oblast soviet considered questions of the fulfillment of mandates by the oblast trade administration, the oblast Selkomkhoz, and the oblast Agrompromenergo.

The voters gave the deputies of Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, 124 mandates, 89 of which have been fulfilled. The following projects were activated on the basis of voter mandates: secondary schools on Kolkhoz imeni XXII Syezd KPSS, Ilyalinskiy Rayon, and the Sovet Armenistany Kolkhoz, Leninskiy Rayon; a summer club house on the Pakhtachi Kolkhoz; a dispensary in Kunya-Urgenchskiy Rayon; and the electrification of the Aybovur Kolkhoz and the providing of gas to the workers' settlement at the repair enterprise of the industrial association in Oktyabrskiy Rayon.

At the same time, we admit that the mandates are being fulfilled slowly, and are being carried over from one year to the next. For example, it does not seem to be possible within the immediate future to execute the mandates for the providing of gas to the Azatlyk and Kizyl-guych kolkhozes or the Sovkhoz imeni XXII Syezd KPSS, Oktyabrskiy Rayon, or for the construction of bath houses on Kolkhoz imeni Ordzhonikidze and the Teze Yel Kolkhoz, Leninskiy Rayon, or the Pravda Kolkhoz, Ilyalinskiy Rayon, because of the limitation of monetary means.

From the speech by M. G. Aliyev (Esenmenglinskiy Electoral District No. 315):

Most of the mandates that the voters give to deputies of Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet have a social orientation. They express, in particular, requests for the construction of schools and preschool institutions, and for the providing of gas to rural inhabited areas.

But it is specifically those mandates which are still being fulfilled poorly. Our republic, which is one of the richest in the country with regard to the reserves and production of gas, occupies by no means the first place in the

providing of gas to rural localities. The republic's government has been doing a considerable amount of work in this direction. Recently USSR Gosplan and Gosagroprom introduced adjustments into the capital investment plans for the 13th and 14th five-year plans. At such time it was stipulated that there would be an increase in the rates of providing gas to villages in the forthcoming five-year plans by a factor of 8-9 and in the construction of preschool institutions by a factor of 2.5-3.

Currently the plans for capital investments are formed locally and are approved by the ispolkoms of the oblast soviets, are then adjusted at the republic's Gosagroprom and Gosplan, and it is only after this that the voters' opinions with regard to their mandates are taken into consideration. It seems to me that it is necessary right now, in the course of the campaign to elect people's deputies of the USSR and then of the republic, to take the voters' mandates into consideration and to form the plans for the 13th Five-Year Plan and also for certain items in the 14th.

At sessions of Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet last year, two deputy inquiries were directed at Gosagroprom. One of them pertained to the providing of fruits and vegetables to the residents of Bezmin, and the other one to the construction of the Sayat Central Rayon Hospital.

With regard to the first question, Gosagroprom took certain steps, but the situation has changed little. In the current year, on the basis of the Ashkhabad and Gyaur-skiy RAPO [rayon agroindustrial associations], the following entities are being created: the Ashkhabad Agroculture; and the Sovet Turkenistany, 40 Let TSSR, and Sotsializm agrofirms. We feel that the new forms of organizing production and administration will make it possible to improve the manner in which the cities of Ashkhabad and Bezmein are provided with fruits and vegetables.

With regard to the second question, actually the construction of the hospital has been seriously protracted. I reported at the previous session on the reasons for this situation, as well as the measures that had been planned. We feel that there is a real possibility of completing the construction of the hospital this year.

From the speech by Deputy V. V. Petrov (Promyslovyy Electoral District No. 104):

The mandates and requests of the voters in the cities and rayons in the southwest of our republic pertain basically to problems of socioeconomic development. The level of that development still is very low. I would like to discuss briefly what specifically is being done by Turkmenneft Association.

First of all, we have sharply increased the volumes of paid services provided to the public. How is this being achieved? We established plans for paid services for absolutely all enterprises. They repair apartments and

homes, build garages, and provide gas to apartments. This year the services will be rendered in a centralized manner—through a store that we will be opening soon in Nebit-Dag. We have created 11 cooperatives. We have built a dispensary and sanatorium for 100 patients. This year we shall build stands at the stadium and a hotel under them, an enclosed swimming pool, and a young people's center. A kindergarten will be built in Kamyshdzh. We are resolving the problem of increasing the number of accommodations for children in kindergartens by expanding those structures. It has been more difficult to resolve the problem of providing the public with consumer goods, although we have planned to double the volumes of their production in 1989, as compared with the volume that was achieved in the past.

In order to resolve the housing problem, we are increasing the volumes of construction, both on the basis of capital investments and by the in-house method.

Construction by the in-house method was begun last year. At the present time we have planned to build 6500 square meters of housing, but because of the fact that no funds are being allocated for building materials, we have been forced to reduce that amount to 2000.

Our collectives will take part in resolving the Food Program. Many enterprises have concluded contracts and are rendering practical assistance on contractual terms in constructing, remodeling, and expanding agricultural projects in Kazandzhikskiy and Kizyl-Artekskiy rayons. This is not simply lump-sum assistance, but also a long-term program for capital construction in rural areas.

From the speech by Deputy O. Ishankuliyeva (Mekhinlinskiy Electoral District No. 257):

I would like to speak from this rostrum today not only as a deputy, but also as a member of the Presidium of Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet.

In May 1982 the joint resolution "The Comprehensive Development of the City of Bayram-Ali" was adopted. One of the functions of the apparatus of Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers and its departments is the guaranteeing of the regular checking of the execution of party and government decisions.

It cannot be said that the Council of Ministers failed to consider the rate of its fulfillment. In May 1987 and in February 1988, this question was directed at the presidium of the Council of Ministers. But what have the results been? Out of 34 projects that were supposed to have been designed and built on the basis of this resolution, only 15 have been activated.

By the 4 May 1987 decision of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, comrades Dzhumakuliyev and Bukreyev were given the responsibility, during the first half of 1988, of creating a construction subdivision in the

city. In February 1988, at the presidium of the Council of Ministers, they were warned that, in the event of failure to fulfill the resolution, strict measures would be applied to them. But the decision continues to remain on paper only.

If it were implemented, we would be able to help the deputies to Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet from the city of Bayram-Ali to fulfill the mandates of their voters. They pertain basically to construction, remodeling, and amenities. Out of 18 mandates issued to the deputies to the republic's Supreme Soviet, only four have been completely implemented.

Time is making increasingly strict and rigid demands on the work level of the Council of Ministers apparatus. Because there are still a rather large number of shortcomings there. One frequently encounters poor business practices, a bureaucratic attitude, and an indifferent, red-tape treatment of people.

After the approval of the General Scheme for administering the republic's national economy, in August 1988 in order to improve the rate at which the public was provided with agricultural produce, six sovkhozes were transferred to the city, four of which are directly subordinate to republic agencies. All these sovkhozes are operating at a loss, and the social questions have not been resolved there for many years. A number of good undertakings have proven to be uncompleted simply because they were doomed to failure from the beginning because they had not been carefully thought out.

But what was done has had no effect on the main thing—the improvement of the supplying of the city's population with food products.

In our example one can see that, in resolving local questions, the soviets' capabilities are limited, since excessive centralization exists, although many problems are certainly not always visible from the center and they could be resolved much better locally.

**From the speech by Deputy G. N. Skidanov
(Teze-Obinskiy Electoral District No. 83):**

At today's session, speakers cited a rather large number of examples of an unconscientious attitude taken by executors to the implementation of the voters' mandates. It is a matter of honor for the people's elected representatives to assure the best possible fulfillment of the voters' mandates, but a deputy frequently proves to be face to face with his own problems. Also, at the Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, we are not always supported. The work is especially complicated for deputies elected in supplementary elections to fill vacancies. I happened to encounter a situation that I consider to be inadmissible. In 1988, on Kolkhoz imeni Kirov, Tedzhenskiy Rayon, which is a kolkhoz that operates at a loss, the people finally began to build a school by drawing on funds from the state

budget. But the supplementary elections in a neighboring okrug made unexpected changes. The deputy in the neighboring okrug also was given a mandate—to build a school on the neighboring, profitable Lenin Yely Kolkhoz. So the decision was made: to remove the financing from the unprofitable Kolkhoz imeni Kirov, and to transfer the construction brigade and funds to the construction of a school on the Lenin Yely Kolkhoz. So it turned out that the rich kolkhoz became richer, and the poor one... I think that in the future both the republic's Gosplan and Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers should take a more correct approach to resolving the voters' mandates.

**From the speech by Deputy L. V. Potapov
(Charlyk-Yabskiy Electoral District No. 148):**

In Mary Oblast 30 million rubles have been expended to implement the mandates given to deputies to the republic's Supreme Soviet. Since the beginning of the convocation, the construction of the sewer system in Mary and Bayram-Ali has been completed on the basis of voters' mandates. The water-supply and heat-supply systems in the Shatlyk settlement and the gas workers' rayon in Mary have been improved. On the Krasnyy Oktyabr and Moskva kolkhozes, Turkmen-Kalinskiy Rayon, the state of land reclamation has improved, and the construction of a water pipeline on the Kommunizm Kolkhoz, Takhta-Bazarskiy Rayon, has been completed. The in-house method was used to build a school on the Lenin Yely Kolkhoz, Iolatanskiy Rayon and a summer club house on the Kommunizm Kolkhoz, Maryyskiy Rayon.

However, many of the voters' mandates that are linked with the comprehensive development of rayons, cities, and settlements are being fulfilled slowly.

Eighty-six mandates given to deputies to the highest agencies of authority in the country and the republic remain unfulfilled. It is already clear that, as a minimum, half the mandates for the current convocation will not be fulfilled during the deputies' term of office. They include, as a rule, those mandates that are linked with substantial capital investments. Certain soviet and economic agencies in the republic have not been using the opportunities and rights granted to them, and have not taken a decisive turn toward developing the social sphere.

The construction of a number of important social and production projects on the basis of voter mandates is being postponed from year to year. They include the mandate of the voters in Bayram-Aliyskiy Electoral District No. 121, pertaining to the election to Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet, which was given to deputy G. Berdyev, to speed up the construction of a carpet shop in the city of Bayram-Ali. The construction of that shop had been begun as long ago as 1984, but it has not yet been completed.

Many mandates and recommendations of the voters have also been unfulfilled by the Turkmen SSR Ministry of Public Education, Turkmen SSR Gosstroy, Turkmen SSR Gosagroprom, and other ministries and departments. This occurs not only because of the shortage of funds and the lack of capital investments, which are factors that we frequently mention to the voters, but also because the lack of attention shown to people's daily needs.

The housing problem also continues to be a no less acute one. In order to resolve it, all possible reserves have been put into action. The remodeling of the large-panel home-building plant has been completed. A comprehensive housing program has been developed. However, we are slowly developing housing cooperatives or construction by the in-house method.

**From the speech by Deputy A. V. Zhadan
(Dzeykhunskiy Electoral District No. 266):**

The deputies of Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, were given 222 mandates by the voters of Chardzhou Oblast. Of those 22 mandates, 148 were fulfilled as of the beginning of this year. Eleven mandates are in the stage of execution. I was given three mandates, of which two have been fulfilled: a school that will accommodate 1176 children has been built and handed over for operation at the Khimik minirayon in Chardzhou; and the construction of an ATS [automatic telephone exchange] in industrial zone No.2 has been begun. Many mandates given to deputies are not being fulfilled because they were not included promptly in the plan, or because no limits for their fulfillment were allocated by the appropriate republic and local agencies.

Because of the poor monitoring by Turkmen SSR Gosstroy and the nonfulfillment of the plan for construction-and-installation operations, the House of Communication in Chardzhou has been under construction for more than ten years. During that time its construction has been stopped twice. At the present time only 1.7 million rubles have been used at this project, although the planned value of the construction-and-installation operations is 2.8 million rubles.

For a long period of time the question of constructing a school in the Pristan Farab settlement has not been resolved. And it was not until the beginning of this year that it was decided that construction will begin in the third quarter of 1989.

**From the speech by Deputy K. Chabylov (Azatlykskiy
Electoral District No. 234):**

Taking into consideration the situation that developed in the republic's public health system, when the plan for the 12th Five-Year Plan was being developed definite measures were stipulated to reinforce that system's material-technical base.

The volume of capital investments in the branch was almost doubled and it was planned to activate more than 5000 hospital beds and a clinic capable of handling 9300 patients a shift.

On the basis of voter mandates and recommendations from deputies, the following structures were built: a lying-in hospital in Tashauz; a traumatology department at the Mary Oblast Hospital; a maternity department in Iolotanskiy Rayon; and a hospital in Dushak. The slight improvement in the material base in the public health system was promoted by the transferral to us of 16 administrative buildings, in which it is planned to house hospitals with a total of 900 beds and clinics to handle 1000 patients a shift.

However, the amount of capital investments allocated for developing the necessary network of public-health institutions is obviously insufficient. In this regard I would like to direct attention to the following circumstance. Whereas in 1988, in the republic as a whole, the amount of capital investments for all branches was 1.7 billion rubles, the share of public health constitutes in that amount of funds only 2 percent. But the covering of the existing shortage of preventive and therapeutic institutions alone requires no less than 6 percent.

We ask the republic government and Turkmen SSR Gosplan to increase the capital investments for the building of public-health structures.

It is completely inadmissible when the allocated capital investments are not used from year to year. There has been a disruption in the activation of the hospital for disabled veterans of the Great Patriotic War in Mary, the hospital and clinic in Krasnovodsk, and the oblast children's hospital in Chardzhou. Every year Turkmen SSR Gosagroprom channels into the development of agricultural projects 140 million rubles, but the share of the public-health projects in rural areas is only 0.6 percent of that amount. And this is at a time when many of the inhabited places in rural areas do not have medical institutions and the material base of those that do exist is in an extremely unsatisfactory state.

**From the speech by Deputy O. Ilbayeva (Nagiyevskiy
Electoral District No. 239):**

More than 3000 voters live and work in my district. I attempt to meet regularly with them, I ask them about their needs, and I report to them on the work that has been done. I constantly monitor the rate of fulfillment of the decisions made on the basis of voter mandates.

At meetings with voters, I have been given mandates concerning the providing of gas to kolkhozes, the organizing of recreation rooms at animal farms, etc. I have made requests for their fulfillment at the appropriate agencies. As a result, I have achieved the fulfillment of all the mandates.

At visits that are held for voters, questions have been raised concerning the improvement of the trade in children's clothing and in vegetables, and the organizing of hot meals in schools. Jointly with the village soviet and the kolkhoz board of governors, more than 30 requests and suggestions by voters have been implemented through the appropriate rayon organizations. Basically these are questions that are linked with organizing better working and recreational conditions for people.

Of course, we still have a lot of work ahead. We are by no means able to implement all the voters' requests and suggestions in a time-responsive, precise manner. And yet the implementation of mandates is one of the ways to resolve the vitally important questions of the republic's socioeconomic development and the tasks of perestroika.

From the a speech by Deputy I. Dovletov (Murgabskiy Electoral District No. 130):

In June 1985 a resolution was adopted, to construct in Mary a House of Culture to accommodate 700 persons. By that time the planning-estimate documentation that had been developed in 1976 by Turkmengosproyekt had become obsolete. Turkmengosproyekt refused to rework the plan, but after I appealed to the People's Control Committee the republic's Council of Ministers gave instructions in 1986-1987 to renew the plan and to begin the construction of the Mary House of Culture. But that deadline also was not met.

This story continued in 1987. In July we received a reply, signed by A. D. Sviridov, stating that the contractor had been instructed to speed up the operations, but in December of the same year, at Council of Ministers, the answer given was that the construction of the House of Culture had been mothballed as a result of the delay in the issuance of planning-estimate documentation by Turkmengosproyekt.

So it turns out that, over the period of a few months, Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers has issued two completely opposite answers. After the first answer I promised the voters that their mandate would be fulfilled, and now I am ashamed to look people in the eyes, because during my years as a deputy I have been unable to get the resolution of this question moving.

But who, then, is specifically to blame for the fact that the resolution of the republic's Council of Ministers is not being fulfilled

From the speech by Deputy Dzh. Tanyrberdiyeva (Syadag-Sanarskiy Electoral District No. 303):

I am making the following inquiry to this session. On our Sovet Kolkhoz, Sayatskiy Rayon, the construction of the school building has been dragging out too long. That construction was begun in 1987, but we cannot see when it will ever end.

The school building in the settlement is small and completely fails to satisfy the requirements. The children have absolutely nowhere to study. The classes are conducted wherever space is available—sometimes in the village soviet building, sometimes at the kolkhoz board of governors. What kind of quality of instruction can be have if there are absolutely no conditions for instruction?

On behalf of the voters, I request that assistance be provided to speed up the completion of the construction of the school building.

Debate on the Report Concerning the Work of the Permanent Commission on Public Education and Science, Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet

From the speech by M. A. Aliyeva (Farabskiy Electoral District No. 310):

The restructuring of the school system is a vital need of society. An analysis of last year's experience indicates that the republic had an increase by a factor of more than 1.5 in the appropriations for public education. There was an increase in the school construction rates. Educational institutions were provided with new equipment and technical means of instruction.

Effective use is being made of the creative efforts of many pedagogical collectives, and new methods of instructing and teaching the schoolchildren and students are being introduced. Rayon and city councils on public education, as well as councils at educational institutions, have joined the work.

Thus, there has been a promising start. However, there has not been any fundamental turning point in developing public education in the republic. This is the result of the poor organizing work of the Ministry of Public Education and its local administrative agencies. That ministry continues to engage insufficiently in the restructuring of the higher school system or in problems of developing science. Factors that constitute a major hindrance in the restructuring of the public education system are the conservatism and stagnation on the part of the administrative and instructor cadres at the schools and educational institutions.

There has been no increase in the attention to the school's needs on the part of a number of local party and soviet agencies, or the ministries and departments. Despite the steps being taken, the material-technical equipping of the institutions of learning leaves much to be desired.

There continues to be a critical need for preschool institutions. Absolutely no buildings are being constructed for nonschool institutions, and the completion of the construction of the Palace of Pioneers in Ashkhabad is being postponed from year to year.

Turkmen SSR Gosplan annually postpones the construction of the buildings at the Republic Sport-Training Boarding School, the Republic Teacher Refresher Training Institute in Ashkhabad, the Turkmen State Pedagogical Institute in Chardzhou, the dormitory for students at TGU [Turkmen State University], and two SPTU [rural vocational-training schools] in the vocational-training settlement in Ashkhabad. The poor quality of construction causes special concern and alarm.

In resolving the complicated questions of developing public education, an important role is played by the Permanent Commission on Science and Public Education, Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet.

In the commission's work there is much that is positive. But it would be desirable for the deputies and the commission members to study the problems of public education more deeply, in the light of the present-day requirements.

It is important for reports to be given at commission sessions not only by the administrators of the Ministry of Public Education, but also those of Turkmen SSR Gosplan and Gosstroy, and the ispolkoms of the soviets of people's deputies. The administrators of the ministries and departments must, finally, fulfill the party and governmental decisions dealing with questions of public education. This will promote the irreversibility of the restructuring of the secondary and higher school system.

From the speech by Deputy R. Kazakov (Kosmonavtskiy Electoral District No. 267):

I have been rendered a high honor—the honor of being a delegate to the All-Union Congress of Workers in Public Education. The participation in its work by the members and candidate members of the Poliburo re-emphasized the great importance that is attached to public education in our country.

Concern for the school system also dictated the discussion at this session of the report by the Commission on Public Education and Science, Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet. Participants at commission sessions repeatedly discussed the most vitally important questions of educating and instructing children. A number of important problems pertaining to the construction of schools, instruction, education, the organizing of recreational activities, medical services, and the students' nutrition were resolved.

Complicated tasks in restructuring public education are linked not only with definite organizational tasks, but also with breaking away from the obsolete views concerning education and one's profession, and concerning the quality of cadre training for the national economy, including the vocational school. To a large extent we are displeased with the vocational training of youth, since the people who are graduated from the schools frequently show, upon arriving on the job, that they cannot

substantiate their level of certification, display a lack of knowledge of modern technology and technological schemes, and have insufficiently mastered the elementary labor skills.

But you might ask how a school that does not have the necessary material base can train children for life and work in the twenty-first century. Can we really consider it to be a normal situation when instruction, for example, in the fundamentals of information science is given without a sufficient number of computers?

We have been taking a casual attitude toward repairing schools and PTU [vocational-technical schools]. Frequently, when carrying out the voters' instructions, it is necessary to contact the ministers directly. Or have we forgotten about our overall duty and our duties to the children who will shortly have to replace us?

A question that deserves attention is the question of involving in the construction of school buildings and structures intended for the students' cultural needs the funds provided by organizations on a shared basis, since, in our Chardzhou Oblast alone, in 70 percent of the schools the classes are conducted in two shifts. When and where, then, are the students supposed to do their work outside the classroom and outside the school? Are we really supposed to consider it to be normal that in such a large city as Chardzhou, practically speaking, there is no Palace of Pioneers and Schoolchildren?

In our opinion, the question being discussed must also pertain to the democratization of the school system. The first experience in school self-government indicates that children who feel that they are in charge take a much more serious attitude toward the job at hand, and become more demanding toward themselves and toward their comrades.

From the speech by Deputy A. Myradov (Chelekenskiy Electoral District No. 107):

Last year showed how difficult it is to achieve a fundamental change in educating and instructing the upcoming generation. The complexity lies primarily in the fact that the material base of the educational institutions continues to be meager, although a considerable amount of attention is being given to this question, both for the republic as a whole and in Leninskiy Rayon of Ashkhabad. During the past two years alone, an 1176-student annex to School No. 15 and two children's preschool institutions to accommodate 640 children have been activated. There has been an improvement in the conditions at the Pedagogical Institute of Russian Language and Literature and the art school, and the construction of a new educational building and dormitory has been included in the plan for the pedagogical school. The initiative of the party's raykom concerning the channeling of funds into the carrying out of current and capital repair of schools and preschool institutions has been

supported by the rayon's labor collectives, and that initiative has made it possible almost to triple the amount of money expended for these purposes.

However, despite the steps that are being taken, many problems in public education have not yet been resolved, or are being resolved extremely slowly. As a result, the extent to which the rayon as a whole has been provided with school seats is only 70 percent, and in a number of schools that percentage is even lower. The rayon's kindergartens and nurseries are operating with an overload of 1.5 times. More than 2500 children are on waiting lists to enter children's preschool institutions.

The technical equipping of the educational institutions requires fundamental improvement. For the time being, the rate of equipment corresponds more to yesterday's requirements. The Ministry of Public Education and the Permanent Commission on Public Education must assume the responsibility of coordinating the resolution of all the demands of public education, both of providing material-technical support and of creating the conditions for the spiritual development of the individual. The commission's task is not simply to coordinate, but also to pose promptly and to resolve the problems at the interested agencies.

The resolution of the multifaceted questions confronting the public-educational agencies and the scientific institutions, pertain to a greater or lesser degree to all the permanent commissions of the republic's Supreme Soviet. Therefore, we cannot resolve the problems that are arising unless they are interact smoothly.

Another question of no small importance is the interaction between the Supreme Soviet's Permanent Commission for Public Education and Science and the similar commissions of the local soviets.

I would like to take advantage of this occasion to express my hope that regular training will be organized with the chairmen of the permanent commissions of the local soviets. It would not be asking too much if, at sessions of the permanent public-education commissions of the Supreme Soviet and the local soviets, it became a practice to listen to reports from the deputies concerning their participation in the job of educating youth.

Resolution of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet "On the Recognition of the Powers Granted to Deputies to the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, Who Were Elected by Individual Electoral Districts" issued 27 January 1989.

Having considered the materials submitted by the Credentials Commission, the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic, in conformity with Article 98 of the Turkmen SSR Constitution, resolves:

to acknowledge the powers granted to the following deputies to the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet who were elected on 18 December 1988:

Menliamanov, Rakhman—Dimitrovskiy Electoral District No. 25, Ashkhabad;

Yelliyeva, Zukhra Kazakovna—Surikovskiy Electoral District No 35, Ashkhabad;

Ashirov, Nurmukhammed—Tedzhenskiy Yugo-Vostochnyy Electoral District No. 43, Tedzhen;

Nazarov, Kakabay—Zhdanovskiy Electoral District No. 56, Bakhardenskiy Rayon;

Toychiyev, Allanur—Tselinnyy Electoral District No. 84, Tedzhenskiy Rayon;

Agabayev, Annaberda—Kulmachskiy Electoral District No. 112, Kazandzhikskiy Rayon;

Ishankuliyev, Bakhtiyar Astanovich—Tashauzskiy Electoral District No 201, Tashauz Oblast;

Gulgeldiyev, Gazakbay—Goldavlinskiy Electoral District No. 215, Tashauz Oblast;

Durdymedov, Narbay Kutlyyevich—Dyshkinskiy Electoral District No. 216, Tashauz Oblast;

Ilyasov, Kakabay—Aybovurskiy Electoral District No. 235, Tashauz Oblast;

Orayev, Dadebay—Kizyl-Baydakskiy Electoral District No. 238, Tashauz Oblast;

Murtazov, Ruslan Aliyevich—Neftezavodskiy Electoral District No. 270, Chardzhou Oblast;

Starodubtsev, Viktor Stepanovich—50 Let VLKSM Electoral District No. 273, Chardzhou Oblast;

Rakhimov, Sayydzhan Sharipovich—Boyrabapskiy Electoral District No.321, Chardzhou Oblast.

**Latvian Official Cites Paper Shortage in
Periodical Sales Cutbacks**

*18300435a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
2 Feb 89 p 1*

[Interview with K. Dundurs by I. Geyman: "The Newspaper Did Not Arrive at the Kiosks..."]

[Text] Starting early yesterday morning, the telephones in the editorial office never stopped ringing; agitated, and frequently even incensed, readers were asking why they had been unable to buy SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA at the Soyuzpechat kiosks. After looking at the publication information for our newspaper, which is printed on page 4, we ourselves were surprised to discover the total printing run of 80,800 copies. The day before, on the last day of January, the printing run had been 115,000.

In order to obtain an explanation, our correspondent interviewed the person who is most competent in this matter—K. Dundurs, director of the Publishing House of the Latvian CP Central Committee.

[K. Dundurs] Not only the readers and workers of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA were surprised. Among the republic newspapers there is not a single one that has not had a considerable reduction in its printing run since 1 February. This happened because of the sharp reduction in the retail sale of newspapers. In order not to sound as though I am speaking without any proof, I would like to cite specific figures. Instead of 48,000 copies, the number of copies of TSINYA newspaper that have begun arriving in the retail-sale network is 8000 copies; instead of 36,000 copies of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 4000; instead of 29,000 copies of PADOMJU JAUNATNE, 5000; instead of 16,000 copies of SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, 1000; instead of 18,000 copies of LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, 4000; instead of 5000 copies of PIONIERIS, 1000; instead of 4000 copies of SKOLOTAJU AVIZE, 500 copies; instead of 28,000 copies of SPORTS, 1000; instead of 23,000 copies of DZIMTENES BALLS, 4000; and instead of 10,000 copies of LAUKU AVIZE, 1000.

[I. Geyman] What caused this sudden severe shortage of all the republic newspapers?

[K. Dundurs] There is just one reason: the paper shortage. Here once again it is necessary to cite some figures. Even for the incomplete satisfying of the need for newspapers (say, at the 1 January 1988 level) we must have during the year 9,827 tons of paper. But our publishing house was allocated only 8000 tons. Thus, the very acute shortage was created at the very first stage, when the funds were being allocated.

True, one cannot fail to say that this conflict situation had its underlying reason: newspaper subscriptions for the current year in our republic increased by 48 percent, whereas the average increase for the country as a whole

was 9.6 percent. This gap in the popularity of the press created certain difficulties for Latvian SSR Gosplan and for the material-technical supply services.

The situation that was building up was no surprise to us: we began sounding the alarm as soon as the subscription results became known, but it was not possible within the short period of time to achieve an increase in the paper allocation. And so we began the year in complete lack of clarity. In general, however, in order to fit within the allocated 8000 tons, throughout the year we have the right to expend 22 tons of paper a day. In January, hoping for a miracle, we expended 26 tons a day (that is how much is needed to guarantee the established printing runs), and thus we began taking paper from the future months' "rations." But, to put it figuratively, if you have 80 kopecks, you cannot eat a ruble's worth. And that pertains here also. Seeing that, by 1 February, the situation had not cleared up, we changed over yesterday to a reduced quota that corresponds to the allocated limits.

But even that is not the maximum. I have only recently learned that in January the February subscription to republic newspapers increased by an additional 27,000 copies. Where can we get the paper to fulfill the pledges to the subscribers? There is just one source—the meager share that is left for retail trade. Incidentally, this is not all. Last year the subscription in exactly the same way increased by 230,000 copies. The paper to cover that subscription was not allocated. In order not to create any difficulties for the readers, we borrowed the necessary amount of paper from the so-called carryover reserve that exists to assure that no unforeseen events can disrupt the publication of the periodical. That debt has not yet been returned, and if one adds up all the debts, on 20 November we shall have to stop our printing presses—by that time our annual limit will have been exhausted.

[I. Geyman] Whereas in January the overall printing run of the republic newspapers increased in and of itself, now, with the disappearance of the newspapers at the kiosks, one can expect an avalanche of subscriptions. What will happen in this case? How will the publishing house get of that situation?

[K. Dundurs] Until the paper problem is resolved, the same way in February and in March—at the expense of the retail sale. There is no other way out of the vicious cycle.

[I. Geyman] In the beginning of this conversation you cited figures for the reduction in retail trade. The impression is that, when that list was being prepared, evenness was not observed. Correspondingly it seems that justice was not observed either...

[K. Dundurs] Each of those figures was weighed many times, and was practically viewed under a magnifying glass, in the attempt not to discriminate against anyone.

In order to avoid hasty conclusions, it is necessary to know the initial printing runs—and then to begin dancing from there. For example, a printing run of 270,000 copies was established for CINA, but now the quota for its retail sale has been established at 8000. For SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA the planned printing run was 110,000 copies (two-fifths of CINA's printing run), but now 4000 newspapers are arriving in the retail system. For PADOMJU JAUNATNE the printing run was 225,000, and 5000 are going to the kiosks, etc.

[I. Geyman] What are the prospects, then? Can you see the light at the end of this paper tunnel?

[K. Dundurs] At the present time the republic government and Gosplan are taking energetic steps in Moscow to receive the necessary amount of paper. I think that the shortage will be eliminated, but whether it will be completely eliminated is something that I cannot answer with complete assurance.

[I. Geyman] Might it be worthwhile to think a little about the currency existing in the republic?

[K. Dundurs] That question has also been studied. But we were told that the currency has been transferred to the State Committee on Culture... Although, in what way are we not a sphere of culture, especially since we create a commodity that does not lie around unsold on the store shelves?

[I. Geyman] In a word, are we ending our discussion today with a question mark?

[K. Dundurs] As of today, yes.

Editor's note. The director of the Publishing House of Latvian CP Central Committee has painted what is essentially a fatally hopeless picture. The views expressed, alas, cannot satisfy either the editorial office or the readers.

We might recall the trials and tribulations of the recent subscription campaign, when the limited subscription to many publications caused a storm of indignation throughout the country. As a result, the limitations were lifted. And now we are witnesses to how certain obstacles have been replaced by others. Is this a case of "there's more than one way to skin a cat"?

But be that as it may, one thing is clear: people's desire to read a newspaper in the morning must be satisfied.

Postal Officials Explain Reasons for Newsprint Paper Shortages
18300435b Moscow TRUD in Russian 14 Feb 89 p 1

[Article by V. Raskin: "Once More About Paper for the Newspaper"]

[Text] "Today I read your newspaper only two days after it appears. True, I learn about the most interesting materials from the '120 Minutes' television program. I have

even sent a letter to Central Television requesting them to show a fresh issue of TRUD. But in Udmurtiya there are a total of 142,000 subscribers to your newspaper..."

That is the letter that L. Britkov sent the editorial office from Izhevsk. We receive dozens of similar letters from Voronezh and Vorozhilovgrad. They all deal with the same problem—the local printing offices do not have paper to print TRUD. In recent days the situation has become considerably more acute. And so today "hunger rations" are in effect in the cities of Dushanbe, Krasnodar, Kuybyshev, Cheboksary, Minsk, Tyumen, Kharkov, and Simferopol. If, within the near future, the printing offices in those areas do not receive paper, TRUD will have to be printed in Moscow and sent to our subscribers. Incidentally, that is what happened quite recently with the delivery of the newspaper to Voronezh, and the newspapers have been shipped to Udmurtiya from Kazan. As a result, the readers are experiencing what can mildly be called inconveniences and our publishing house has been incurring large losses.

For a while, we would like to return to last year and quote the statements made in the press by those responsible comrades who dealt with subscriptions.

V. Aristarkhov, deputy chief of the Main Administration of Postal Communication and Dissemination of the Press, USSR Minsvyazi [Ministry of Communication]:

"Our position is simple: the reader, the subscriber, must determine the printing run. He is the chief 'orientation marker' in the boundless sea of subscription."

M. Busygin, minister of light industry:

"In order to provide for the increased printing runs, we would need an additional 80,000 tons of paper. What have we managed to get our hands on? Sixty thousand tons. The assortment has been refined at five woodpulp and paper processing plants. Twenty thousand tons of wrapping paper have been brought in."

V. Shamshin, USSR minister of communication:

"Taking into consideration the subscribers' claims, the government took prompt steps to locate an additional 90,000 tons of paper for producing newspapers and magazines."

But this is the concrete situation. As of today, there is a shortage of 93,000 tons of paper to print the newspapers' increased printing runs. This is a somewhat different figure than the one that was mentioned by ministers M. Busygin and V. Shamshin. It is a noticeable difference. Or is it that the people in the departments have "become accustomed" to estimating by eye?

Early in January there was an expanded session of the board at the Ministry of Light Industry. There the branch administrators attempted in every way to

"cajole" the general directors of the woodpulp and paper processing plants, trying to persuade them to accept a slightly larger state production order... And the enterprise administrators "surrendered." But what was "squeezed out" in the final analysis? This year, in order to print newspapers, the government has established a state production order for the delivery of paper in the volume of 1,832,000 tons. But considerably more than than is needed for the output. Minister M. Busygin assigned the task of producing, in excess of the state production order, 20,000 tons of newsprint. And he promised the labor collectives a 10-rubles bonus for every ton in excess of plan...

The processing centers have their own problems: there are not enough raw materials. Frequently it is impossible to ship promptly to the customers the output that has already been produced. For example, at the Solikamsk TsBK [woodpulp and paper processing plant] in December there was an underreceipt of 3000 railroad carloads. And in January an underreceipt of 110 carloads. The situation has reached the point of absurdity in Kondopoga. The railroad cars that arrive there are not boxcars, but refrigerator cars. They are used for shipping produce to the North, and then, on the way back, in order not to have them run as empties, they are loaded with paper. First, refrigerator cars can hold output that is 5 tons less than boxcars can hold. Secondly, the loading and unloading are extremely complicated...

At the Balakhninskiy processing center, paper-making machines stood idle in January an average of 7-10 days. There were no raw materials.

Wherever there are no raw materials, there are no railroad cars, and it is there that the people have consolidated a balance in their capacities. As a result the subscribers do not read the newspaper, but look at press surveys on television.

As the widest-circulation central weekly newspaper, TRUD naturally has found itself in the most complicated situation. What is the way out? As a result of the critical situation, it is necessary to locate additional paper resources, including those acquired by making purchases abroad. Because if the limit on subscriptions has been lifted, then it is necessary to make it possible for the readers to receive promptly the newspaper that they have chosen.

Shamshin Answers Complaints About Regional Press Distribution

18300434a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by V. Shamshin, USSR minister of communications, under rubric "'A Ministerial Dictatorship": "Without a Ban on Reorganization"]

[Text] Within a relatively short period of time, your newspaper printed two items—"Removed from Subscription" in the 28 December 1988 issue, and "Ministerial Dictatorship" in the 7 January 1989 issue—concerning the work of the communications agencies in the

area of the dissemination of the periodical press. This makes it necessary to bring to your readers' attention the opinion of the board of USSR Ministry of Communications with regard to the questions touched upon in those articles.

Situated in the center of the discussion are primarily the measures to reorganize the activities of Soyuzpechat and the mail in the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, which measures were carried out two years ago after coordination with the competent agencies in those republics, as well as the fact that USSR Ministry of Communications not only did not object to, but supported their being carried out. Article author A. Visyagin, without giving any convincing arguments, states that the measures carried out in the Ukraine and Kazakhstan failed completely.

First let us discuss the essence of the reorganization.

At the rayon level, on the base of two previously independent enterprises—a communications center with an average size of 150 persons and a Soyuzpechat agency or department with, as a rule, as many as 7 persons—single enterprises were formed. At the oblast level, Soyuzpechat agencies (numbering as many as 50 persons) were made part of large-scale communications associations or enterprises (numbering as many as several thousand persons).

The reorganization made it possible to eliminate the organizational and economic split in the activities of the postal communications agencies and of the Soyuzpechat agencies in resolving a single task, the final goal of which was the delivery of the periodical press to the reader.

This action eliminated the parallel links in administration, brought about the intelligent integration of the technological processes, and permitted the fusion of the accounting, economic, inspection-control, and cadre services. In the Ukraine 750 persons were made available for other jobs, including 256 who had previously been administrative personnel. There was a reduction of approximately 100,000 units in the document turnover each year. The transportation shipments were made more efficient, and there was a considerable simplification of the task of sending previously undelivered copies of publications that had not been sent by the publishing houses, by drawing on the time-responsive redistribution of the retail printing run of newspapers and magazines. The intrabranch barriers in distributing periodicals between the urban and rural population were eliminated. Large opportunities appeared for reinforcing the material-technical, transportation, and repair base of the Soyuzpechat subdivisions, since they now carry out their activities within the framework of large-scale enterprises that are equipped with more powerful allocations and resources. For these same reasons, the opportunities have also expanded for the workers engaged in the distribution of the periodical press, in resolving questions of social and everyday life, and in forming a fund for the payment of labor.

Similar results have been achieved in Kazakhstan.

But, most importantly, the reforms that have been carried out and the economic benefit that has been achieved have had a beneficial effect on the final results that reflect the overall tendency of the dynamics of subscription matters in the country. For example, in the Ukraine, for every 1000 inhabitants in 1988, there were 41.8 subscription copies of PRAVDA; in 1989, 42.7 copies; and in Kazakhstan, respectively, 24.6 and 25.0.

The reorganization of administration in the area of dissemination of the press corresponds in spirit to the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars, entitled "The Establishment at Institutions of the Postal-Telegraph Department of the Sale of Works of the Soviet Press." That Decree states, in particular, "As of 1 January 1919, the People's Commissariat of Postal and Telegraph Offices is to be given the responsibility of organizing, under the postal-telegraph institutions of Soviet Russia, the forwarding of the Soviet press in such a form as to assure that the postal-telegraph department can assume the fulfillment of all the functions involved in accepting subscriptions and sending to the direct subscribers the Soviet and Communist publications, eliminating the need to have special forwarding apparatuses attached to those publications."

It should be especially emphasized that there does not exist any officially ordered, administrative, or ministerial diktat pertaining to the further extension of the experience of the Ukrainian and Kazakhstan ministries of communications in other regions, although, as has been said, USSR Ministry of Communications will support its extension. A. Visyagin obviously demands the existence of a ministerial diktat to ban any deviation from the administrative structures that have developed. At the present time in Uzbekistan, on the basis of a study of the experience gained by the communications workers in the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, it has been decided to change over to this administrative scheme. We feel that we do not have the right to lodge a protest against this decision.

In any questions there can be various points of view, but it is inadmissible, when discussing them, to use incompletely verified arguments, to dictate conclusions for which there is no appeal, or to hang labels on people.

Or take the situation with the transfer of "Perestroyka Searchlight," because the person in charge remarked that the only correct measure that guarantees the continuous operation of the Chekhov Printing Combine was the organizing of the single consolidated mailing of the magazine output, but that serious breakdowns had occurred when preparing it. However, the article author, whether knowingly or unknowingly, confuses the situation, since he does not add that the single consolidated mailing in the long view will be organized not only from the center, but also from all the peripheral points where the magazines are printed.

And there is something else. USSR Ministry of Communications has never taken part in or given its consent to changing the price of the PIONERSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper. Our position in this matter is unambiguous: in the course of the subscription year, no changes are to be made in the prices of newspapers or magazines.

A question that demonstrates an obvious misunderstanding is the question alleging that the public disseminators of the press will be completely put out of work.

This year the free subscription to a broad group of newspapers and social-political and literary-artistic magazines began on 2 January. Obviously, this requires new approaches in the work with the detachment of public disseminators. In addition, the nature of their work must also be different than in previous years: the complete rejection of the method of forcing publications on people. This is also attests to by the letters that USSR Ministry of Communications has been receiving from the public disseminators. At the same time, there is no need to take the path of banning the participation of the mail carriers in organizing subscriptions for home delivery of publications. Only one goal is being pursued here—the goal of creating the best conditions for the subscribers.

Editor's note: The minister has expressed his position. However, the letters to the editor that were received after the publication of "Ministerial Dictatorship" include letters whose authors, primarily specialists, express other views. By publishing them, the editorial office intends to have a complete discussion of the problems that have been raised with representatives of the organizations that are involved.

Postal Official Responds to Complaints About Periodical Receipt Problems

*18300434b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1*

[Letter to the editor with response by B. Butenko, first deputy chief of the Main Administration of Postal Communications and the Dissemination of the Press, USSR Ministry of Communications: "Let the Ministry Make Settlements with the Cooperative"]

[Text] The subscription boom has subsided, and now the problems with delivery have begun. The cooperative has offered its services. I would like to quote the beginning of its advertisement leaflet: "For purposes of convenience and guaranteeing the intactness of the magazines to which you have subscribed for 1989, the Svyazist Production Cooperative Association will deliver them to you at a time that is convenient to you, between 0800 and 2100 hours." Then there follows a long list of magazines. And then the main information: "The delivery of magazines with a subscription cost of 6 to 10 rubles is paid for at the rate of 25 kopecks per copy; those

with a subscription cost of 10 to 15 rubles, 36 kopecks per copy; OGONEK, 14 kopecks per copy; INOSTRAN-NAYA LITERATURA, 64 kopecks; and ROMAN-GAZETA, 39 kopecks."

As you can see, instead of a new service, it turns out that the subscriber has to pay, as it were, a new kind of quit-rent. But why should we subscribers be involved in this? If the USSR Ministry of Communications is unable to fulfill its pledges to us, then it is that ministry that should pay to involve the cooperative members in this work, rather than the subscribers who have already paid for that service once.

The central press has already repeatedly raised the question of various departments attempting to resolve their problems at the public's expense. However, no increase in the prices of services has yet led to an improvement in the quality of those services, at least in the Ministry of Communications sphere.

For many years the situation with the delivery of magazines and newspapers has left much to be desired. The situation has reached such a point that we have to fight with the postal workers for our magazines. In order to do this, we are forced to go to the communications section several times to ask for one and the same magazine, to write complaints, etc.

Of course, if one speaks about the great problems that currently confront our society, the problem of receiving a service for which we have already paid seems to be a petty one. But these petty problems really spoil our life (especially if there are a large number of them!). So it turns out that the irritation caused by our everyday life is transferred little by little to the major problems. So let the cooperative members work together with the ministries, rather than instead of them.

[Signed]: L. Nosovskiy, engineer, Kharkov.

We have asked B. Butenko, first deputy chief of the Main Administration of Postal Communications and the Dissemination of the Press, USSR Ministry of Communications, to comment on this letter.

For USSR Ministry of Communications, the delivery of correspondence to subscribers is a matter that is very cost-ineffective. In this operation we lose more than 700 million rubles a year. For purposes of comparison: the profit from disseminating the periodical press comes to only 200 million rubles a year. As you can see, this is an obviously abnormal situation. At the present time we are considering the question of reviewing the interrelationships that USSR Ministry of Communications has with the publishing houses. We feel that they must give to the communications workers that part of the funds that is required to deliver the newspapers and magazines to the subscribers.

The subscribers can take advantage of the services provided by the cooperatives if they so desire. But if they do not want to deal with the cooperative members, no one has the right to force them to do so.

It is another matter if the ministry itself concludes a contract with a cooperative. Frequently the communications agencies conclude contracts with owners of private vehicles, or lease taxis to deliver newspapers. In a word, they attempt to do everything to ensure that the customer has received his mail without any delays. At the present time there are approximately ten cooperatives in Moscow to receive packages and make home deliveries. We view this form of work as an additional service for the public. The delivery of periodicals is only one of our "painful" points. We hope that, with the aid of cooperatives, we will succeed in eliminating it.

Editor's note. In our opinion, the views expressed by B. Butenko cannot be deemed to be convincing. The delivery of mail has been, is, and will continue to be one of the main duties of USSR Ministry of Communications. It is one matter to reconsider the organization of that work and to improve the incentives. But it is another matter to transfer that work to cooperatives and then to make the subscribers pay for it. Thus one can agree completely with the author of the letter to the editor: isn't it possible that, under the guise of a completely "voluntary" service, a new kind of quit-rent will appear?

**MOSCOW NEWS Editor on Censorship,
Emigration, Other Issues**
18110017a Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian
7 Nov 88 p 1

[Interview with Igor Yakovlev, chief editor of the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, by MOLOD UKRAYINY special correspondent Ivan Bessmertnyy: "The Ideals of October Live on With Us. We Believe in Socialism"]

[Text] Our interview is with noted Soviet journalist Igor Yakovlev, chief editor of the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI.

[Bessmertnyy] Igor Vladimirovich, as we know, you began your career in journalism brilliantly, becoming chief editor of the journal ZHURNALIST, while subsequently—a surprise for everybody—you took up scholarly affairs commentary. This part of your career continued for more than 12 years. Was this not a means of survival during the period of stagnation, of self-preservation as an individual?

[Yakovlev] No, it was simply a job.... Although it is true that I was forced out of the position of chief editor of ZHURNALIST. I obtained the opportunity to put pen to paper, and I took that opportunity. I am a historian by training; my field is Lenin, and therefore there was no concern about this—whether he would be in or out of favor; first and foremost it was work. Hard, intense labor, for during these 20 years between ZHURNALIST and MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, working for IZVESTIYA, I wrote 20 books and 30 screenplays.

The Lenin image and Leninist standards of conduct made it possible to write about that which during the years of stagnation was called "subtext not subject to control." For example, when we write that upon entering an auditorium Lenin would present his identification to the guard at the door or would stand in line, or that he paid for the books in his own library—we are making a conscious statement, showing that today's Communist can reach a point where standards which are mandatory for everybody else are not mandatory for him, and that observance of these standards constitutes modesty.... Naturally this caused me certain difficulties. It so happened that the magazine DRUZHBA NARODOV published a substantial excerpt from a book about Lenin one month after Brezhnev's 70th birthday. A Central Committee official immediately "got upset": "Is this not a comment alluding to the excessively elaborate birthday celebration?" A member of the editorial board, an intelligent person, replied to this: "In asking this question, do you think that you are attacking the author or the magazine? You are dealing a blow against the individual whose 70th birthday was celebrated, because you consider him as displaying a lack of modesty!" After that they left me alone.

Later, after perestroika had commenced, an interesting thing happened. I was working in Czechoslovakia as an IZVESTIYA correspondent. The 27th Party Congress was held, and I was writing commentary for the newspaper, whereby I was endeavoring to examine the 27th Congress in a Leninist manner. I wrote one day, a second day, a third.... Nothing was working—everything was being discarded.... And this was because I had become accustomed to writing with a subtext, while now it was necessary to write everything in a straightforward manner. I then understood for the first time how difficult it would be to work today.

[Bessmertnyy] Igor Vladimirovich, we have been talking about Lenin. I am now going to ask you a question which may offend you a bit as a specialist on the Lenin legacy. The fact is that this question is of concern to a great many people. I recently was talking with an American specialist on the Soviet Union. He said to me, and I quote: "In this country you can't get yourself to acknowledge that one item on your humanities agenda is a creative reading of Lenin, for there were no nuclear weapons in his time, and for this reason it is natural that he placed prime emphasis on class, while we have also advanced to an understanding of the overall interests of mankind; in addition, the death penalty was still being applied in the time of Lenin...."

I endeavored to convince him to the best of my ability, but nevertheless I promised to pass on the question to an expert "on Lenin"—Yakovlev.

[Yakovlev] Do you understand what the point is here? I would call it not creative reading of Lenin but reading of Lenin in the context of his era. We ourselves convinced people that any quote from Lenin is applicable to all times. For example, when Khrushchev needed to reorganize, he quoted Lenin on how important reorganization is. During the period of stagnation they started quoting statements about those who are so fond of reorganizing and how an end must be put to this. By turning to Lenin beyond a timeframe context, we created these difficulties for ourselves. Lenin was a man of his time. Incidentally, he himself said that a revolutionary who states that a revolution can get along without capital punishment is a liar, because the revolution cannot be carried out without blood. This constituted a truth of his time.

We are frequently told, especially during debates, that Lenin had placed primary emphasis on class, while we place emphasis on mankind in general. But there is a well-known speech by Vladimir Ilich at a mass meeting of railway workers. He saw a slogan there: "Worker and peasant rule forever!" At this point Lenin strode to the speaker's stand and proceeded to say that if we are moving toward a society which will not have class conflicts, then why on earth would we have a slogan to the effect that the dictatorship of the proletariat will never end?

Lenin himself has a perfect grasp of everything. Speaking at the Third Komsomol Congress, he stated that in the final analysis the task of development and mankind is to move up the staircase of ethics and morality.

And I believe it is entirely inappropriate to look to Lenin for answers to all of today's questions and, particular, "blindly" to quote Lenin.

There are people (and not only our ideological adversaries) who say that Lenin was in error, since everything that happened after him fails to correspond to what we would like. On the other hand, however, even when people say this they nevertheless view Lenin as a superman, and consider him to blame for something.... It is disgraceful to blame for all our sins a person who died more than 60 years ago.... In addition we must consider the fact that following his death this country went through 30 years of a Stalin dictatorship and almost 20 years of attempts by Brezhnev to rehabilitate it.

[Bessmertnyy] One more point which our ideological adversaries use so often—that the socialist structure never did exist and never could exist within the capitalist system, although Lenin did write about the simultaneous existence of more than one system and gave primacy to the socialist system.

[Yakovlev] Lenin developed this idea in his last articles, where he shows the greatest convergence between state capitalism and socialism. And, of course, the socialist structural edifice exists within the capitalist society. There is no doubt about this. I am deeply convinced of it.

And it is not mere happenstance, for example, that today we are showing such interest in the Scandinavian society. There was an article in *MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI* on this subject with comments by Chairman of the Council of Ministers N. I. Ryzhkov and ambassador Boris Pankin. In the Scandinavian society there are elements which are very close to our own position, and these elements should be utilized.

[Bessmertnyy] Igor Vladimirovich, what is your opinion: was NEP for Lenin only a form of class struggle, as was claimed, for example, by public affairs commentator Mikhail Antonov, or was this a policy which should have been continued?

[Yakovlev] In this country the New Economic Policy is very frequently viewed as involving only the activities of private-ownership proprietors. And when they were talking about the need to oust private owners, they were "ousted" physically. What did Lenin say in his last article, "About Cooperative Endeavor"? NEP should be combated by economic cooperative endeavor.

And while a private owner is, after all a private owner, the cooperative, which today is so frequently "dumped on" and about which all kinds of ridiculous drivel is being written, is, according to Lenin's definition, the

principal socialist form. Lenin stated (incidentally, this statement was quoted in the Baltic by Central Committee Secretary A. N. Yakovlev) that the cooperative movement should be supported against all others. What did Lenin mean when he said against all others? He meant, first and foremost, against state ownership. Yet even today some government bureaucrats consider it holy writ to give some kind of preferential treatment to state industry and to place a maximum tax burden on cooperatives. It should be the other way around! Lenin stated that the cooperative movement is the most promising socialist movement. And for that reason he intended to combat NEP not for the benefit of state industry but rather for the benefit of the members of cooperatives, *kulturnyye kooperatory*, as he called them.

And therefore, if NEP is viewed not as a new economic policy but only as a private-ownership movement, this movement has no future.

If we consider things in a Leninist manner, however, the possibility of further developing the cooperative movement (Lenin wrote, for example, that a standard cooperative movement is inadequate for us to attain full socialism), this proves to be a promising movement, a movement to which we are today returning.

The other day members of a cooperative in Kazan came to see me. These were not members of a first-wave cooperative, not "shashlychniki" [small-scale eatery entrepreneurs]—they had leased a large enterprise for the purpose of manufacturing equipment themselves: they had formed their own bank and had established a fund to support neighboring cooperatives. It is the members of these cooperatives who are the first cultural stratum of perestroika. Today they are having a much easier time operating than all ministries put together. They are learning, they are vigorously active, and they are enthusiastic....

[Bessmertnyy] Igor Vladimirovich, in your opinion to what extent is the idea of socialism compatible with the human factor, that is, is it in fact possible to educate man to a considerable extent? I would like very much to believe this, for example, but nevertheless... if man proved amenable to education, as was thought at the beginning of this century, one would think that after 70 years man would be so conscious and aware that he would take for himself only enough not to die from hunger, and he would work hard.... And he would obtain gratification and happiness from this.

[Yakovlev] First of all we must clearly define what we mean by education. Construction of the White Sea Canal or the Great Kolyma Project was also considered to be education. When we were planning our October issue, we decided to ask Mikhail Aleksandrovich Ulyanov to write an article entitled "We Are Children of October." Because no matter what opportunities we were to give to

private entrepreneurs today, no matter how these things were to develop, the ideals of October live with us, and we believe in socialism. And in my opinion this is our most valuable asset.

Just how strong is this faith? Consider the matter. Stalin threw a lot of people into prison. Then Khrushchev promised communism by the year of the Olympics. Then came the years of Brezhnev stagnation. And all we had to do was to return a bit to Lenin, and this amazing wave of perestroika began. I sometimes think: how strong this faith is, not to have been destroyed in our people.

And of course all of us are children of October, and for that reason I have remained an idealist in the definition given by Anatoliy Vasilyevich Lunacharskiy. On the occasion of the 50th birthday of Vladimir Ilich he called him the greatest idealist, because he had endless faith in the good foundation of human nature. I have absolute belief in this "idealism," because without it nothing would make any sense whatsoever.

It is simply that we have done man great detriment. Lenin was right in stating that we took all the worst things from the Romanov Empire but were unable to take anything good; we reinforced all man's worst qualities, while we lost all the good qualities present in the Russian peasant, the Russian intellectual, and the Russian worker—their attitude toward labor, and their propensity to do good deeds. And only now are we seeming to rediscover all the good in man, as we implement democratization of our society and change its moral-psychological atmosphere.

[Bessmertnyy] How wonderful that now, it would seem, everybody has a clear understanding of things: we can eliminate high-handedness by the bureaucrats and accomplish democratization only with a reform of the political system.

[Yakovlev] I believe that we are currently in the third phase of perestroika.

In the first phase we imagined that it would be very easy for us, sitting in our armchairs, to find new thinking and redo everything without having to budge.... I once wrote about a railroad worker. That is, the "boss" says to his subordinate: "we need new thinking!" By this he demonstrates that he already has a mastery of this thinking. His subordinate gathers together all his subordinates and repeats the same message. And so it goes downward, level by level, right down to the railroad worker. But when the switchman is told to turn the switch, he turns the switch, and does not need the new thinking to do so. But as a result the trains start derailing.... This was the first phase of perestroika.

The second phase was when we began aggressively "catching" enemies of perestroika. There is a bureaucrat who is impeding things, we would say. In this phase we were like people who had raised 50 wolves, released them, and then proceeded to round them up.

And, finally, the third phase. In my opinion it just recently began, following the party conference. We finally realized that bureaucracy is engendered not by people but by structures, that our governmental and political structures operate to the benefit of the old world, not a world with the new thinking. And until such time as we change this system, this structure, the idea of perestroika will remain merely an idea.

For a long time it was simply forbidden to use the word "sistema" [system]. I remember a friend of mine, the now-deceased Tolya Agranovskiy, wrote in an article for IZVESTIYA that the system is to blame for everything. He went to the assistant editor, a sly old fellow, and told him that if they deleted the word "system," he would take back his article. The deputy editor replied: "Of course we won't remove it...." He simply inserted some additional words, so that it read "system of accounting, reporting, and oversight procedures".... Tolya shrugged helplessly and laughed.... It seems that it was in fact forbidden to talk about the system.

Today, however, and herein lies the revolutionary nature of our time—we talk about the system. And until such time as the political system is changed, it is difficult to judge about democracy and everything else, for today we are operating in an amazingly "mixed" world. In our country there is not a single decision or single action possessing laboratory purity—they always contain multiple components. Mikhail Sergeevich once said that we sometimes call a minister "on the carpet" and begin chewing him out, and later begin to realize that we are operating with the old, previous methods.... But on the other hand at the present time we simply lack new methods. Everything must be learned.

The following analogy came to me: our economy was like a puppet on a string—this was the way things were under governance by administrative fiat. We have now cut the strings. The marionette has fallen down, and it has not yet learned to walk. Now we must alternate between manipulating the string and teaching the marionette to walk.

[Bessmertnyy] Igor Vladimirovich, how do you see our restructured society?

[Yakovlev] In contrast to the Stalinist times, where everything was planned out a hundred and two hundred years in advance, today we do not plan so far ahead. As we proceed, we make corrections as we go, and in some things we continue in the old way.... The first steps in the direction of changing the political system were hammered out at the 19th Party Conference. I am talking about the right to elect, amendments to the Constitution,

and holding more than one office concurrently. Some people agree with these changes, while others do not.... This point can be argued, but I believe, thank God, that today there is nobody who would say that he knows the entire (!) reform of the political system from top to bottom.

[Bessmertnyy] The reform of the political system apparently also would include a reexamination of interethnic relations.

[Yakovlev] This issue is too complex, you see, for two reasons.

First of all, because it has been neglected.... Beginning from 1922, with establishment of the Soviet Union, which Lenin considered premature, we have not advanced very far in resolving nationalities issues. Secondly, we ourselves never gave serious thought to this, and even today we simply do not have a clear concept of the nationalities question.

There are several positions on this question. First of all, we must get rid of that Stalinist suspicion that any attempt at independence is an element of nationalism, that is, all this must be changed—both our thinking, and the entirety of political literature, because, when we read this literature closely (and such literature is still being produced), we see that over the last 70 years any ethnic conflict has been considered to be nationalistic. Thus we must reject this and find some breadth in our views.

Secondly, I very much agree with the position taken by Mikhail Sergeevich, which was manifested on the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. It can be perceived with differing interpretations. I too did not grasp it immediately.... Do you understand the point in question? In ethnic conflicts there should not be victors and vanquished, for if this happens, the conflict remains. It does not require much intelligence to stir up a conflict. It is much more difficult to resolve a conflict. If we politicians and newspapermen had seriously addressed the conflict in Nagornyy Karabakh and if at the preconflict stage we had grasped the entire seriousness of the problem, I believe we could have found an intelligent solution. But the conflict kept going deeper and deeper, involving more and more people... And today things are very difficult. Nevertheless I believe that the position that there should be neither victors nor vanquished in ethnic conflicts has been well thought out, and therefore is correct!

I recently returned from Italy, where a great many people asked me about the Karabakh. In the town of Trento I saw a tent in the middle of the street; the tent contained a woman who had declared a hunger strike. Why was she doing this? She had decided to open a bar, had received permission to do so, had gone ahead and spent her money, and then the permission was withdrawn, for her bar was situated closer than 150 meters to another bar. And so she had gone on a hunger strike. The town mayor

told me that they would probably end up allowing her to go ahead. "You know," I said to him, "tomorrow the owner of the neighboring bar which is closer than 150 meters will go on a hunger strike." I asked the mayor: "Then how are you going to resolve the matter?" He replied: "I don't know!" "And yet you are surprised," I went on, "about the fact that we cannot resolve the Karabakh problem...."

And yet the two issues are almost identical, although on a different scale. Doing what the Azerbaijani want will outrage the Armenians, and doing what the Armenians want will outrage the Azerbaijani.... And for that reason we must seek an agreement which will result neither in winners nor losers....

[Bessmertnyy] I know that unofficial organizations in some regions are talking about full economic accountability for the republics.

[Yakovlev] I find this idea very attractive. And if it is not obscured by nationalist slogans, it is a very good idea if only because it will at the same time put an end to all the talk about Moscow allegedly swallowing everybody up.... I am somewhat acquainted with the Baltic, because I worked there on the problem of light industry. So the Baltic first provides for its own needs, and when goods no longer are in demand locally, it sends them into the Union.

I believe that full economic accountability will also help ensure that conflicts similar to that which erupted in the Nagornyy Karabakh will not occur in the future.

[Bessmertnyy] Igor Vladimirovich, in your opinion what position should be taken by the journalist and writer in regard to resolving such conflicts?

[Yakovlev] A highly responsible and well thought-out position, of course....

[Bessmertnyy] Which unfortunately cannot be said about the position taken by writers who have spoken out on the Nagornyy Karabakh, for they were on the side of the two opposing parties. But a humanist writer who is an honest, decent person, in my opinion should take a position in the middle, acting as a peacemaker between the disputants. Unfortunately writers have fallen short of the mark, and that is very disturbing.

[Yakovlev] It is not simply disturbing; it is dreadful. Right now, for example, the Sumgait trial is in progress. Our correspondent is attending the trial and reports back to us how the indictments and testimony are proceeding. As you know, this was a tragedy for all mankind—human lives were taken.... And yet the trial is proceeding along lines of who is more guilty—the Armenians or the Azerbaijani.... That is, once again everything reduces to ethnic conflict. With the matter being handled in this manner there is the danger that once again we shall fail to draw intelligent, correct conclusions from all this.

[Bessmertnyy] I wanted to ask about your personal position and the position of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI pertaining to our emigre community abroad, especially the emigre literary community. Right now, for example, Villi Tokarev is giving appearances in Moscow. What will MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI write about him?

[Yakovlev] There will not be an article about Tokarev. I read some material prepared for the newspaper; it did not seem to me to be very substantial.

But in general the position taken by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI toward the emigre community is quite clear-cut. Were we not the first to begin writing about Tarkovskiy and Nekrasov?

An American once came to me and proposed that we hold an interview with him in which he would conduct an organized dialogue with us on behalf of the entire emigre community. This is an erroneous position. We shall never accept it, because every individual must speak for himself. And it would be a mistake to assume that the emigre community is some kind of organized nucleus and that the homeland is to conduct a dialogue with an organization. Each individual has his own position. I recently met a prominent emigre, for example. He told me he would like to return home, but that everything we are writing and saying today he was saying much earlier. And therefore one can understand him when he says that he simply cannot today crawl back on his belly and beg forgiveness. I asked him: "And how do you want to return?" "I want to return," he replied, "with my head held high."

I believe that our public opinion is evolving precisely in this direction—that people who for various reasons have ended up abroad, but who have essentially remained patriots, should return. Let those who do not wish to return remain abroad....

[Bessmertnyy] How is the problem with Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn being resolved?

[Yakovlev] Solzhenitsyn is an extraordinarily "difficult" individual, extraordinarily so. I give him his due as a great writer. I have already stated that we should publish both "Several Days in the Life of Ivan Denisovich" and "Matrenin Dvor." I am extremely pleased that NOVYY MIR is planning on publishing parts of "The Gulag Archipelago." Certainly a person's conduct and behavior should not affect the publication of his works.

Solzhenitsyn is a very complex individual. I read his book "Bodalsya telenok s dubom" [Kicking Against the Pricks]. In this book he has some rather unkind things to say about Aleksandr Trifonovich Tvardovskiy, whom I knew well, and of course it makes me have reservations about Solzhenitsyn.

[Bessmertnyy] One last question: how is your work time organized? You manage to get so much accomplished.

[Yakovlev] It is not organized at all. My wife once said to me: "Igor, would you pencil in some time for me to have an argument with you?"

It is impossible to read materials in my office. We can discuss, we can plan, but it is not possible to read. I therefore follow this regimen: I wake up at 5 in the morning. From five to seven I sit in bed reading MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI materials. At seven I go to the swimming pool. And I arrive at the newspaper office a little before nine.

I get home at nine in the evening just in time to watch VREMYA [TV evening news]. Sometimes I fall asleep before the news program is over....

That is my life in a nutshell.

USSR Writers' Union Plenum Addresses Problems in Ecology

Chernichenko Speech

1800500 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 4, 25 Jan 89 pp 3-4

[Speech by Yuriy Chernichenko at USSR Writers' Union Plenum: "The Land, Ecology, and Perestroika"]

[Excerpts]

III

We are deceiving geography. We put Kara-Bogaz Bay on the map, but it does not exist in nature. We draw the Aral as if it had not lost half of its area. We do not depict the new water dumps—how else could we describe the Arnasay with its water mirror covering 6,000 square kilometers, one-third of the Ladoga and Sarykamys, and the secret sea in the Karakums, the sea of negative phenomena? The rivers of the ancient civilizations—the Syrdarya and the great Amu—no longer flow into the Aral. Their sturgeon-filled deltas and reed forests, with tigers and deer in their vegetation-covered bottomland, have turned into a bed of sand dunes. It is obvious that the USSR's unique source sulfates and rare metals will never again be part of the familiar trio on the planet (the Great Salt Lake in the United States, the Dead Sea in Israel, and the Kara-Bogaz Bay). There they are earning billions from the salt and are building skyscrapers on it, but in our country they let it dry up.

Airplane pilots, cosmonauts, and unmanned satellites look down from above and say: "It is gone," but our cartographers smile and say: "There has been no report, so it is still there."

Who would send a report? That is the question. This used to be the job of the writer-explorer. After the captain sailed through the water between Chukotka and Alaska, the maps said "Bering Strait" forever, but if the discovery is negative, then the collective pronoun "we" is used, Zamyatin's impersonal "we," naming no names. As long as there is moral and political unity, names are unnecessary, but who are these "we"? The Union of Writers probably does not deserve this dubious honor because of the warning Paustovskiy issued in his famous story against damming Kara-Bogaz-Gol. Stalin's plan for the transformation of nature was only Stalin's. When we try to clear up the Kakhov Sea, we know who to blame. We do not have to guess who reduced the number of fish in the Azov to exactly one-twenty fifth of the previous number. But in this case, was bureaucratism responsible? Was it the abstract and invisible person, the snowman, the artist M. Ulyanov spoke of at the party conference? Whose names should be written on the corrected map of Asia—for the edification of future reformers of the universe?

Two writers' excursions were supposed to find the answers: one to Kara-Bogaz, where the Essay and Journalism Board held a seminar on "The Caspian for Us and Our Grandchildren," and the "Aral-88" expedition, organized by NOVYY MIR and PAMIR in conjunction with the writers of Tajikistan, Turkmenia, and Uzbekistan. But first I want to discuss—although it can only be a regrettably brief and hasty discussion—the literary events and tendencies we are witnessing in the European part of the country.

What can we say about them? They are noticeable and noteworthy. There has been the birth, for instance, of the "roundtable" as a genre of free and comprehensive journalistic analysis, like the view from a satellite. Without any forewarning, you can learn that 2,600 rural communities and 165 cities have already been flooded in our country; that 35 million tons of nutritive substances have been taken out of the soil of Siberia with the harvest, but only 9 million tons have been returned to the soil; that the sand dunes in Kalmykia already constitute the first desert in Europe of half a million hectares, and that it is growing at the rate of 50,000 hectares a year, and so on and so forth, until even a pill will not help you get to sleep.

I think the editors of NASH SOVREMENNİK would be pleased to recall that issue No 7 for 1985 was sold out immediately not only because of Rasputin's "The Fire," but also because of the report on the "Land and Grain" roundtable discussion. Without excessive displays of emotion or rhetoric, soil scientist V. Kovda, economist M. Lemeshev, geologist N. Lebedeva, jurist O. Kolbasov, and learned agronomists, ecologists, and chemists presented such a detailed, seemingly technological but simultaneously shocking, description of the plundering of the fields, rivers, and nature of the federation (and of the entire country), that it produced what could only be

described as an artistic impact. This success was reinforced by the powerful "Ecology—Economy—Morality" conglomerate in the first book of NASH SOVREMENNİK in 1987, where S. Zalygin and V. Rasputin expressed their views along with academicians Portnyagin, Sokolov, and Moiseyev. Remember the lively and impassioned meeting of the philosophers, sociologists, and writers in Poltava (resulting in the book "Chelovek i zemlya" [Man and the Land]) and the ecological debates in Leningrad and Vologda.... Did you get a copy of "Inogo ne dano" [No Other Option], the anthology the Progress Publishing House issued just before the party conference? It is not easy to find a copy now, although it has already been published in "import" languages. Count how many "physicists" and "lyricists" there are among the authors, and you will see that the numbers are equal. An entire series of collective works ("Yesli po sovesti" [If We Follow Our Conscience] and "Kaspiy dlya nas i vnukov" [The Caspian for Us and Our Grandchildren], in defense of the Aral and Baykal) has been published, but "Inogo ne dano" should be recommended reading for every writer precisely because the "glasnost—democracy—socialism" trinity merges here with the "economy—ecology—ethics" triad.

With books like these among our assets, I would dare to say that we have reached the point at which we can ask some elementary questions. For instance, what do writers have to do with the protection of nature? And have we identified the enemy, or do we just see a snowman running away?

Stalin was the first to use rivers, dams, and transcontinental forest strips to affirm his personal greatness, but Brezhnev used this method of borrowing fame and proving his own grandeur even more freely, and the costs were higher. Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources], the gigantic body that costs more money than any of the other construction departments, acquired its present form following the publication of the decrees on land reclamation in 1985. Belomor [White Sea Canal], which was conceived as a method of occupying the dispossessed kulaks, and the Volga-Don and Tsimle canals, built by convicts, look like children's sand castles next to the "projects of the century": the Brezhnev-inspired rechanneling of the Ob into Central Asia, the Danube into the Dnepr, and the northern rivers into the Caspian. In our literary history there is an ignoble page: A brigade of famous writers, headed by M. Gorkiy and including A. Tolstoy, M. Zoshchenko, Ye. Gabrilovich, V. Katayev, V. Inber, B. Yasenskiy, and others, published a splendid gift edition of the book "Kanal imeni Stalin" [The Canal imeni Stalin] in conjunction with the OGPU [United State Political Administration of the Council of People's Commissars (1922-1934)]. The book was a benediction of the convict labor on the Belomor project, a glorification of Stalin and Yagoda, a hallelujah to the GULAG [Main Administration of Corrective Labor Camps].... It happened, and we cannot pretend it did not happen! But we can also say that the "great communist construction projects" are no

longer mentioned anywhere, with the exception of ingratiating books. The ecological movement, whether or not this is directly acknowledged, has taken the responsibility of returning what the society lost at the time of the great changes: an awareness of the value of land and water. This is the essence of ecological thinking!

And from whom does nature need protection? "The bureaucracy has possession of the state," Karl Marx wrote. "It is its private property. Secrets and secrecy are salient features of the bureaucracy. The preservation of secrecy is secured within the bureaucracy by its hierarchical organization, and in the outside world by its isolated and corporative nature. For this reason, the bureaucracy regards openness on the part of the state as a betrayal of its secrets. Authority is therefore the guiding principle of its knowledge, and the deification of authority is its line of reasoning."

The enemy can therefore be identified as official secrets and the treatment of the state as private property—personified, of course, by specific individuals with official status.

With the advent of "doctoral" journalism, writers obtained the secret information which the bureaucracy had monopolized. "You are dilettantes, so mind your own business and remember your place"—statements of this kind are no longer regarded as valid arguments. In general, the admonition to "mind your own business" sounded increasingly ironic at a time when it became necessary for hundreds of millions of people to defend—even before voting rights and the market economy—four basic conditions of life: Air, so that they could live and breathe; water, so that they could quench their thirst without fear; land, so that they could feed themselves; and the assurance (this is a new condition and it is the consequence of radiation) that they would not glow in the dark or give birth to freaks. Some feel the pressure of one of these conditions, some feel the pressure of two or three, but there is probably no one left who does not sense some danger.

As for the scientists, they are probably tired of being "yes-men." Not everyone wants to play the role of the Judas goat. Not everyone feels right about going along with the principle that "departments issue orders, and science validates them." Furthermore, there is the Russian tradition of direct journalistic appeals to the public, the tradition of Engelhardt, Timiryazev, Dokuchayev, Pryanishnikov, and Vavilov—professors by title, patriots by conscience, and publicists and public advocates by avocation.

Therefore, this is our choice: to join Academician Zhavoronkov in poisoning Lake Baykal or to join writer Rasputin in defending it; to join Corresponding Member Voropayev or NOVYY MIR Editor Zalygin. "No other option," as the Progress Publishing House informs us in the title of its anthology.

But people in the West are telling us: "What you are passing off as literature is a parliamentary matter. Write to your deputy about the river, the land, the rechanneling, or whatever else is bothering you, a commission will be appointed, the law will be amended, and the matter will be settled! What does literature have to do with this?" And the same Westerners call the ecological movement the "Soviet Green Party."

Translations from other languages are always shaky. As far as parliamentary procedure in its real present form is concerned, we must know something about the officials. If a voter in the Kara-Kalpak ASSR complains today to his representative in the USSR Supreme Soviet about the water poisoned by pesticides, about the sky-high infant morality rate, or about the theft of the sea from a fishing people, his letter will go straight to Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Management N.F. Vasilyev. If the same voter sends a letter of protest to the deputy about the salty air from the Aralkums that is killing everything in what was once the Amu delta, it will be delivered to the clean air department—Goskomgidromet [State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control], where Deputy Yu.A. Izrael is the chairman. Therefore, affairs in parliament have to be put in ecological order before anything can be done about the water and the air.

Finally, here is the last question about the Central Asia of the future: What will it cost?

This is a difficult question to answer. Calculations are easiest in the fall, but this is winter—the winter of our discontent.

On 14 August 1986 the decree on the cessation of the projects for the rechanneling of the northern rivers made glasnost a force measurable in billions of rubles! It was an important precedent. Another of the "projects of the century" was shelved in the Ukraine—there will be no Danube-Dnepr canal. Goskompriroda [State Committee for the Protection of Nature] was created as an agency of great promise, and writer F. Morgun, the renowned soil conservationist, was appointed the head of the committee. The press is becoming the union patrol. It was like the jet of water that spurts out of a broken fire hydrant. There was the Astrakhan Gas Condensate Complex, where workers had to wear gas masks, and there were the lethal chemicals of the cis-Dnestr region, which killed 150 species of life in bodies of water in Moldavia and reduced the number of insects to one-twentieth of the previous number. There was the Crimean Nuclear Power Plant, which had been built on a geological fault line, in a seismically hazardous zone, to the accompaniment of grumbling by indignant Crimeans and by millions of vacationers, and there was the severely polluted air in Nizhniy Tagil, Kemerovo, Sverdlovsk, and Angarsk. There was "Berendeyevo Principality," Ostrovskiy's estate in Kostroma, which had fallen to the chemical sword, and there was the Volga "poisonfall," which had poisoned Russia's main river for decades. All of these

became the object of official inquiries by the two creative unions of Russia, headed by S. Mikhalkov and M. Ulyanov. They are supported by academicians B. Laskorin and M. Dubinin—how could we not put our trust in parliamentary procedure here! The Katunskaya GES, the Turukhanskaya GES, Chigirin.... Do we have to add geographical information to assure them that "their work was not in vain," that they "opened the eyes" of...well, if not of Gertsen, then of the reading public and the journalists, who made PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, KOMMUNIST, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and dozens of oblast newspapers the most active environmentalists?

But there has also been the birth and growth of "Vaska-ism." "Vaska listens but keeps eating"—this has been the common reaction! Now he listens (not long ago he would have ordered you to shut up, and before that he would have put you in prison) but he also keeps eating. He does not try to issue denials, much less defend his honor in court. The fact that "Vaska the cat is a cheater, Vaska the cat is a thief" has been announced publicly, on the pages of millions of copies of printed publications, and if it is not true, if slander can be proved, why is no one suing, for example, NOVYY MIR Editor S. Zalygin for slander? No, this would lead to unwanted publicity. What would it publicize? The fact that the ministry is still engaged in these massive projects, that the price of water and land has never been instituted as the basis of the waste-prevention mechanism, and that this very idea is being sabotaged successfully by the "defenders of socialism."

"Vaska-ism" has three lines of defense. The first is that the land and water are free, and if there is no price, there can be no court case. The second is professionalism in the circumvention of planning standards, the dependence of expert evaluation panels, and the twisting of scientists' arms, but without the methods of Vyshinskiy and Khvat. The third is the indulgence of law enforcement agencies and the fearful reluctance of the legal system to investigate cases involving the loss of not a thousand rubles, but a thousand million. If articles 175 (forgery) or 181 (perjury) of the RSFSR Criminal Code had been applied just once to the people who wasted 100 million rubles on the Crimean AES or 50 million on the Volga-Chogray Canal before the plans had been approved, the earlier boldness would have disappeared, and the society could have immediately taken a triple leap toward a legal state.

What can we say? If "Vaska-ism" goes unpunished, people will eventually lose heart. In ancient times a captured city was turned over to the soldiers for 3 days, but today the plundering has been going on for decades. The plans for pillage already extend into the 21st century....

But if we remember that ranks, official positions, and contacts do not matter in literature, and that there is always a single individual, a Karenin, an Onisimov or,

for instance, a Polad-Zade, and that most of the troubles in our world are the result of crimes and it is a person's duty to take the side of the victim, the idea of putting people on trial seems absolutely essential. Are we building a legal state? If so, then how can we indulge criminals today? Are intelligence, sensitivity, and kindness really the signs of a weak-willed person? Are S. Fedorov, V. Bykov, and M. Ulyanov weak-willed people who have given up? Are A. Sakharov, A. Pristavkin, and D. Likhachev too conciliatory? Are D. Granin, A. Adamovich, and B. Okudzhava too capricious? There will be a trial, and perhaps in more than one jurisdiction.

Now allow me to get back to the Caspian. The desert relieves us of the need to speak of petty details and gives us a clearer view of many things.

The Turkmens, the Russians from the Volga region, the Kalmyks, the Azerbaijanis, the Kazakhs, the Dagestanis, the Uzbeks, and the Russians from Moscow—all of us in Kara-Bogaz saw the Caspian as a model world which we could simultaneously destroy by pouring oil into it, poisoning it with sulfur, and turning it into a desert, and preserve, saving it at least for our grandchildren through careful use. We brought a wreath to honor Paustovskiy. We had to lay the wreath down somewhere, but where? There was no city of Kara-Bogaz, there was no port, the bay had dried up, the Kara-Bogazsulfat Chemical Combine had moved more than 70 kilometers away, and the place was full of some kind of fumes. There was only a dam across the strait, built by Minvodkhoz for the alleged benefit of the Caspian. What did Fedorov, a native of Papanin, think about the salty lagoon and the unique natural salt-works, and why did he awaken the creative ability of Leonid Ilyich for this purpose? "In 1980 a dam was built across the strait to preserve the level of the Caspian Sea," the Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary says today. What a miserable lie, what a juvenile concoction! After all, the sea rose 20 meters or so without the will and consent of Leonid Ilyich or Minister Vasilyev, while the strangulation of the strait could only produce a rise of a few millimeters.

We carried the green wreath honoring the romanticist of the First Five-Year Plan around and around, and then finally let it sink into the waters of the Caspian because we did not know what else to do with it.

"Friends, we are the witnesses of an ecological crime," our amazement and distress were expressed in specific terms. "And our inability to do anything but moan and sigh is covering up the crime and letting the criminal get away."

The 1940's gave us the term "war criminal." The 1980's should provide us with a legal definition of the term "ecological criminal"—a person who causes irreparable (or near-irreparable) damage to the planet and thereby kills natural resources with malice aforethought or through negligence or incompetence. Some of those who destroyed the Kara-Bogaz are gone, but most of them are

still alive, and each should have to pay for what he did, if only for the sake of justice and humanitarianism! This is the conclusion drawn in the book "Kaspiy dlya nas i vnukov."

The "Aral-88" expedition was a perfect example of modern-day intervention. For more than 2 months, traveling the 13,000 kilometers from Pamir to the disappearing inland sea, in cars and in planes, and sometimes on foot, the group of science writers from NOVYY MIR and PAMIR, using an airborne laboratory with radar and enlisting the aid of breeders, soil scientists, demographers, and hydrologists interested in the new natural trends (the melting of glaciers on the Pamir and the flooding of the Karakums with the water lost from the canals), did much of the work that should have preceded the multibillion-ruble expenditures on the waters of the Amudarya, but, regrettably, followed these expenditures instead. Never before have journalists done anything this thorough, so far away from familiar contacts, with the direct correlation of the economy to the ecology in a region where everything depends on the water, and we are waiting impatiently to see the results of "Aral-88" in print. We know that the Aral was sold—that is, that it was exchanged for money, in the direct sense of the term, and for what we are assured was our indisputable benefit. On page 61 of the book "Melioratsiya zemel—vsenarodnoye delo" [Land Reclamation Is Our Common Cause], by Minvodkhoz chief N.F. Vasilyev, we learn about value and money: They assessed the value of the sea and the return on irrigation, and then they made some calculations. According to the minister's data, "irrigation in the Aral Sea basin cost the fishing trade, maritime transport on the Aral, and the coastal economy 92.6 million rubles," and the earnings from cotton were 11 billion (the stolen 4 billion were not included). Then either the typesetter made a mistake, or the proofreader simply decided to get closer to the truth, or an assistant dared—just imagine!—to express his own opinion too, and Comrade Vasilyev's defensive tirade was published in this form: "What we see on either side of the scale is an increase in the total basin product of 11.2 billion rubles in agriculture on one side and the sea's own losses of 92.6 billion rubles a year on the other." Yes, billion! Die of embarrassment, Dennis, no mistake could ever be more accurate!

Even in the midst of ecological crimes, the writer's mission remains the same—"description without any sly philosophizing"—and the human being remains the object. I can testify that P.A. Polad-Zade has maniacal, extreme, and vehement objections to the inclusion of ethics in an analysis. Economics—yes, but no morality! During our first meeting in Nukus, First Deputy Minister Polad-Zade bluntly said: "It is time for all of the wailing about the Aral to stop. The case is closed, and the people here will have to learn to live without the sea!" The reaction of the robbed people was so dramatic that Polad-Zade recanted the very next day—and this was the start of the technological "Voblushkin truth." He said it,

but now he could disavow it. "Economic matters, managerial performance evaluations, and even managerial criticism should all stay within the hierarchy. Do not spread the word of my actions to my family, my children, and my grandchildren—do not apply the 'Abuladze effect,' where the youngest member of the family becomes the judge! Managerial pressure does not affect my self-esteem, and you should not either!" We read in OGONEK where one Minkhimprom [Ministry of the Chemical Industry] official was indignant that people were undermining his nine-year-old granddaughter's respect for her grandfather! The girl had come to the administration, had seen the desks and the people, and had asked in confusion: "But you are working, so why are you being called bad names, like bureaucrat?" If the grandfather could tell her the truth (not now, but later, because it is too sad for a child to hear!) about Karabogaz, about the water of the Volga near Ples, and about the air in Angarsk, which makes anyone who is not used to it want to run away, the younger generation would draw completely different conclusions. God forbid that we should have a replay of the plot of "Repentance," but the technocrats who are today's Varlam Arabidzes, have a valid and natural fear of the verdict of posterity.

So write, revered writer! Who ever said that the essay is only a varnished and idyllic account of the truth? Record the characters of our time for posterity—after all, the times change so quickly. Time hurls stereotypes and cliches, like the idea that the industrial age would certainly disenfranchise people, onto the garbage heap. Sweden is only one-fiftieth the size of our motherland, but hunters shoot more elk there than here. The Great Lakes in America were severely polluted, but now there are salmon there, and it cost only 11 billion dollars. Sometimes luck plays a part. Our Sea of Azov suddenly started to lose salt, and people say that the fish are coming back.... We must not isolate ourselves, we must be sociable with other people, we must let them know about our ecological problems and not just about our missiles, and we must form an association for mutual observation, exchange, and assistance, thereby confirming that we have been part of the same community for a long time: homo sapiens plus homo faber.

The priority projects for this new year include the "Volga" expedition: The members of the union's Essay and Journalism Board, in conjunction with ZNAMYA magazine and all literary organs from Seligar to the delta, plan to unite their efforts to save the great river. Expert appraisals of union and even of major international projects must be independent. It would be best if environmental data could be accessible to the public.

Half of the territory of the USSR is inhabited by the 160,000 people referred to collectively as the "northern peoples," although their small homelands stretch from the Kola peninsula to the lower reaches of the Amur. We have bragged about the revolutionary changes in their life for a long time, but Engels was already warning the Russians that people are always convinced the day after

a revolution that what happened was not at all what they wanted. Yes, it is true that the northerners have radio stations, dominoes, and writers, but they no longer have pastures, hunting grounds, or marine mammals: They do, on the other hand, have Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee], Glavokhota [Main Administration of Hunting and Game Preserves], Mingeo [Ministry of Geology], and Minneftegaz [Ministry of Petroleum and Gas Industry]. These reindeer breeders and hunters were driven away by the atomic tests in the Arctic in the 1950's, exploratory drilling for oil in the 1960's, and pipelines through their pastures in the 1970's. The native population sometimes did not see a single cent of the hundreds of billions of petrodollars. KOMMUNIST has reported that the northerners are becoming a lumpenproletariat and are prone to alcoholism and that 7 of the 26 nationalities are almost extinct.

Rasputin Speech

18000500 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in
Russian No 4, 25 Jan 89 p 5

[Speech by Valentin Rasputin at USSR Writers' Union Plenum]

[Text] Discussions of ecology today are not discussions of changes in life, as they were before, but of the need to save it. I will not repeat the well-known facts about the impending catastrophe. We not only know these facts, we can feel them on our skin—the same feeling we get when we get too close to a fire. Talking about ecology today is both 10 times as easy and 20 times as hard as it was 10 years ago, when literature lost all hope that its moral entreaties would have any effect and the powers that be would also pay attention to books. It is easier to talk about ecology today because there is no need to convince anyone that a problem exists. It is constantly encountered in cases of mass poisoning, signs of geriatric deterioration in our children, design errors that doom people to grave illnesses and drive them out of their homes, the constant impoverishment of our flora and fauna, the increasing pollution of the air, soil, and water, which then poison us, and so forth.

But it is also more difficult to talk about ecology today, because people are gradually getting used to danger and learning to live with it. Although the figures attesting to the devastation of our habitat are higher each year, they have ceased to make an impression on us. Besides this, ecology has moved up to government offices and is being mentioned in the reference documents of new laws. The language of ecology has been mastered by the nature-polluting ministries and departments. A committee was finally created for the protection of nature, Goskomprirroda, and the cause of conservation rose to unprecedented heights and acquired equal rights with the cause of producing chemical fertilizers and protein and vitamin concentrates. From now on, the chairman of Goskomprirroda will be allowed to attend official meetings and sit somewhere not too far from Comrade Vasilyev, the head of Minvodkhoz, the same nature-lover who

changed the map of the Aral, tried to make the errant northern rivers flow backwards—and, judging by all indications, will accomplish what he set out to do—and who made millions of hectares of land useless for cultivation with generous floods so that the working man would not have to stoop over so much in the fields.

No one today is against saving nature, but nature, the damned thing, is not meeting us halfway and does not want to be saved. This arouses despair in some people, indifference in others, and fatigue in still others. Now that we have lived through Chernobyl, it would be hard to scare us with another ecological bomb, no matter how big the explosion might be, and we seem to have gradually gotten used to the idea that we, like the fruit-fly, will have to mutate in order to survive.

Instructions have been issued on how to bring up degenerates as happy and productive members of society. Therefore, it appears that there is a solution, and it is not a matter of preservation or prevention, but of adaptation.

At first, people pretended for a long time that nothing terrible was going on, and now we are clumsily trying to take action although we are completely unprepared. We think about what we should do if we do anything at all, but nothing is being done, and tomorrow we will probably announce: "It is too late, save yourselves if you can."

I was planning to talk about the ecology of Russia, but I can see that it would be impossible to separate it from our common problem. In the first place, I cannot do it because ecological problems do not recognize borders, and all republics without exception—some more than others—are the hostages of our uncontrolled and centralized economic management and wasteful economy. The places where mineral resources were found and where there were rivers and valleys for the flourishing of life were the first to suffer, and in many cases without any hope of restoration. And Russia with its vast expanses was no exception to this rule. In fact, it was here (and on the Dnepr at that) that the hard and fast rule came into being. "Name a place...I have never seen a spot like that...." These verses could now apply to the suffering of this entire land, where the long-suffering Russian peasant never suspected that the handful of dust constituting his remains would never rest in peace. It would be hard today to think of a single place or spot without an undeformed appearance, and there is no place to hide from the sharp-sighted descendant of the peasant who touched the heart of the poet, and if by some miracle a place like this should still exist, for example, in the Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast, near the lower reaches of the Yenisey, or on the Lena, it cannot escape our common fate.

We still love to make plans on a grand scale: The projects of Minenergo [Ministry of Power and Electrification] for the next 3 five-year plans include the construction of 93 new hydrostations, which will lead the last remote locations out of the darkness of natural light.

We writers do a lot of traveling and we see a great deal. And when we look at the physical map of our country, we are always aware of the danger that it will come to life. The green, blue, and brown areas representing meadowland, rivers, and mountains will fade before our very eyes; smoke will pour out of the symbols standing for minerals, the rivers will turn into sewers with deformed bulges of stagnant water; the green seas of the taiga, which were so musical just recently, will dry up and become deformed; the natural circulation of water will be accompanied by the circulation of poisons. Speaking of maps, it might be a good idea to draft annual maps (or atlases) of the national disasters befalling the country as a whole and each individual republic with an indication of the changes that are taking place.

Although we have admitted many of our errors in recent years, in keeping with the moral renewal of the society, and have searched for the truth in the original sense of the term, naming the names of the real enemies of the people, we have been contented with half-truths in discussions of the state of our ecology, have continued to protect the authors of planned and unplanned errors with tragic consequences for man and nature, have indulged the self-interested behavior of ministries, and have reconciled ourselves to the existence of fields of production which are poisoning us and which have been officially declared hazardous, such as the production of protein and vitamin concentrates.

Our concern about moral health has relegated the physical health of people to a position of secondary importance, but this obviously affects morality. What would you say if we suddenly faced the danger of the reinstatement of the practices of certain notorious agencies of the 1930's and 1940's? The very thought seems blasphemous today. But the almost uncontrolled activity of Minvodkhoz, which has had equally disastrous effects on our land and water, was not curtailed for decades and is still going on today, and this will cause us to suffer torments that will only be slightly delayed but will be just as unbearable as physical torture. Is this not a conscious restriction of our young democracy, constantly negating all moral and ethical standards and displaying the least concern for the future?

The fate of nature is just one of the many corroborations of our love for extreme situations and cases of clinical death. It is as if we are being motivated by an interest in professional life-saving procedures: We let things go to the point of lifelessness and then leap to their aid. This is what happened on the Aral and this is what is happening on the Volga, Baykal, and Ladoga. For example, we first drained the blood from the non-chernozem zone and accomplished its desolation from the center of Russia by turning it into a god-forsaken place on the verge of beggary, and then we lavishly spent billions to rescue it from the state of near-death, and to spend the billions, not in the Russian manner—or, actually, in the Russian

manner, in a slipshod way—pumping countless chemicals into the soil, driving peasant men and women into urban settlements, and relying on metal structures, concrete, and heavy equipment.

The campaign against “rural communities with no future,” which swept across our country like a forest fire, is a national disgrace, proving that there were no intelligent people to stop the carnage of the hotheads.

In 20 years, between 1966 and 1986, Minvodkhoz spent 130 billion rubles just on water management projects, representing 28 percent of all investments in agriculture for production needs. What can we say? They did work hard. In that time they drained and flooded 23 million hectares, and so vigorously that almost one-third of the land is now useless. The appropriation of funds is something done by swindlers, lone individuals, and small agricultural associations. On the level of government, funds are “assimilated,” but with the same result.

Homo and humus are words with the same root—the Indo-European word for land. At one time the land and the human had names that sounded alike, man came from the womb of the land, and man was part of the land. And if man had been able to read the commandments inscribed for him in the sky, so that they would be visible from any spot on earth, he would know that they begin with this law: All food, truth, and consolation come from the land. Imagine the degree of degeneration it has taken to turn modern-day homo sapiens into his own enemy, into a savage creature seeking his own prosperity in the destruction of humus!

Minvodkhoz' prosperity as a result of its practices is an enigma wrapped in a mystery even in our country, where wonders never cease. If public opinion and the recommendations of scientists, specialists, and authoritative commissions mean anything in our country, why do they have no effect on the attitudes of this monstrous edifice with the noble title? Or were the moral, economic, and physical injuries it inflicted on our society less serious than those of the Churbanov gang, whose trial aroused the interest of the entire world? Or are the arms of democracy and glasnost too short to reach the people at the top who are protecting Minvodkhoz like a cherished offspring? Or are its practices, which seem to us ignorant people to be against nature and against the people, dictated by some kind of special state interest and something like long-range precautions against possible abundance?!

If the energy writers had expended in the battle with Minvodkhoz could have generated kilowatt-hours, we would not need any nuclear power plants. We celebrated our victory too early in 1986, when the government decree was published on the curtailment of the projects for the rechanneling of the northern and Siberian rivers. We can see today that this was a pyrrhic victory. We should have suspected this when the decree was followed by the presentation of a high award to the minister—as compensation for the need to redeploy his forces.

Two years ago in this auditorium, Tulenbergen Kaipbergenov, the Kara-Kalpak writer, told us the tragic story of the Aral, a story which shocked us and which implicated Minvodka directly. The Aral Sea was declared a disaster zone, but the heads of Minvodka did not lose a moment of sleep.

Today we do not have to guess "whose moaning can be heard along the great Russian river." The moan is coming from the Volga itself, which is pockmarked along its entire length and breadth. Feeling sick, with its water turning to brine, the river is being squeezed in some places by the dams of hydrostations and is swollen in others with reservoirs, and it is feeling the loss of its famous wealth of fish, decreasing with each year. When you look at the Volga, you get a particularly strong sense of the price of our civilization, of the temptations that attracted us as easily as if we had been irresponsible children, and substituted the happiness of egotistical victories and achievements for the joy of living. It seems that everything that could have been vanquished has been vanquished, even our spirit and even our future.... Bitterness is eating away at our hearts, like the ashes from factory pipes, and is hindering our movements, but some people are leading the way to goals that are supposed to make our life easier, and although we know that they can only make it worse, we are still following them.

There are 14 large reservoirs in the Volga basin and countless small ones, there is almost no room left there for any kind of life, but two more hydrostations are being built—the Cheboksarskaya and the Nizhnekamskaya. Thermal and nuclear power plants and chemical plants are being built. It was to the Volga that Minvodka wanted to redirect the northern rivers, to save the Caspian Sea from getting too shallow. The Caspian knew what was happening better than we did and it refused to be saved. Then they found another reason, and they decided to pump the water from the Volga through huge canals to the Don and the Ural to irrigate the fields.

Our society did not succeed in rechanneling the rivers because the rechanneling is being done from the wrong end. Thirteen canals have been dug on the Volga, and another six are being dug now, including the Ilovatskiy, the Kamyshinskiy, the Volga—Chogray, and the Volga—Don-2. And what, we might ask, should Minvodka do now that it has been allocated 50 billion rubles in capital investments for this five-year plan and has a huge army of builders and equipment but no one is suggesting that it disarm? It will dig canals, even if they are canals going to the moon, just so that it can use these billions and occupy the army armed to its teeth.

Doctor of Economic Sciences M. Ya. Lemeshev painted a classic portrait of the formative years of our economy, illustrating this with the example of iron ore and metal. "In our country," he said, "we mine 252 million tons of ore a year. This is five times as much as in the United States. By mining the ore in what we call the progressive

open-pit method, we are destroying thousands of hectares of valuable chernozems, disrupting the hydrological balance of vast regions, and creating a water shortage. Then huge mining and enriching combines and metallurgical plants are built to process the ore. Smelting pollutes the air and water. The resulting metal is used for the construction of gigantic rolling mills. These mills produce high-grade steel for the construction of huge rotary excavators for the mining of iron ore. One such 'monster' has, as engineers assure us, colossal productive potential, but it is really monstrous destructive potential; it can dig up 6,500 cubic meters an hour. This naturally requires huge expenditures of energy and labor. This closes the circle and begins a new technological loop with the same depressingly negligible efficiency from the standpoint of the consumer goods it provides for people and the tragic injuries it inflicts on nature."

Here is another example, illustrated by water management and power engineering. The land flooded by the Volga-Kama reservoirs covered an area of 2.5 million hectares. There is no need to add that these were highly fertile hectares. The same number of hectares—2.5 million—were irrigated by the Volga in 1985. Now one-fourth or one-fifth of these hectares are either unsuitable for cultivation or demand immediate reclamation because of excessive watering. By the year 2000 the irrigated area is to be almost doubled. Saratov Oblast now has 5,000 kilometers of canals, 9,000 kilometers of pipelines, 17,000 hydraulic structures, and 3,800 pumping stations. The Saratovskaya GES is probably not big enough anymore to pump water because the electric motors of only 332 stations requires 700,000 kilowatts, and the GES produces just over a million. The same thing is happening in Volgograd Oblast, where much of the land has been ravaged by water management projects, which required hydraulic power engineering, and this, in turn, destroyed the land that did not need irrigation. Once again, a vicious circle.

The next in line is the Volga-Ural Canal. Will the GES's on the lower Volga be enough? Will the Ural and Don lands be enough? And what about the water of the Volga? How can we even discuss ecology when the legal, economic, moral, and social bases of our country are being trampled—and for whose benefit? Who can explain why this is being done? We usually say it is a result of narrow departmental interests. Why do we call them "narrow" if they are broader than state interests?! With its decree, the government proposed to reduce water consumption in industry and in agriculture, but the ministry plans a significant increase. Judging by what we hear from industrial centers, we can understand why it is getting harder to breathe in our country. There are more than 100 cities where pollution is sometimes dozens of times in excess of sanitary norms, putting these cities in the category of disaster zones. This is the rule. The more loudly their names were proclaimed and the more brightly they shone in propaganda fireworks, the more

soot they were covered with later. The communist construction projects turned into gas chambers. This happened in Magnitogorsk, Novokuznetsk, Angarsk, Bratsk, and many other places.

The veterans of these construction projects who did not leave in time and who now have a chance to watch their grandchildren cough and choke, must be thinking some terrible thoughts. The price of some things that seemed so romantic just recently, like the unionwide recruitment campaigns for Magnitogorsk and the roads and projects of the century, turned out to be much too high.

The many construction projects the national interest demanded have now been replaced by many departments which are tearing the land to pieces. Our common body is covered by the cancerous tumors of these formations, and the malignant nature of the bulges was once seen as proof of development. It is time to ask what kind of doctors, what kind of specialists, and what kind of economists these were if they could not distinguish the malignant from the benign! But we will not ask ridiculous questions: They could tell the difference, but they were also affected by the metastases of our common disease. Now we are calling things by their right names, and our diagnostic skill meets world standards, but this has done little to change the situation.

Incidentally, even literature displayed examples of pluralism in attitudes toward nature until just recently, and while some fought against the hydrostations in the flatlands, the barbarous clearing of forests, and the rechanneling of rivers, others just garnered experience around the bonfires of civilization, to the point of the atomic bonfires, which were just as effective as the bonfires of the inquisition in burning truths of the same kind—what holds the earth up, and around what does it revolve? Homo technicus invaded literature with his own language and his own concerns. Some day this will probably help to explain the most typical phenomenon of our day, expressed in the old saying: "He would sell his own mother for a well-turned phrase." Sadly enough, the writers union is just like Minvodkhoz when professional zeal is not held in check by moral reins.

Luckily, the social requisition for hallelujahs, just as the resulting force-feeding, was a temporary stage in our literature and did not have any serious after-effects.

About 20 years ago Siberia made such a strong impression on Mikhail Dudin that he wrote:

Plunge into the oily swamps,
half-poisoned by gas.
What is your hurry? Where is your mind?
Take a good look at yourself,
you cannot use up everything at once.
Leave at least a little something for the
future!

But Mikhail Dudin's warning reached only readers, and you know that nothing depends on them. So Siberia continued to be wrung dry, and now they have almost finished the job. When the Spanish conquistadors raced to the New World in Columbus' wake, they did not conceal their intentions or stand on ceremony with the natives. Almost 400 years after Yermak, today's conquistadors, in the form of ministries and departments, set sail for the countries of the midnight sun with equal enthusiasm, but were able to give their landing parties a noble appearance as well as the proper sound effects. No one told the native: "Go away, civilization has arrived!" But it was on his land that they found oil. They built the largest hydrostation in the world and referred to the forest-devouring monster with the acronym LPK [lumber industry complex].

Good luck can cause as much suffering as bad luck. This applies to more than one discovery of great resources in Siberia which were supposed to bring happiness but brought sorrow instead. The native land of a small ethnic group was devastated, and the group lost its distinctive features at the same time. After all, it is no joke that hereditary reindeer breeders were forced to raise pigs when they lost their grazing ranges. I saw Alitet Namtushkin wandering around the halls of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at the 19th party conference in an attempt to deliver a letter saying that if the Turkhan-skaya GES were to be built in Krasnoyarsk, the reservoir would flood more than a thousand kilometers of the land of his ancestors and threaten the destruction of the Evenk people—all because of Minenergo's good deed! There are still some Evenki in Irkutsk Oblast and on the lower Tungus, where the forest has been turned over to the Ust-Ilimskiy combines for felling. So where should the poor Evenk, the hunter and reindeer breeder, go? Should he operate the bulldozer that will turn his native land into an artificial sea, or should he go make cellulose pulp?

Russia has no more reserve land, which is how Siberia, covering half of the country's territory, was defined for a long time. It took just a few decades to disembowel the giant. They never managed to heat Siberia up with turbines, coal, oil, gas, or the felled forests, but they are already looking for another cold and comfortless place.

Few of our contemporaries have any urge to go to Bratsk so they can admire the Bratskaya GES, this installation which is not only magnificent, but is also quite grand. Its reputation was not tarnished by the appearance of competition in the form of the Krasnoyarskaya, Ust-Ilimskaya, and Sayano-Shushenskaya GES's, but because the cost of its construction and the accompanying "assimilation" became quite obvious.

Bratsk is so polluted by the nonferrous metallurgy giant, the lumber industry giant, and the titans of other industries that the birds here die on the wing, and not from the cold, but from the stench, and the area has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the country, comparable to the rate in the most underdeveloped countries. These are the depths to which it has sunk, the "golden hour" of Bratsk, which we just recently used as a point of reference.

Three months ago the sewage from the protein and vitamin concentrate plant in Angarsk filled the hospitals with more patients than they could handle—more than a thousand people were poisoned. This is the same kind of production that exists in Kirishi, in Leningrad Oblast, which became famous throughout the world when the people there refused to accept the role of laboratory rabbits and rebelled. The saviors of the plant from Minmedbioprom [Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry] arrived in Angarsk just after the emergency medical teams. The plant began operating again after just a brief closure. Of course, it is true that the work here now is only 30 percent of the previous workload, but we have no reason to doubt that as soon as passions have subsided, some kind of minor adjustment will be made, and the work will proceed at full swing again. The saddest thing about this story is that people are being poisoned and are dying for the sake of what many experts have called a harmful product, a product which poses a biological threat to us along with the meat of livestock and poultry and eggs. The use of this protein is prohibited in Italy, France, and Japan, but the output in our country is growing. Eight plants are already producing it, one is being built, and two are being designed. We will have to wait and see whether Comrade Bykov, the minister of Medbioprom, is awarded a state medal for the Angarsk "effect."

Incidents of this kind force us to suspect the statement that ecology is no longer the last word in our economy and has become its sister. It will take, oh, so very long to get to this point! There is enough authoritarianism, arbitrary behavior, deception, and outright disregard for laws and public opinion to prevent this. Here is another "painful" example—Katun in the Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast. This incident aroused so many seething emotions and it still makes some people's blood boil! Groups for the protection of Katun were formed all over the country, the plan was not approved, no ecological impact report was filed, but the GES is being built anyway. Minenergo stopped our hands—or, more precisely, our tongues—so many times by assuring us: "But it is not being built, it is not being built, not one cubic meter of rock has been excavated, not one cubic meter of concrete has been poured." But we can hear the explosions, we can see the access roads, worker settlements are growing, millions are being invested—so that they can generate more investments, but Minenergo assures us that it did not even lay a hand on the virgin Katun. I remember one incident: The BTsBK [Baykal Pulp and

Paper Combine] had been operating for 8 years. Suddenly they realized that there was no construction permit. Good God, how was it built, how had all of the storms been weathered? It was time to quickly write up the document so that everything would be in order. Is this not exactly what Minvodkhoz and Minenergo are doing now? Has anything changed?!

In April 1987 a government decree on Lake Baykal was published. It was the fourth high-level decree of the last 20 years, since the time Lake Baykal began to be developed for the pulp and paper industry. A few things were being done in accordance with earlier decrees, and a little bit is being done now, but "a few things" are not enough for Lake Baykal, because it is in a critical state, and the maneuvers which have already become as ritualistic as the ritual dances around any decision, will not help it. It is already obvious that the main projects which could alleviate the industrial pressure on our "glorious" lake will not be completed on schedule. Minlesprom [Ministry of the Timber Industry] is in no hurry to build compensatory facilities or to remove the BTsBK, and there are still arguments over whether or not industry in the cis-Angarsk region can run on gas and cities and settlements in the cis-Baykal zone can be heated by electricity. The tactic is familiar: They are in no hurry because they are waiting to see if circumstances change, and they are trying to save money on the Baykal projects.

Our economy has saved so much on nature that it is time to build a paradise, but the matter will now probably be complicated by the search for a some planet with a clean location for the paradise.

I am a pessimist by nature, and ecological topics should probably be discussed by people like me. Optimists are not concerned about ecology. For them the future is wonderful just because it is a future in which the pessimists they know will not spoil their mood, and when they look at the present they see only positive trends. An optimist will not be horrified by the thousands of people poisoned in Angarsk, just as he will not be horrified by the victims of Chernobyl, but will say that the very nature we are protecting was kind enough to kill tens of thousands of people in Armenia and leave hundreds of thousands homeless. He would be right in his own way: Natural disasters are the work of the forces of nature, although the people of the 20th century have provoked natural disorder with their global interference in the order of the biosphere. I know that there can be no connection here, but I still cannot help remembering that the tragedy in Armenia followed the man-made tragedy in Sevan. When we damn nature, we must not forget that it seemed to pull its punches at the last minute and did not set free the even more terrible natural forces contained in the peaceful atom. We have to pay a price for anything good, they say, but will we continue bargaining in this way for our future?

We writers who say and write so much about environmental protection agree too easily with the terms of the argument imposed on us. "What alternative do you see

to nuclear power engineering?" we are asked, and we quickly start looking for an alternative. But why should we look for one? You power engineers and specialists who are holding all the cards should be the ones to look for it. I know that there are no alternatives to life. If something is lethal, then we should get rid of it, whatever the cost. "It started with a bang and there will be another bang," specialist and academician Legasov said before he died. Medical experts are not looking for an alternative to cancer or AIDS; they are trying to eliminate them.

If we proceed not from the interests of the specially created Minatomenergo [Ministry of Atomic Power], but from the national interest, our country is certainly capable of compensating several times over for the 10 percent of the load the AES's are now carrying. The attempts to frighten us with the prospect of universal darkness are futile. Nowhere in the world does the transmission of energy over long distances cause such huge losses because of faulty technology and equipment; the losses are equivalent to the output of 10 Sayano-Shushenskaya GES's. Minenergo still does not want to bother with wind, solar, tidal, and other power plants and small hydrostations, which are ecologically clean, close to the consumer, and genuinely inexpensive—after all, it regards these as unprofitable and widely scattered installations offering no opportunity for extravagance. We are only in 67th place in the world in the use of these sources of energy. Not even one-tenth of our hydraulic power is being used, but these resources have been undermined by the giant installations.

In all, according to calculations, up to 80 percent of the energy generated by the fuel and energy complex in our country is wasted.

As soon as we say anything at all about the barbarous destruction of the forests and the need for the immediate and unconditional removal of pulp production units from Lake Baykal, we hear the same question about alternatives again: "You writers write, and you need paper for your books." If we ever had to make the choice, we would probably rather breathe than write. We would be willing to dissolve the writers union, but only on the condition that the bureaucrats start using recycled paper. They use just as much paper as we do. In a more efficient system of economic management, however, we would not have to find new occupations, because we do not even have to search for what is called an alternative—it is being left in wood cutting areas, is disintegrating in dumps, and is being wasted at a rate several times the rate per ton of paper and pulp in the developed countries.

This also applies to many other things—to metal, to oil and gas, and even to grain. If you use a bucket to fill a teaspoon, no amount of wealth and no alternatives will be enough. This is not economy: They have become mired in human waste before they have even fed the person.

I wish I were wrong about what is happening in our country, and especially about the results of the changes in our environmental policy. There is no question that it is changing along with the changes in our environmental thinking. Expenditures on environmental protection exceeded 60 billion rubles in the last 2 five-year plans. It is true that almost half of the money was used to maintain production, and the remainder was less than Minvodka received for 1 five-year plan. Obsolete enterprises are being remodeled, and old equipment is being sent to Siberia, as if into exile. More and more production units are recycling their water, and we are finally starting to recover gas. The number of natural preserves and national parks and the area of recultivated lands are increasing. All-union and republic (wherever there were none before) committees for environmental protection have been created. Measures are being taken, as you can see, and we are trying to do something.

But these measures might be too late. What might have stopped the destructive processes yesterday are not enough today. Requirements have multiplied. We should not be deluded by the billions allocated for nature. How much money, for example, has been spent and is still being spent to clean up the BTsBK instead of getting rid of it forever? In other words, we are still trying to treat atrophied or abnormally distended economic organs. And how much conservation money will we have to sow in Minvodka's wake in order to reap something before it is too late? Why are the protein and vitamin concentrate plants being remodeled—so that the poison can be driven out of the air and into our food?! We are opening a natural preserve near BTsBK, which will dry up its forests and grass and will drive away the animals. And what kind of natural preserves and national parks can be located next to nuclear power plants?! A man should not want to see a nightingale singing above a nuclear reactor, or is this a sign that his emotions have already been affected by radiation? We have not even approached many of the problems in our country. Automobile traffic, for example, the safe purification of water without chlorination, chemicals in agriculture, the use of sewage, the development of energy-saving technology, machines, and tools, the freon in the atmosphere, etc., etc.

Our society had great hopes for Goskompriroda. And why not? It took so much effort to give birth to this extremely necessary conservation agency, capable of averting ecological and economic disaster. Of course, to do all of this, Goskompriroda would have had to be born with more extensive powers on a higher level and with supra-departmental authority, but we were happy with what we had. And while we were celebrating, the ministries were not napping. They planted their own representatives in the new agency. We do not have to guess whose interests they will protect. Anyone who ever had to deal with the ecological censor, who was better than anyone else at keeping the socialist habitat clean, discovered in amazement that the first deputy chairman of Goskompriroda was Comrade Sokolovskiy, the same Comrade

Sokolovskiy who had monitored the welfare of publications on nature in Goskomgidromet. One of the deputy chairmen is one of our boys from Irkutsk, a former party worker who was never known to display any great love for nature under any circumstances. There is no telling when he found the time to acquire this love. Another one of my countrymen, the former chairman of the Irkutsk Oblispolkom, during whose time the most predatory of the predators—the poachers—felt especially free to do whatever they wanted with impunity in the Siberian taiga, the man who was in charge when a decree was published on the obliteration of the last Angarsk islands by turning them into gravel, was transferred to Moscow and headed the Russian committee for the protection of nature. Life is certainly full of surprises. And what can we expect from oblast and kray committees? In many cases they have become cozy and peaceful spots for people who no longer have any influence, are now just waiting for retirement, and are ready, pen in hand, to sign any document whatsoever.

This is how Goskompriroda, conceived with the best intentions, fell into the wrong hands along with all of its subdivisions. Of course, we cannot deny that it is now in its formative stage, which is never an easy time, and the society hopes that it will take an active part in the resolution of the problems on which our life depends, including a decision on the Volga canals, the construction of GES's in the flatlands without approved plans and ecological impact reports, the production of fodder yeast from petrolatum, and the most important problem—the operation of nuclear plants.

When M.S. Gorbachev met representatives of the French public in Moscow in September 1987, he did not conceal the fact that "environmental problems have a stranglehold on all of us." Just recently, when he addressed the United Nations, he proposed the creation of an international center for emergency ecological aid. This initiative can only be applauded. It will take global action to prevent global disaster. But we probably will not need the help of the United Nations to shorten the reach of Minvodkhoz or Minenergo.

The activities of these ministries are causing the entire country to suffer and are undermining all of the bases of our future. The recently organized Social-Ecological Union, uniting more than a hundred public conservation organizations and groups, has declared 12 February a day of national protest against the construction of the Volga-Chogray Canal, which will cost the state from 2 to 3 billion rubles and will inflict immeasurable damage on the land. I propose that the plenum support this action.

I propose that the plenum resolution include the following statements:

1. We will request the government to take immediate measures against the uncontrolled activity of Minvodkhoz, activity which is extremely harmful in the ecological sense, wasteful in the economic sense, and still aimed at massive, wasteful, and hazardous construction projects.

This ministry, which has been managing the country's water and land resources for 20 years according to its own wishes and to its own advantage, should have to report the final results of its work to the people.

2. We will support a national referendum on the use and further augmentation of nuclear power engineering.

3. We will stop the ministerial practices that squander national resources. The departmental mechanism for the destruction of nature is still working. It is leading the country to ecological disaster. Our country, which was just recently the richest in the world in natural resources, has lost or ruined them in just a few decades. The popular movement for guaranteed survival must aid in saving our fatherland from ecological disaster and economic ruin.

This is not an exaggeration and it is not an display of panic: The fatherland is in danger. When something like this happens, all other affairs are set aside, even the most important ones, and the writer rushes to the defense of his country, as he did in the war years. I think that none of you would have to be drafted into service when the explosions start to be heard. Today I am appealing to anyone who still feels complacent to give up this complacency. Go to the Aral Sea, to the Volga, to Kara-Bogaz, to the Angara—things have gone too far for you to remain ignorant and unruffled.

The writers in our country have done much and are still doing much to prevent nature-devastating ventures. Our plenum today proves this. We can only hope that it will unite our efforts even more. Listen, and you will hear—from the west to the east and from the south to the north, the land is waiting hopefully, because it still has faith in the power of the writer's message.

Discussion at Writers' Union Plenum on Ecology
1800501a Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 4, 25 Jan 89 pp 6-10

[Speeches at the Writers' Union Plenum on Ecology]

[Excerpts] At the rostrum is **Yu. Shcherbak** (the Ukraine). He said, a new superstition of the age of the scientific-technical revolution has come into being in our country; it is based on the mythical connection of the letter "ch" with the ecological misfortunes of our people: we are speaking of the five hot spots of the Ukraine: Chernobyl, Chernovtsy, Chigirin, Cherkassy, and Chernigov. From the radiation burns and deaths of Chernobyl to the balding of children of Chernovtsy. From Chigirin, whose lands sanctified by the names of Bogdan Khmel'nitskiy and Taras Shevchenko the USSR Minatomenergo [USSR Ministry of Atomic Energy] is profaning by building a new AES [nuclear power plant], to the serious genetic and somatic consequences of the environmental pollution by chemical enterprises in Chernigov and Cherkassy. The alarm sounded five times at the glad twittering of the medical "nightingales of

Chernobyl" who assured the people that they were in no danger and that the most important thing was for everyone to stay where they were and loyally keep silent and in the meantime wash their hands with soap, which the stores did not have.

I would not want our plenum to become an all-Union competition to tabulate ecological disasters; we all live in conditions of complete ecological unfreedom and rapidly deteriorating standards of living and violation of all mechanisms of the ecological balance, all public health norms, and all elementary laws of morality which oblige every person to think about the fate of his children and his grandchildren. The result of this is a lower life expectancy, a higher death rate from cancer, and a greater number of genetic abnormalities and allergy illnesses. And people's health is a very important indicator of the social effectiveness of society.

In speaking of the problems generated by the Chernobyl tragedy, Yu. Shcherbak painfully notes the fact that even now hundreds of thousands of people in the Ukraine and in Belorussia live on contaminated lands, where, according to existing information carefully concealed by the official medical committee, the first sad consequences of the atomic evil are already being observed. Any signs of public alarm are declared radiation phobia. This disgraceful diagnosis is also stuck on people who survived Chernobyl, people who worked there and who themselves experienced the not fully understood force of impact of radiation on an organism.

In spite of that, the USSR Ministry of Atomic Energy is imposing on the Ukraine a program of continued unrestrained enlargement of AES capacities and is expanding existing AES's—the Rovno AES, the South Ukraine AES, and the Khmel'nitskiy AES—and introducing new ones—the Crimea AES and the Chigirin AES mentioned here. Neither the protests of the public nor responsible statements by scientists, power engineers, ecologists, or writers have as yet fundamentally shaken the concrete stubbornness of the atomic apparatchiks.

In addition to the corruption of nature, human hearts are being corrupted. People are accustomed to the idea that any protest is useless, and there has developed a certain circle of Faustian scientists, including medical specialists, who are willing to scientifically substantiate any project, even the most insane one. We must talk about that and give their names.

Then the speaker cited excerpts from the banned conclusion to the documentary publicistic film by the director R. Sergiyenko "The Threshold" (Kiev Film Studio imeni Dovzhenko), signed by the chairman of the group of experts P. M. Verkhovy, who believes that "all data about the radiation dose and information which reveals the fitness for work and condition of persons exposed to radiation during or after the accident should be eliminated" from the screenplay's text.

So the film, which raises very serious questions of ecology and people's health, was not put into circulation. Yu. Shcherbak believes that responsibility for the suppression of all the data on the medical consequences of Chernobyl also falls to L. Ilyin, the vice president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences—a representative of the super-optimistic school in our radiation medicine.

In 1988 with the active participation and support of the Writers' Union, a powerful ecology movement emerged and took on organizational forms; this movement united numerous groups into the Zeleniy Svit Association. The idea of this association is an alliance of emotions and reason, of ardent patriotic feelings and cold rational knowledge, a union of workers, peasants, and the technical, scientific, and creative intelligentsia on behalf of saving life on our earth.

As the chairman of the Ukrainian Zeleniy Svit Association and as a writer, doctor, and scientist, Yu. Shcherbak called upon the plenum to adopt an Ecology Declaration, in which the main concerns and demands would be formulated, as well as to support the proposal of Oles Gonchar to convene an International Chernobyl Forum "Memories and Warnings" in Kiev in 1990 with the participation of Soviet and foreign writers, scientists, figures of culture, and religious figures.

G. Malarchuk (Moldavia) began with a story about the work of the ecology section created in the republic 5 years ago. That was before restructuring, but its members did not even notice the change to the new ideas: they were pounded "before," and they still are "after," although perhaps a little more intelligently, with bows and smiles. They used to be called false patriots, extremists, narrow regionalists, ambitious, and simply stupid and confused; recently they have also been called informals.

Last year the USSR Journalists' Union decided to hold a round table discussion in Moldavia on the question "Coverage of the Ecology Topic in the Press." The event was planned for September. And here is the story which the speaker told of preparations for it and how it was held. The secretary summoned us and told us the details: about 60 guests were expected and we were graciously allowed to invite another 10 people at our own discretion. We were to put together a detailed program for the round table, and we did it gladly. We divided everything into 2 days: the first was a trip to the south to the unfortunate Danube-Nisporeny Canal (incidentally, there will probably be no canal, but about 120 million of the people's money has already been cast to the wind), and another trip to the north, along the Dnestr. Plenary sessions were planned for the second day and in conclusion a big subbotnik [voluntary work day] and speeches before students, workers, and the like.

Included in the list of those invited were Fedor Morgun, Sergey Zalygin, Valentin Rasputin, Yuriy Chernichenko, Academician Yablokov, and colleagues from LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. It was a good list. We presented

the plan to the presidium of the governing board and received words of praise from them: great job, they said, you have a good section, a fighting section, wait for the event. We waited. The summer passed in pleasant tasks. It was already time to order the hotel. And then, as usually happens here, at first a rumor began to spread that the people up there, in the big house, had found a conspiracy in our plan. Show the guests the canal? Why take them to the Dnestr? What students and what kind of a separate list was this? No, no, a thousand times no. Moscow was called and the round table discussion canceled. But at the same time it was decided to hold something like an alternative conference on the republic's ecology problems. And this model event was held last month. It was a 2-day event. Everything was scheduled in advance down to the smallest detail on the 1,000 copies of a program printed on excellent paper. Incidentally, among those speaking were writers and journalists and even a cinematographer and a musicologist—all in the spirit of the times. The buffets were all in good working order. In the hall for the presidium waiters in severe black uniforms with red lapels and artistic bow ties handed out free lunches on luxurious tableware. Was this possibly a tribute to tradition or nostalgia for a time which had not quite passed?

Outside the republic, such an approach to complex questions on the principle "no, no, a thousand times no" is called the "Moldavian syndrome." It, the syndrome, envisions not only blind celebration of everything new and unusual but also demonstration of so-called "positive examples," which the soul of the bureaucrat yearns for. That, they say, is how ecology measures should be conducted, without unnecessary trips, without students and individual lists. And if you are given the floor, speak, and don't forget the free lunch.

Only the people now are not so very obedient. At the most informal of the rallies I saw people with telling placards with "No! No! A Thousand Times No!" written on top in black paint and underneath that in red paint—"Yes! Yes! A Thousand Times Yes!" In my opinion, that is an extremely simple formula which clearly explains the essence of all today's misunderstandings.

Then the orator polemicized with the authors of an article which appeared in the Moldavian press. It turns out that under the influence of "uninformed" elements the managers of more than 120 farms in 18 of the republic's rayons stopped using mineral fertilizers last year. But instead of being praised they were rebuked. Two doctors and one candidate of sciences wrote, "Speaking frankly, the appeals of certain dilettantes to prohibit the use of mineral fertilizers, and above all nitrogen fertilizers, seem very naive. Those managers and specialists who give in to emotions and hasten to obey those appeals rather than reason or the laws of biology seem even less far-sighted." From their position of a complete monopoly on the laws of biology and reason, the authors stated: "The poisoning of people with nitrates contained in plant products has not been

recorded in the country." But then for what reason did the USSR Ministry of Health along with the agriculture industry publish instructions on the acceptable norms of nitrates and on the procedure for detecting them? Do the authors know that a law is now being formulated on accountability for delivering food products with a high nitrate content? That seven scientific research institutes of the USSR Ministry of Health system are studying the nitrate problem? And one certainly does not have to be a scientist to know that nitrates are harmful even to livestock.

The speaker noted with regret that in the republic the ecology section is sometimes called the "section of lost battles." There is a great deal of bitter truth in this. The forests in whose defense its members rose up have been cut down. The Dnestr of which people have been and are writing is in its death agony. There is no special journal. The academic almanac on environmental protection was closed several years ago. Last year a detailed memorandum on ecology issues was composed and sent to the Central Committee Buro. The memorandum did not reach the Buro. An appeal was made to the Supreme Soviet session—the appeal was not even read out. Newspapers and journals are unwilling to publish nature conservation materials. In short, the number of "lost battles" is growing every year.

The Belorussian publicist V. Yakovenko, who spoke next, noted that concern for the earth has resounded in this hall because the idea of the madness of Homo Sapiens who have emitted fumes on the planet and turned it inside out is more and more disturbing. According to scientists, in the 1970's and 1980's the "aggressiveness" of Belorussian agriculture increased 12-fold, but at the same time the technology of farming and livestock breeding did not change. The republic has become enamored of large livestock breeding complexes. But in calculating their efficiency [okupayemost], the ecological-economic and power engineering losses are not taken into account. But if they are in fact taken into account, introducing these gigantic complexes makes no sense, especially since they violate the normal rhythm of rural life in contiguous territories.

After emphasizing the idea that technocrats and adventurers who live for the moment are capable not only of taking away the soul of nature but of the Motherland as well, the Belorussian publicist said that only our restructuring can change the situation, but we are now at the crucial point. If agricultural chemicals were dark blue, let us say, people today would walk around in bright reflections of blue and would look like ghosts. If radionuclides began to sparkle around the bright fires of arc welding, in the twinkling of an eye a sea of fire would spread throughout Belorussia, and it would flood not just Khoynikiy, Braginskiy, or Krasnopolskiy rayons and not just those 17 which have officially been called lost. Unfortunately, this misfortune is invisible; nonetheless the arrows of chemicals and radiation strike people, more and more often causing asthma and allergy diseases,

cancer, and other diseases, generally by attacking the immune system and changing and distorting the coating in the genes, as scientists have already directly stated. However, at that tragic time the republic agroprom considered it best to remove livestock from the most contaminated regions, but the Ministry of Health annulled this decision and, moreover, left people in the area. A deal between the parties was finally fully reached, and vague, cheerful reports making no mention at all of radiation went on the airwaves; these reports were about the labor heroism of the "poleshchuka's" [literally "pike of the fields"] who in complicated conditions overfilled plans to produce grain, milk, and meat (which they did not know what to do with later, by the way). That was the triumph of the local authorities and the republic's leadership: see what Belorussians are capable of, they said! You can put them right in the fire, but they fulfill the plan! In essence the press did not cover the events in Belorussia. It ignored the Belorussians and the question of help from central funds. But many of our high-ranking leaders, who had the primary responsibility for studying the situation and taking the appropriate measures in connection with radioactive contamination, were promoted. And the people were left with their misfortune. Even then the population was not supplied with fresh produce or the livestock—with feed. As was noted above, plans for areas under crops were not revised and people, including students of various ages, dug in the contaminated soil harvesting potatoes and beets. People were not evacuated from many points where work force was needed. Some villages are being settled again without the proper strict testing. Radionuclides are spreading throughout the republic in feed and foodstuffs. The republic's leaders are ignoring the fact that, as scientists assert, collective or summary exposure of large populations is a delayed reaction bomb capable of blowing up the genes system of an entire people.

Then the speaker emphasized that the republic community was extremely interested in the publication of all materials which reveal radiation conditions in Belorussia. Persons guilty of concealing the truth and concealing the real state of affairs concerning radioactive contamination must be brought to strict responsibility.

After dwelling on certain alarming symptoms in the republic's economy where reports are made based on gross output, and output of very doubtful quality, or even in terms of "high" profitability of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, V. Yakovenko noted that in the 1987 harvest year, for example, profitability stood at 33 percent; and in the 1988 harvest year where there was a significant decline in production, it suddenly leaped up to 40 percent, and that was all because last year when there was a crop failure the republic administration forced a number of farms to hand over seed potatoes to the state procurement account. That was when the report was highest of all!

The republic's writers, the speaker noted, are more active than ever in the publicistics field. Artistic thought

is clearly becoming political. Public debates and conferences held jointly with scientists, including the interpublic forum of Belorussian and Ukrainian writers and scientists devoted to the fate of the Pripjat, promote the depth, acuteness, and competence of press statements. Joint efforts managed to influence the course of events on Naroch Lake and on the Western Dvina. Along with Lithuanians Belorussians made a cultural-ecological expedition along the Daugava. Preparations are also being made for an expedition along the Dnepr in which Belorussian, Ukrainian, and Russian writers and scientists will take part.

The persons who determine economic and cultural policy but who, unfortunately, have a low cultural and intellectual level should bear responsibility for the fairly complicated state of affairs in national culture, the Belorussian publicist believes. Many of them got their leadership posts through all-red patronage, which especially flourished in the 1980's when cobblers really did begin to bake pies. For that reason the campaign which the republic's "ideological service" has waged in recent months against writers and against the creative intelligentsia as a whole who support glasnost, democratization, and restructuring was no accident.

Belorussian publicists supported the idea of raising the status of Goskompriroda [State Committee for the Protection of Nature] in the republic. V. Yakovenko proposed that the plenum support this initiative. In the opinion of literary figures, the chairman of Goskompriroda should be one of the deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, which would fundamentally change the strength of Goskompriroda and change the situation.

S. Zalygin (Moscow). We have talked long and quite persuasively and emotionally about those misfortunes and that situation which have happened to everyone. Perhaps the following question should be posed first of all: what is the main cause of the situation which we have found ourselves in and which we are willing to devote our lives to changing?

Yes, one of the reasons is the bureaucratic system which has infinite natural resources. But I would name a different field of activity which, it seems to me, bears enormous responsibility for the situation that has taken shape—that is science. Recently entire academic institutes have proven to be in the pocket of one department or another and have lost their independence. They are the servants of the ministries. The ministry advances a certain problem, and science in hindsight substantiates it. But everything should be just the opposite. Science should advance the fundamental task, and only then should certain ministries and departments resolve it using technical means. And this distorted situation seems intolerable to me. Just let science think about the position in which it has put itself and the position in which it has put society and in which we have now found ourselves.

A new science is now appearing in history: it is ecology. Unlike other branches of science, ecology was born not in the laboratory nor in the offices of scientists. It is the result of public consciousness which demands that science be responsible for our future. But how can one understand that in our country there is still no department of ecology in the Academy of Sciences? Everyone is working on it, and that means no one.

Scientific-technical progress is carrying us further and further ahead. And we are not looking back to the experience of the past. We approach a cliff drawing and we admire this miracle. But why do we not admire another miracle—the harmony which was once created between man and nature?

I am not agitating for the slogan "Back to Nature." But we should at least have a feeling for this icon of the past existence of man in the world.

Here we say that we intend to use "nontraditional" and "alternative" sources of energy—the sun and wind. How can we call these sources new and nontraditional when they are ancient ones? Man learned first to build wind-powered engines and to sail, and only then to use steam and diesel fuel. But now we are calling wind nontraditional energy? You know, progress which does not look back and does not look to the experience of the past, to the experience of mankind, is a contemporary boor.

Our system is a system of ministries and departments. I "fought" with Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources] 25 years ago. But the point is by no means only Minvodkhoz. I think that the point is our administrative-command system. We continually argue and break spears over the figure of Stalin, yet at the same time we do not notice and are not aware that even now we are up to our ears in Stalinism. It is a system created by one person for himself. Yet this entire pyramid was subordinated to one person and it never operated and cannot operate from the bottom up. It only operates from the top down.

Yesterday I met with the leader of the largest ecology society in the world. He was telling how things were with him. He went to the leader of a corporation and said: "You are polluting some regions. We are warning you that if you don't change your technology we will write to the whole country and we'll take away your consumers and you will lose more than you would spend to create purification facilities."

Well, what can I do? I go to the minister and I say: "What you're doing is bad, and what's bad is stupid." The minister answers: "Perhaps you're right, but I am also right: I have the government decree." No matter how I study the problem, it comes back there, to the top. And if there is a decree, an agreement, there is no sense continuing to waste effort to annul it. Only by changing the existing departmental structure can the situation be changed. I think that in the modern world any society

can demonstrate its right to exist and its citizenship in the world sense by resolving two main problems—the political problem of disarmament (here socialism has proven itself, and we are all grateful to those people who carried out the peacemaking acts of recent years) and the ecology problem of preserving the earth on which we live. If in the coming 3 to 4 years our government and socialism as a whole in no way demonstrate their ecological solvency, there will be no other evidence of our necessary existence in this world. And if our plenum has any meaning, we must mention this directly and for the time being forget all our own disagreements. Because our bitter experience shows that nothing unites people like a common tragedy.

Every time I read about our internal relations and trivial squabbles, I think, what are we talking about? What is happening? A feast of passions and minor passions during the ecological plague? There are a great many such issues which are truly on the writer's conscience but which writers have not managed to solve for themselves. We must bear this burden and we must bear it with dignity.

We have purely literary challenges. We at the journal have been fighting for 6 months to have the marvelous story by Grigoriy Medvedev on Chernobyl published. But departmental censorship still exists—that is the problem.

There is another situation. I already spoke of nontraditional sources of energy. Hydroelectric installations which do not require large amounts of pressure have been built in the Soviet Union. Other countries are buying them from us in large quantities, but we are not building them for ourselves. And we do not write about that.

I am returning to the departmental system. For a ministry does not feel itself to be a ministry until it has made it to the West. And so from the West we have received technology which brings pollution to us. If some technology has not proven itself in the West, we can be certain that in 2 or 3 years it will be introduced in our country. Our ministry will buy it.

So the Minvodkhoz will obviously be transformed and the Committee of Water Resources will appear in its place. The whole question is who will head the committee. I am afraid to name names. One of them is the most fervent proponent of major river flow transfers.

So, first, we must set up a permanent ecology council under the Writers' Union which would present its program before the forthcoming congress of the USSR people's deputies.

I think that we should call upon all creative unions to set up their own ecology organizations. No one needs to be driven there; the public is ready to act anyway, I receive hundreds of letters a day: help me take part in this

process, in the process of nature conservation! Adults, and children, and pensioners write. Up to this point we have not found an organizational structure which could help us utilize this social force. We should think about how to do this.

I think that we should send an appeal to the Academy of Sciences on behalf of our plenum. It is somehow strange how things stand: a plenum of writers underway, but the work of the Minvodkhoz is being discussed. But it is even stranger that two or three chairmen of kolkhozes come to the meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences presidium and they lavish praise on the ministry about how everything is fine with them, and the presidium on this basis accepts their decisions. It is obvious that the Minvodkhoz sends "their own" kolkhoz members, but as for those hundreds and thousands of chairmen whose farms have suffered losses because of this ministry—there are none of them. The principle should be changed: it is not the Minvodkhoz which should buy the kolkhoz or sovkhoz, as is done now, and then ruin its land, but on the contrary, the kolkhoz should hire the Minvodkhoz with its own money. Then its clients will be real ones, rather than ones it thought up itself. At this point ministries in our country are an incredible force and do what is advantageous for them to do. The development of the apparatus, rather than the development of the sector.

I will cite an example with the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources. It certainly has really never been involved in land reclamation, only water resources, because that is profitable. I can name a half dozen of their projects and their cost: the Omsk project—3.6 billion rubles, the Novosibirsk project—600 million rubles, the Volga-Chogray project, where 50 kilometers have already been built and the water in it is twice as salty as ocean water—3.8 billion rubles. And they plan to irrigate fields with it.

And the Ministry of Fertilizers? It is not working on organic fertilizers at all—manure, peat, or sapropel. That is not profitable. It builds enormous mining enterprises, extracts mineral fertilizers, and distributes them throughout the Soviet Union, and all this costs an enormous amount of money. And right next door peat and manure are not hauled out for decades. How can we use manure? What a prosaic question. Only by organizing one more ministry—a ministry of manure. And no one really controls the ministries.

Our creative organizations are a large force. Our trouble is perhaps that we ourselves squander it for who knows what. But I repeat once more that in the face of that catastrophe and tragedy which confronts us, possibly even today, we have no more important and fundamental a task than ecology.

In his speech **Rachiya Ovanesyan** (Armenia) said that the strongest and most wonderful of all the unwritten laws of nature is the law of harmony. It supports the grandiose edifice of the Universe. Even nature's elements and

cruelty arise from natural forces striving toward equilibrium, and that, unfortunately, sometimes has very serious consequences like those that occurred in the small homeland of the Armenians. Man's intervention in this harmony is not always rational and does not always have positive results. This intervention has gotten out of hand, especially in the second half of the 20th century and most especially in our country. It is man that at times contemplates wild schemes which undermine the law of harmony and like a boomerang punish the master of nature himself: the barbarous programs to reduce the forest masses, to turn the courses of rivers, to melt the polar ice caps, to waste water, and to rob the earth's interior.

In Armenia the attempts to implement these programs very soon turned out badly. I remember how the level of water in the pearl of Armenia, Lake Sevan, fell by almost 20 meters because of the short-sighted enthusiasm of the republic's former leaders and the mining scientists' irresponsible attitude. The republic was proclaimed an area of Big-Time Chemistry. For some half a century those people took away its valuable minerals and our republic was called "rock-rich"; today Armenia would more accurately be called "rock-killer." The fever of gigantomania began to be felt in this small region. Almost the entire spectrum of industrial and agricultural production was concentrated here. While this was all being done, Armenian writers voiced their protests, but those same short-sighted leaders branded them as "dilettantes," "egoists," "aesthetes," and, finally, "nationalists." The Armenian writers said that building an atomic power plant right next to a city of a million people on the turbulent Armenian land was intolerable. The first personage of the republic read a "scientific" notation to the writers: "An atomic power plant was built in the very center of London." During the building of the first 13-story residential building in Yerevan, Armenian writers said that a high building must not be built in an earthquake zone. But in response they heard: "One-hundred story buildings are built in Tokyo, which is the city with the most earthquakes." And you yourselves know what happened later and the calamity we faced, how many billions were lost, and, most especially, how many innocent victims it cost.

In Armenia there is little of everything: there is little water, little land, little minerals, little forest, little fauna, and even little air and sky. But there is one thing in Armenia which is really inexhaustible—that is the Armenian people's love for their harsh nature and long-suffering history. This love also commands generations of Armenians to hold to their cliffs and gorges and to seek possible and, alas, impossible ways to preserve and cleanse their native nature and their native land.

The time when through the civic and party courage of N. S. Khrushchev the "iron curtain" not only over the external world but also over the interior world was lifted slightly. This period was called the "thaw." That is a very

far-reaching word: it was precisely a thaw, for a great deal remained under the snow. Without sounding high-flown, I would like to say that in 1985 spring again began to be felt.

The first stage of any revolutionary movement usually experiences a certain decline until new laws and until new thinking finds its way. That is noticeable now in all strata of our society—in the life and labor of the working peasant and members of the intelligentsia. The constructive spirit of restructuring is already being felt in the economic and social spheres and on the ideological front. It will certainly permeate the labyrinth of international relations as well.

As Comrade Gorbachev has repeatedly noted, many mistakes were made in the past not only on this issue, but also in the sphere of the national-state structure. Of course, it is now difficult to close off the territorial borders of the Union and autonomous republics and oblasts. But does it not make sense to study the issue and to finally explain who it was that tailored these borders, on what scientific principle, from what practical considerations, and on the principles of which socialism? Of course, not one of us has the moral right to think in terms of our republic being victorious at the expense of another republic. But in this truly historical period each of us would sincerely want to see the victory of the principles of restructuring and the defeat of yesterday's injustice.

The peoples themselves know the paths of friendship very well. The historical destiny of the Armenian people has brought it to the path of internationalism. Dozens of anthologies on the friendship of the Armenian, Russian, Georgian, and Azerbaijani peoples can be compiled from the works of our classical and modern writers. In the days of the Great Patriotic War, the sons of the Armenian people brilliantly passed the difficult test of the terrible battles. In the days when the catastrophe befell the Armenian people, the fraternal help of all the Soviet peoples and the sympathy of all members of the Great Family of Mankind were a manifestation of the most noble friendship. In today's sorrow we are able to smile with gratitude at our friends through our tears and appreciate the thousands of sincere responses to our grief. No generation of Armenians will ever forget this fact. R. Ovanesyan on behalf of his people expressed genuine thanks and gratitude to all Soviet writers for their stirring words of comfort and compassion and for their fraternal attitude.

Then the speaker dealt with the problems of the work of the literary organizations. It seems to me, he said, that it makes sense to reduce the inflated apparatus and simplify its functions. The Writers' Union should live on, but under the condition that writers spend less time and nervous energy on superfluous and sometimes very vulgar, completely useless debates and dissension. The

destiny and value of literature is determined only by books, not through the halls and offices of the Writers' Union but through the publishing houses and editorial offices.

The Lithuanian prose writer V. Petkyavichyus took the floor; he supported the proposals of comrades who were talking about the need to create an ecology commission under the USSR Writers' Union. Such a commission, he said, is already operating in Lithuania. It appeared jointly long ago as a mass movement of "Greens" and the Academy of Sciences. We have been fighting and shouting for 30 years now, but nature continues to suffer from organized, planned destruction.

One must say openly that this is happening because in our country departments and the instructions of these departments rule. We are following a colonial policy in regard to our nature and our land.

Here are the figures. In our republic kolkhozes and sovkhoses farm 93 percent of the land and produce 65 percent of all the agricultural output. While personal plots take up 7 percent of the land, they produce 34 percent of the agricultural products.

The difference in the labor productivity is striking, although the peasant works with a shovel and a horse and we work with tractors. Everything is the result of the fact that the peasant at the kolkhoz is not the master. Meanwhile he is ordered about just like the land, and if we do not correct this and make up for it, change will not come about. People are fleeing the countryside not because it is worse to live there but because they are ordered about irrationally.

And the most eloquent slogans "about a brilliant future" will not save us nor will the appeals to go faster and faster when we have no time to look back. But we must look back.

In the Non-Chernozem Zone what the peasant created in milleniums—the humus, that is, the cultivated layer of soil—is being destroyed. In Lithuania one-third of the humus has already been destroyed. This is the reason: the country, they say, needs grain. But in 50 years then will the country not need grain?

In Lithuania, with its 3,000 lakes and 1,500 rivers, fresh water has become the primary problem. The sea is also threatened. One cannot even swim in the Baltic Sea (at Palanga). Not long ago I was invited to Chicago by my colleague, the head of the Fifth Ecology Region, to see how they had cleaned up Lake Michigan. Not 11 billion dollars but 16 billion dollars were spent there (as Yu. Chernichenko said). The 8 million residents of Chicago did not have the right to go near the lake which was surrounded by a triple fence. Now Michigan and Ontario are clean lakes and people swim there and catch and breed fish. I have calculated that our seas, lakes, and rivers can be cleaned up if we surround them with fences

and don't go near them for 10 to 30 years. Approximately 230,000 tons of fertilizers are carried away into Kursk Gulf. Why pour them there if the intensity of agriculture is not raised in doing so? To poison the sea and its edible products with nitrates? For one-third of the harvest is lost during storage in the country. Vegetables poisoned with nitrates rot. So why increase the harvest by poisoning the environment? Should it perhaps simply be processed better?

V. Petkyavichyus proposed that the participants in the plenum petition the government to have a nationwide discussion and enter the following law in the Constitution: "Any economic activity can be justified only when it is justified ecologically." According to scientists' calculations, every ruble "saved" in ecology today will result in 3 rubles 80 kopeks of loss in a year.

If such a law was adopted, most likely we would be able to stop construction of the third phase of the Ignalina atomic power plant, the introduction of which would make the lake next to it literally boil. If the question of human health was posed, we should not work even in a regular boiler house, much less in a nuclear power plant. Then we would probably reject the notorious "top secret" category in places where absolute glasnost is necessary—throughout the entire complex of issues of ecology and human health.

The poet M. Solikh (Uzbekistan) said that restructuring in our republic began with the restructuring of cadres. That raised our spirits. Even though we knew then that restructuring of cadres was not yet restructuring. Bribe-takers and account padders began to be exposed. We together with the entire Union of Republics were glad about that: at long last justice had triumphed! Even though then we did not know that about 2,000 innocent people would appear among those exposed and condemned. We rejoiced at the freedom of the press, but at that time we could not think that in covering the events related to the corruption our journalists would go no further and would not penetrate into the depths of our people. And the impression was given that these defects were not the result of the system which we called stagnation but were almost a national feature. I am not saying that we have no thieves. I am saying that the number of them in our republic is no greater than the Union-wide norm.

Not so long ago we were showing the entire world photographs of the fortunate people of socialist labor, and we said that they were the people of Uzbekistan. But that was slander of the people. For the people never came toward the lens, nor did the lens seek them out.

Now, when those heroes have proven to be criminals, we have again focused our attention on the same "heroes." Those same names of the monsters of monoculture have flashed by on the pages of newspapers, no longer causing delight in us but fear. And the people once again, as in the first case, are not in the picture.

The poet said with pain that of 1,000 newborns in their republic about 100 would die. Many, many young men are physically unfit for service in the army. There is not one plot of land uncontaminated by poisonous chemicals nor a drop of water which is unpolluted in Uzbekistan. The level of medical services in kishlak's [village in Central Asia] is lower than in "Third World" countries. We have lost the Aral Sea and the best part of our fertile land. That is our national tragedy, the speaker emphasized, but the corruption, no matter how much it fostered this tragedy, cannot be "ours" and "national." It is international. In our case the corruption was nourished by cotton, and cotton—by the body of our people.

With the exception of the statement by Academician Yanshin in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, there has not been even one article specially devoted to the monoculture which caused all the troubles. But on the other hand, we have had our fill of reading about the "cobras on top of the gold" and about the "descendant of Tamerlane" (what does Tamerlane have to do with it?)—the mafia chieftain Adylov. The incitement of the masses went on everywhere. The terms "Uzbek Affair," "dependents," "family planning," and a "limited group of leaders" appeared.

What is a "limited group of leaders"? Needless to say, it is not a limited number of troops. Even though these people also fulfill their international duty.

They come to us with a genuine desire to help our economy. But imagine a person who has seen cotton only in jubilee albums, and he comes at the party's call to Uzbekistan and becomes the minister of the republic's water resource system.

The historian Lev Gumilev writes that the King of Babylon was not a local resident and married the Egyptian queen. She suggested to her husband that he build a new canal to increase the area under irrigation. The king built the canal and the Euphrates began to flow a little bit more slowly. Farming became unprofitable. Babylon began to empty. The reason for the ruin of Babylon and the Aral is the same—poorly planned land reclamation and lack of knowledge of the soil, that is, in our case—centralized planning of the economy. That is why we are in sympathy with those who are against changing the flow of Siberian rivers. Who is at the head of this project? Perhaps an Uzbek from the "limited group of leaders" who came to manage Siberia's economy?

During Tsarist power 75 percent of the Uzbeks lived in kishlak's, and all of them were peasants. Today this figure has reached 80 percent and all of them are peasants. Before the revolution one could buy "only" one cow for one kilogram of raw cotton. But today a peasant receives 15 kopecks for that same kilogram of cotton. For that amount of money he can buy a whole 15 boxes of matches!

Before the war there were 27,000 villages in Uzbekistan. By now 20,000 of them have been destroyed; they have become cotton plantations rather than cities.

The article by S. Pastukhov entitled "On the Monday After Friday" in PRAVDA describes the unprecedented event when the peasants attacked the police and the chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers. What were they fighting for? To raise the purchase price of their goods? To improve their daily life? To liberate children from labor? No, they were fighting for the land. Of all human rights they knew only one—the right to have land.

One should not laugh at them because a person must have the appropriate level of consciousness to demand a life worthy of their difficult labor. But the monoculture is an octopus which holds in its tentacles not only the peasant's material life, but his consciousness as well.

The monoculture teaches the laborer not love for labor but love for slavery. It indoctrinates in a person love not for the Motherland, but for his own garden. It engenders egoism, ignorance, and dullness. In its entire essence it is antihumane.

Under the tsars we exported all cotton to Russia in the form of raw materials, and this structure of the economy was called colonial. Today we export this raw material 10-fold more than then and do not know what to call this structure. It is time to finally acknowledge that so-called "cotton independence" is keeping a whole people dependent on cotton. The republic's government knows this very well. We were expecting that they would announce that at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. But our wait was in vain.

But, you will ask, is the government really doing nothing to improve the rural population's life—its health, daily life, and culture?

Of course, it is doing something. I acknowledge its concern, and among all the altogether sensible measures it is taking I will allow myself to single out one incomprehensible measure which is called family planning. At the beginning of the campaign it was called something slightly different—reducing the birthrate. And only later, by force of circumstance, was it necessary to couch it in a milder form. But all the arguments of economists, demographers, and agitators can be reduced to the same simple logic. The first and only condition that they propose to women is to "give birth at 3-year intervals." And that, it turns out, can solve all the problems! First, they say, the women's health will improve. Secondly, the child mortality rate will decline. (In point of fact, if a child is not born, he will never die.) Thirdly, population growth will decline, and that in turn will resolve such problems as the unemployment rate and the shortage of jobs, that is, the imbalance between the economy and demography. Those are the state challenges that our women can solve, if they want to, of course.

Have we perhaps poked our noses into someone else's business? They reproach us: "For God's sake, write your novels and your verses, don't poke into demography—into someone else's section." But interest in that is completely normal. On one of the "space bridges" with America a Leningrad engineer talked with alarm about the decline of the birthrate in Russia. We who were sitting in front of the screen completely shared his concern, but when he spoke of the danger that the Russian people might become a national minority, I thought: "Is it really so terrible to be a national minority?"

What kind of people are the steadfast Chukchi then? And what about the Estonians and the Latvians? In terms of numbers the Uzbeks are certainly cut out to be their "older brothers." What is there for us to be afraid of? I consoled myself. But no consolation came. It is difficult, it appears, for all—both large and small. One of my friends said: "It is difficult for a large people; they answer for all the small ones." And that was true. One can paraphrase his words and say that it is also difficult for small peoples—they are not allowed to answer for themselves.

G. Safiyeva (Tajikistan), among other things, said that in each of the last 3 years there have been up to 3,000 earthquakes in Tajikistan. If it is taken into account that the largest power plants in the country have been built in the republic and that new ones are to be built, then who can guarantee the public's safety?

A modest people, the Tajiks love superlatives. So they decided to erect the highest dam in the world—335 meters. The enormous size of the flood zone buried houses and graves underwater. It included the grave of my mother.

They say to us: Why are the Tajiks crying? They will have new houses with sitting-type bathtubs! That is cultured. But 50,000 families will be deprived of their native land if this project is carried through to completion.

There is one other "but." The idea has been conceived of building the Ziddinskoye Reservoir, as it is called. As the author of the plan asserted, even if the water breaches the dam it will not reach Dushanbe for 4 hours. The population could be evacuated. The author of the plan, who lives 1,000 kilometers from Dushanbe, gives us good advice!

Yes, our capital has been deprived of monuments of history and culture, as has almost all Tajikistan, by the way. But we don't want to lose such land!

Meanwhile everything appears to be moving toward that. Already today Dushanbe is in sixth place in the country in terms of air pollution. In its environs an aluminum plant, a cement plant, and an electrical chemical plant are spewing fumes. An expert commission

came to the conclusion that our neighbors, the Uzbeks, are suffering because of the chemical plant. But it is 82 kilometers to them and 60 to the capital.

I liked the Uzbek poet Mukhammad Solikh's speech very much. Everything that he said about cotton is directly relevant to us. Wise men say that if you educate a boy—you educate a man, and if you educate a girl—you educate a nation. But when can our mothers work on education if they all work in the cotton fields for 12 months. Our women even wear their best dresses when they are sent to harvest. What can be done?—The cotton fields take the place of theaters and movie theaters.

Superlatives. At one time the Tajiks were proud to have the highest birthrate in the country, but now, when it has been found that we also have the highest child mortality rate, we have for some reason quieted down.

Yu. Borodkin (Yaroslavl) mentioned that for several years the public, above all the literary public, has been waging a struggle to preserve Yasnaya Polyana, which is suffering from the neighboring Shchekino Chemical Combine, and also against expanding the Zavolzhskiy Chemical Combine in dangerous proximity to A. N. Ostrovskiy's Shchelykovo Preserve. But certainly the situation with Nekrasov's Karabikha is just as alarming. Between Yaroslavl and Karabikha is an oil refinery, which together with its satellite carbon black plant accounts for half the harmful emissions into the atmosphere of all the city's enterprises. The ecological situation is critical: Yaroslavl is among the 10 most polluted cities. How can one explain the siting of an endless number of chemical production facilities in a city such as Yaroslavl, a monument-city where enormous historical treasures are concentrated?

Instead of somehow rectifying the technical bungling, the situation is being aggravated by the construction of a new deep cracking facility—and not just anywhere, but two kilometers from Karabikha! And it is altogether disgraceful that construction was begun without the consent of the local authorities, by the method of self-usurpation. Is such ecological ignorance on the part of the Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry and its complete disregard of the interests of the Yaroslavl residents and their health acceptable in our day? The bureaucrats, for the sake of departmental benefits and related personal benefits, will not spare the last blade of grass.

But why do the petrochemical workers feel so carefree and act as if they are temporary workers in Yaroslavl Oblast? Neither the obkom nor the oblispolkom nor the oblast or city sanitary-epidemic station has given or is in the process of giving permission for this new construction, but it has begun. The point is that despite the prohibitions of the Yaroslavl authorities, the Center, in the person of Gosplan, Stroybank [All-Union Bank for the Financing of Capital Investments], and the Ministry of Health, has ignored the principled position of the

Yaroslavl inhabitants. One must say with chagrin that despite all the discussion of raising the role of the soviets, they do not have real power in their own territories at this point. High-flown words about the power of the soviets are still only words. That is the reason for the numerous conflict situations.

Speaking of the troubles of Yasnaya Polyana, Shchelykovo, and Karabikha, we see how closely interrelated are the ecology of nature, production, culture, and ultimately—the ecology of the spirit. And are we really not able to protect our sacred national treasures from the arbitrary decisions of technocrats who act with seeming ill intention?

The ecological troubles of Yaroslavl Oblast began even before the war, when one-eighth of its area and 700 villages were flooded by the Rybinsk Sea, and they continue to this day. Today there is no more important issue to the oblast's residents than the proposed construction of a nuclear heat and power plant. The public is alarmed and unanimously opposes this plan, for the concept "peaceful atom" nowadays does not delude anyone.

Look how the situation on the Upper Volga is taking shape in the densely populated part of the country. The Kalinin and Gorky nuclear power plants are already in operation and preparations are being made for the construction of the Kostroma nuclear power plant, while next door, just 100 kilometers away, the Yaroslavl nuclear heat and power plant is to be built. Who wants such an uneasy life, near such volcanoes? It is not the nuclear power people from the Center, for whom it is easy to make any decisions and ignore the interests of the local population, but we and our children and grandchildren who must live on the Yaroslavl and Kostroma land.

Power engineering specialists argue that there is no alternative to building the nuclear power plant. That is exactly the trouble, that a system has been developed in our country which offers the people one and only one way, only one solution to a certain problem, inevitably insisting that there is no alternative. And that applies to any issue.

The exhaustion of fuel reserves is cited. If we are so poor, then why are oil and gas so wastefully pumped abroad? Speaking at a conference in Orel, Comrade Stroyev, the first secretary of the Orel Party Obkom, said that several gas pipelines pass through the oblast and on to foreign countries, but the kolkhozes and sovkhoses cannot be linked up to them. A good manager does not start selling wood if there is nothing to heat the house with. The interest of our own people should be more precious than any foreign currency.

Instead of repeating the confusing phrase "there is no alternative," power engineering specialists should seek an alternative and not wait for a response from nonspecialists. Begin just with the main thing—saving energy.

Suffice it to say that the energy consumption of a production facility in the USSR is triple that of an American facility. The prospect of building two atomic facilities at once sharply aggravates the situation on the Upper Volga. Do we really not have enough of all kinds of chemical plants and the manmade Rybinsk Sea? The past can to an extent be explained by ecological ignorance and the prevailing mind-set of the conquerors of nature, but today how can we complicate the situation and bring it to the brink? Moreover, a city of power engineering workers with approximately 25,000 residents is planned near each nuclear power plant. Where will they come from? For the most part, as always, from the countryside.

Taking into account the historical significance of the Upper Volga Region, where enormous architectural and spiritual treasures are concentrated and such cities as Yaroslavl, Rostov, Pereslavl, Uglich, Tutayev, Kostroma, Galich, and others are located, the construction in this region of the Yaroslavl nuclear heat and power plant and the Kostroma nuclear power plant is unacceptable. We must take care of our spiritual sources, for if we do not preserve the nature of the ancient region then we will not preserve either culture or ourselves.

A. Salutsky (Moscow) noted that Western pharmaceutical companies are now overloaded with Soviet requests for contracts. Cooperatives have been allowed to independently reach foreign markets and "socialist enterprise" is creating miracles. By unleashing the initiative of business people, we are at last becoming an exporter-country.

But what do cooperative members plan to sell for hard currency? How are they attracting Western pharmaceutical chemists?

The Universal Cooperative is undertaking to supply its foreign partners with German camomile in unlimited quantities, 34 types of medicinal plants in all. Another cooperative intends to supply sea buckthorn oil. Yet another is bursting onto the world market with rose-root stonecrop, which has been entered in the Red Book. The cooperative middleman, fired by the smell of hard currency, is doing incalculable damage to nature and the people's health. The already meager pharmacy stores selling folk medicines have been stripped bare. The home-bred exporter makes motorized raids on distant villages and buys up medicinal herbs wholesale from naive old women on miserly pensions, adding a 10-kopeck piece to the state purchase price. But then he offers to sell what he has obtained for dollars, pounds, or yen, which allow him to buy video systems, equipment for Finnish baths, and other luxuries.

Not satisfied with that, he himself greedily robs the treasure house of nature. The very valuable wild medicinal plant Altai buckthorn is now perishing at his hands. Combines to harvest forest berries leave barren land behind them. By taking advantage of the imperfection of

new economic procedures and the inexperience of the public in financial matters, the "businessman" has undertaken to deal abruptly with nature and squander our national wealth for his own selfish purposes.

However, everything that has been said pales before another case. Incidentally, it was a shocked foreign firm that reported it. For currency payments one of the cooperatives offered this foreign firm what no country trades in, the holy of holies, a thing that is the mainstay of life and cannot be a commodity—blood. Yes, donor blood! Responding to Armenia's trouble, many countries sent the most noble, priceless gift—donor blood. Thousands of Soviet people came to donor stations in order to help victims of the terrible earthquake. People who suffered from the Chernobyl tragedy and those wounded in the Afghan war are in acute need of donor blood. And at this time someone is aiming to sell the blood of his compatriots for foreign currency. Blood for export!

The currency stir has also captured "official" people. The Far Eastern Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences is hungering to work with a Japanese firm to produce preparations of ginseng, lemon tree, and the velvet antlers of reindeer and temptingly promising partners a thousand (!) types of medicinal plants from the Primorye. But the question comes to mind, who gave them the right to so freely dispose of the medicinal gifts of nature when our people need them so desperately?

In the 1950's the USSR was the world leader in traditional folk medicine. But then we lost our place and courses in phytotherapy were excluded from education programs.

In developed countries today the volume of medicine production by chemical synthesis is declining sharply. But in our country, in contrast, production of chemical pills is rising. We are very much behind in the use of natural compounds. But if we had followed our own path, we would now be ahead of everyone! Once again our destructive passion to hastily copy Western methods has let us down, and we almost lost the most unique experience of folk medicine.

Do we have the right to squander the best medicinal gifts of our land to foster business? I suggest that our plenum address an appeal to the government to introduce a state monopoly on trade in medicinal plants and prevent their plundering and use this national property in the interests of our people. And in doing so purchase prices should be raised in order to give incentive to those who harvest medicinal crops.

A. Salutskiy also dwelled on the problem of "unpromising" villages and spoke of the fact that the works of Academician P. I. Zaslavskaya in the 1970's included recommendations on transforming kolkhozes into sovkhoses, on reducing the area of private subsidiary plots, and on eliminating "unpromising" villages and concentrating the population in large settlements. A.

Salutskiy believes that the essential aim of these recommendations is to make the countryside as such disappear, which should be classified as an anti-people idea. This course, he said, by the early 1980's brought our agrarian sector to an impasse, which we are only now managing to get out of with enormous difficulty by doing the opposite of what great science called for: we are developing cooperatives and private subsidiary plots, reviving abandoned villages, and fighting against drunkenness.

Calmly and honestly, without stirring up passions, we must illuminate this "blank spot" in the agrarian history of the stagnation years. We must do this together by abandoning group passions and personal ambitions and starting exclusively from the interests of restructuring. Without bitter skirmishes, without very meaningful silences, without attempts to defame our opponents, but through businesslike, truth-seeking dialogue. We mean specific facts and scientific methodology, the accurate evaluation of which is extraordinarily important for interpreting the country's present ways.

A. Salutskiy expressed full solidarity with Chernichenko, who demanded that the technocrats who are destroying nature be brought to responsibility. But one should not forget that here we are dealing only with effects, not causes. The ekonomocracy obligingly laid the path for the technocracy; the former worshipped economic efficiency, which in the transition from theory to practice ended up in a catastrophic campaign to move people out of "unpromising" villages into collective settlements and in ugly canal construction.

The floor was given to S. Kaputikyan (Armenia). The Armenian people, she said, are experiencing one of the most difficult periods of our long-suffering history. At a time when the events related to the Karabakh problem had greatly exhausted our spiritual forces and when our already densely populated republic was filled with refugees from Azerbaijan and we did not know where to put them and how to do it, an unheard-of misfortune struck, leaving one-third of the republic in ruins and taking tens of thousands of lives.

We are deeply grateful to the Soviet Government for its enormous aid, the culmination of which was the decision to immediately close the nuclear power plant located in the earthquake danger zone very close to Yerevan; it threatened the destruction of the very genotype of the Armenian nation. Our heart-felt thanks to the Soviet people and to all comrades of the pen who sincerely shared our sorrow and inspired hope and courage in us.

Now, in addition to the hoisting cranes that are so essential, we need more words and deeds to raise our spirit; people must understand us in a human way. It must be recognized that if even in such an hour, in an hour of national catastrophe, we hear the people saying the word "Karabakh," this at first glance seemingly absurd behavior is not from insensitivity but a sign that

this people is still alive and that it is still able to aspire to justice. And we must be glad of that, just as a doctor is glad when he is sitting at the bedside of a seriously ill person and that person opens his eyes and with trembling lips asks for water. That means that the patient is returning to life.

It must be understood that when a people is in mourning and there are soldiers and tanks in the streets, it is difficult for us to realize that now, in times of restructuring, activists of the Karabakh Committee have been arrested. This committee and its strongholds at enterprises and institutions, which emerged at the start of the Karabakh Movement, were a manifestation of the social activism of the masses.

We do not deny that some members of the Karabakh Committee made mistakes by calling the people to unreasonable actions, strikes, rallies, and the like. There were people who took advantage of the working people's social discontent with corruption, the bureaucracy, and material shortages and aroused unnecessary passions in them. Mafia elements also played a role; these elements tried to direct the people's attention to the side which was beneficial to them. All these things, which many statements on Armenian television and in the press attest to, at one time were condemned by members of the Armenian intelligentsia, but, unfortunately, our statements had little influence on the excited masses. Be that as it may, we continue to repeat that the Karabakh Movement, which was perhaps slightly premature, is essentially a child of restructuring and of the social activism of the masses.

S. Kaputikyan turned her attention to another question. The decision of the central authorities and the joint appeal of the leaders of the two republics, Armenia and Azerbaijan, which proposed that the resettlement be stopped and the refugees return to their former places, were published. Despite the fact that at a meeting with the intelligentsia in Yerevan, Comrade Ryzhkov said that the return should be on a voluntary basis, as usual some extremely diligent local officials are trying to evict the people who have just arrived there. Time and again people come to the Writers' Union and ask for help. S. Kaputikyan believes that not only must the forced return be stopped, but ways must also be found to help those who remain without work and frequently without a roof over their heads, in no less calamitous a condition than those who suffered from the earthquake.

We understand, S. Kaputikyan continued, the concern of Union and republic leaders and their desire to return the life of the Transcaucasus region to a normal track and reinstate the friendship of the two peoples. We very much hope that the Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to introduce a special form of administration in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] normalizes the rhythm of life of the Karabakh people which has been interrupted and helps restore friendly relations between the two peoples and republics.

We have the common, unified Soviet land, but each of us on this land has his own home and hearth, flower and trees grown by his own hands, his own history, and his own national memory. We must respect this memory and one another's hearth. Without this respect there will be no peace between neighbors nor will there be peace on our common, unified land. The strength and moral health of the great Homeland depend on the strength and moral health of the small homeland.

I would like to talk about a meeting at Children's Hospital No 3 in Yerevan. Among the children who had suffered from the earthquake I met a boy from Lenakan by the name of Armen, who was about 10 years old. He lay under the concrete slabs of a ruined house for several days and his face was slightly distorted and had blue bruises and abrasions. Suddenly the boy began to recite poetry, one verse after another, and all of it—about Karabakh. He read passionately, and angrily, and because of that his face became even more distorted. I looked at him and I got a feeling of..., no, not admiration at the steadfastness of his spirit but of pity and bitter regret that this black-eyed little boy had already experienced not only the prolonged darkness of a concrete prison but even unchildish bitterness.

Today, when the destruction on our land and in our soul is immeasurable, I dream of the day when in the spiritual world of our people the desired harmony will again be restored and worship of light, beauty, and creation will again reign and when the young boy Armen will recite poetry which praises only love and the good and the great fraternity of peoples and people.

Not everyone who wanted to was able to speak in the discussion period. It was decided to include the texts of the prepared speeches in the minutes and they are also presented in our report with certain abridgements.

It would seem that today, when sorrow has once again come to the land of Armenia and tens of thousand of people there have died and when the public pain is so strong and the wound so fresh, it is simply wrong to write and speak of anything else, noted **Z. Balayan** (Armenia). But the topic which I would like to attempt to deal with has a direct relationship to our common pain.

Today we have been talking a great deal about the new thinking without pondering the fact that the thinking in our country is not so much old as deformed. This kind of thinking did not permit us to understand that we were cutting off the branch on which we were sitting, that we werespitting in the well from which we drink water. We built cities with deformed thinking. We were not ready for almost total urbanization. We were not ready for it spiritually or mentally or genetically. I hope that I am not giving the impression of digressing from the topic. Today, in speaking of the problems of ecology, especially in our country, we must deal with issues like city-building.

Two years ago at one of the Central Committee plenums M. S. Gorbachev said that in the Non-Chernozem Zone there were 800,000 empty homes. About 1 million hearths, as we in Armenia say. People had set out not for Moscow nor for Leningrad nor for Kiev, but mostly for the local capitals—the oblast and rayon centers. Industrial enterprises began to be located in rather small cities and even in settlements. But even then it was impossible to break the vicious cycle: new projects demanded new work hands, and those in turn demanded a work front, new square meters of housing, water, and air. Generations turned from peasants into urban citizens but without abandoning the psychology of the peasantry and without acquiring the psychology of urban residents. That is certainly a question of ecology.

More and more factories and plants have been built. As a result we have turned all our large and small capitals into cities where more people die than are born. For a long time we have been watching the city devour the countryside, as a boa constrictor devours a rabbit. We watch and we are silent. We know about the lessons of the past and we do nothing to ensure that some good comes from them. In 1928 a terrible underground tremor wreaked havoc with Leninakan. Did that lesson do some good? Not at all! It was precisely there that a great multitude of plants and factories were built (and built carelessly). The map of the region was cut into tiny pieces, with "its own" capital in the center of each. So-called big-time chemical production was established in Kirovakan, and black snow began to fall, and acid rain. All the same the countryside poured into the city. There was no other escape.

We know well how the cult of cities ended for the ancient world. Do not think that the countryside has perished in the West. It has not at all. It is a mighty country where the countryside flourishes. The earthquake in Armenia showed that there would have been far fewer victims if we had built good, sturdy villages instead of building cities with criminal negligence.

Z. Balayan believes that we must think seriously and precisely from the ecological aspect about the fate of the countryside. The moral wealth of a people is accumulated first and foremost in the countryside.

Ecology is an extremely concrete concept. Yuriy Chernenko is right. Ecology is the science of the home, of the hearth. **Z. Balayan** proposed that an all-state program to restore and revive villages and the countryside be developed.

The writer-geographer **Yu. Yefremov** (Moscow) devoted his speech to the work of the nature conservation and nature literature section under the MO SP RSFSR [Moscow Branch of the Writers' Union]. Yu. Yefremov was especially concerned by the delayed pace at which conservation publications get published. This must be done quickly. The plunder of the Volga continues. The canals from the Volga to the Don and the Chogray were

calculated to use water taken from the North, counting on chickens that were not hatched. This calculation was concealed and the canals are being dug, just to get the promised billions. But there is not enough water from the plundered Volga, so they will come back to the river transfer project.

The other equally illegitimate child of the river transfer project, the second Volga-Don Canal, is even more ridiculous. It is supposedly being built to irrigate the Lower Don and Kuban regions. But for a long time Kuban water has flowed through the Kalauskiy Canal to the Salsk Steppes of the Don Basin; now here it goes in the other direction—from the Don to the Kuban?! What kind of an evil spirit thought up that merry-go-round?!

Then the writer proposed that not only the people be extensively informed of the results of major measures which hurt nature, but also that the particular initiators and "inspirers" of these projects be named. The danger of accelerated and universal construction of nuclear power plants is alarming. Here complete, not half-hearted glasnost is needed in connection with substantiating the need for all atomic plants and with siting them.

Yu. Yefremov categorically condemned the silence on fruitful alternatives. In his opinion, the 1948 forest belts, had they been realized, would by now have provided a stable harvest for the entire southern and southeastern parts of the European USSR. But they were unprofitable for the Ministry of Water Resources. The advocates of gigantic hydroelectric power plants "killed" the Caucasian system of small plants recommended by the Institute imeni Krzhizhanovskiy. But how many other alternatives exist—small hydroelectric plants and wind power plants and geothermal power plants.

Uzbek writer T. Pulatov, like M. Shakhonov, is deeply concerned about the problem of the dying Aral Sea.

When several years ago the writers of Uzbekistan sounded the alarm for the first time, the bureaucracy in command lashed out at them with charges of incompetence and a desire for easy popularity.

Now, when understanding of the problem has reached a large number of people, they have slowly and with a sigh agreed with the writers: yes, measures must be taken. But everything is beginning anew. When the writers and the scientists prove how bad it is for the capital of Uzbekistan to build a plant in the Bostanlyk mountainous area, which is called the "Lungs of Tashkent," the bureaucracy then and there said: "That cannot be!" And again accusations of dilettantism and extremism were published. And so it was until the public movement against the construction of the ecologically harmful production facility gathered such force that it could not be ignored. Incidentally, all kinds of charges against writers are heard not only in Uzbekistan but in other republics as well. And that makes our lack of communication, mutual accusations, and group struggles which only play into the

hands of the command bureaucracy all the more hurtful. Unfair accusations have already been heard against Bykov and Aytmatov, Bondarev and Drutse, Baruzdin and Nurpeisov, Baklanov and Korotich, and Bitov and Rasputin, for the bureaucrat sees that each one is fighting alone or—what is even worse—against the other.

The public in Uzbekistan has realized that all its efforts in the area of ecology will be in vain if environmental protection is considered to have no connection with the spiritual and moral atmosphere in society or with the state of affairs in the economy, agriculture, and other spheres of life. After all, it is not for nothing that we are now speaking of the "ecology of the spirit," the "ecology of culture," and the "ecology of language."

Recently a public movement to protect nature and the spiritual and material wealth of the republic was born and began to gather force in Uzbekistan—"Birlik" ("Unity"), and it invites the citizens of all nations who live in the republic to its ranks. Its program is to save Uzbekistan's people from the notorious monoculture of cotton whose pernicious consequences are being talked of not only by the scientists and writers of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenia but of Russia as well. But for the time being our republic is refusing to recognize the Birlik Society's program, justifying the refusal by saying that existing public organizations—the Komsomol, trade unions, the Nature Conservation Society, the Committee of Soviet Women, and others—are supposedly fighting to solve these same problems.

If the above-named organizations have indeed fought successfully for all these years to normalize our life, then how have we "come to such a life"? And why then is there restructuring and why the appeals of the 27th Party Congress and the 19th Party Conference to include all strata of society in the process of renewal and awaken the social and civic activism of the masses?

The defects and omissions in the program of the public movement Birlik are obvious. I would hope that in the ecology movement this program would focus on solving not just republic problems but also regional and Union-wide problems. And instead of turning people's consciousness back and arguing over who originated where and came to these lands a thousand years ago, would it not be better for the Uzbeks and our Tajik brothers to join efforts to save the environment from the harmful impact of the Tajik Aluminum plant or the Navoi Chemical Combine, whose emissions are destroying living creatures not only in Uzbekistan but also in Tajikistan? In arguing about our roots, we are shriveling the crown of the tree of life, which must grow for future generations. And who will have use for dead little roots in a dead land then?

Questions of population migration are also poorly thought out in the Birlik's program, in T. Pulatov's opinion. This complex and painful problem must be examined without emotion in a humane spirit. Even

since the times described by Andrey Platonov in the story "The Secret Man," the Russian has been wandering throughout the entire country in search of shelter. The Russian peasant was separated from his mother, the land, and sent off into the world earlier and more forcefully than others. All people are devoted to their hearths, and when the Russian land and its villages and cities are revived, the problem of migration will pass.

It is also worthwhile to define the movement's position on such a subtle and delicate sphere as interethnic relations and to promote its comprehensive harmonization. In posing the question of the state status of the Uzbek language in the republic, one must also consider the question of assigning the Russian language the status of the language of interethnic relations in our federal state, the language which connects the strong center with strong republics.

But on the whole the program of the Birlik public movement is a patriotic one. The movement's members want to work on behalf of restructuring. The republic's present leadership, who face the most difficult problems inherited from the times of Stalin, Brezhnev, and Rashidov, will find support in Birlik. All that needs to be done is to extend the hand of cooperation to them.

S. Samsonov from Udmurtiya poses an acute and painful question: are writers not forced to speak too much about one and the same thing and are measures on these statements not taken too late?

According to some writers, Udmurtiya may seem to be a paradise with flowering meadows, a multitude of fish in clean rivers, and pine forests. That is by no means so. Hundreds of rivers are drying up, becoming shallow, or getting contaminated and the mighty forest along the Kama River is being rapaciously destroyed. And the city of Izhevsk, according to data of the journal KOMMUNIST, is one of the dirtiest and most gas-polluted in the Union.

The writer Vladimir Yemelyanov sent a note to PRAVDA in defense of the Udmurtiya forest. This letter was forwarded to the chairman of the local State Committee for Protection of Nature so measures could be taken: this was the same person who, in the opinion of the Udmurt writer, had earlier damaged the natural world when he was chairman of the republic's agroprom.

The literary journal MOLOT organized round tables and penetrating articles by specialists and literary figures, among them Vladimir Yemelyanov. S. Samsonov also spoke at the last oblast party conference on issues of ecology. One of the conference delegates turned to the obkom secretary and asked what air pollution was like in Izhevsk. The secretary stated officially that nothing terrible was happening and only the Izhstal Association was putting out small emissions of harmful substances.

But certainly he, the obkom secretary, just like the chairman of the State Committee for Protection of Nature, knew that the volume of harmful emissions into the atmosphere by this enterprise is estimated at exactly 17,000 tons and that it is discharging 10 million cubic meters of untreated sewage into the Izh River. And that is only one enterprise! But there are quite a few such giants in Izhevsk and only one little river.

Despite the nature conservation decrees adopted in the republic, even now the managers of Izhstal are waging their own battle against these decisions. For example, a session of the Leninskiy Rayon Soviet in Izhevsk decides to petition for the Izhstal steel production facility to be moved outside the city limits. But Comrade Zhuravlev, the director of the association, publishes his answer in the newspaper METALLURG right next to the session's decree: the emissions, he says, will remain the same, but the costs of the move will rise to 1 billion rubles.

The Udmurt writer believes that they are trying to give the impression that all is well in the republic as far as ecology matters go. It is precisely in this environment of complacency and impunity that neither the decrees of the Council of Ministers nor of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, not to mention the sessions of the rayon soviets on instructions of the voters, are fulfilled.

And here the chairman of the State Committee for Protection of Nature recently reassured writers and asserted that everything is normal in the Udmurt forest and that there are no grounds for concern about treatment of the forest with DDT, which has not been used in our country in a long time now. However, everyone knows that this compound was used on territories in 1988.

To other questions of interest to writers regarding the ecological situation of the republic, the chairman of the State Committee answered that he as yet did not have any data, that the Committee was only just being organized, and that one could find out all the information at the Udmurtiya hydrometeorological observatory.

Then S. Samsonov also criticized the USSR State Committee for Protection of Nature and its chairman Comrade Morgun for an ineffective approach to solving urgent problems and also directed attention to the de facto impunity of those guilty of polluting nature. The following sensational report appeared in the press 2 years ago: Japanese engineers and scientists had learned how to capture the heat dissipated in water and air and direct it to plants and factories. But for our scientist P. K. Oshchepkov, the founder of domestic radar and introscopy, according to S. Samsonov, it was no sensation, since he had been working on this problem for a long time. One of the Japanese firms proposed cooperation to him, Pavel Kondratyevich, and his National Institute of Power Engineering Inversion—ENIN. (ENIN is working

on questions of using the energy of the environment. Its goal is to create for today some alternative to thermal, hydroelectric, and atomic power plants.)

Back in 1954 by decision of the USSR Academy of Sciences presidium, Oshchepkov's laboratory, which had corroborated his idea of the possibility of using energy dissipated from space, was included in the Institute of Meteorology, which Academician I. P. Bardin heads. In this way, the importance of Oshchepkov's research was officially recognized by science. But not for long. Already in 1959 the study was "closed down" and the laboratory was dissolved.

An association or congress of Soviet writers in defense of nature must be set up under the USSR Writers' Union. Let there be representatives of all writers' organizations there. Ecology sections should be set up in literary journals and newspapers and existing experience borrowed from literary posts on construction of the Nurek and Cheboksary hydroelectric power plants, the Kama Automotive plant, and other important objects; a referendum should also be held on further use of the energy of atomic power plants and representatives of Oshchepkov's ENIN should be invited.

V. Sangi (Moscow) cites cases of flagrant mismanagement which caused ecological and social troubles in the regions of the Far North. According to the data of RSFSR Gosagroprom, the industrial development of the regions where the nationalities of the North live took 20 million hectares of pasture land for 100,000 reindeer out of use, and that land could have insured the full employment of the native population.

However, the situation in the North is even more tragic. The point is that the category of destroyed lands does not include the so-called recultivated lands, of which there are many millions of hectares, but in fact reindeer moss will not appear on them for 50 years!

Today the primordial lands of the Evenki, the Eveny, and the Yakuts, which for thousands of years have nurtured their grateful sons, are in danger of being flooded with the waters of the reservoirs of projected hydroelectric power plants.

Today the innumerable armadas of oil derricks and gas flares burning the invaluable national wealth salute the triumph of thoughtless technocratic treatment of the primordial lands of the most ancient peoples of Siberia, the Far North, and the Far East.

The writer recalls an episode long ago which was engraved in his memory. A high commission from Moscow visited the last Nivkhi settlement in their native region. Before that day during the long 8 years when P. A. Leonov headed the Sakhalin Party Obkom (better known by his unfortunate deeds in Kalinin), all the other Nivkhi settlements in this region were eliminated. There were 11 of them located in the best oil fields, many of

which for the thousands of years of their comfortable existence had been convincing evidence of the fruitful and impressive systems and complexes of social, cultural, economic, moral, language, and other ties which had taken shape. The high commission's visit to the last of the villages was related to the fact that the Nivkhi had requested that Moscow leave them at least that one settlement. The commission visited all the homes and compelled many people to renounce their signatures.

Eliminated in those years were the Eskimo villages Chaplino and Naukan, without which the Eskimos could not exist as an ethnic group, and hundreds and hundreds of settlements of Khanty, Koryaks, Saam, Selkup, Mansi, Chukchi, and Evenki. Even today this threat hangs over the Koryak villages of Paren, the Evenki village of Uchami, the Khanty village of Korliki, and dozens and dozens of settlements of the nationalities of the North.

People of the oil field villages and reindeer-producing villages moved to industrial cities, seaports, and rayon centers. While in 1960 more than 100 Nivkhi in Noglik-skiy Rayon were engaged in the most essential and prestigious type of labor activity for the Nivkhi—catching fish, in the summer of 1988 there were only about 10. And in the fur trade not one. In recent years the number of deer on Sakhalin has declined to one-fifth its former level, and throughout the RSFSR this decline amounts to hundreds of thousands of head. The same destiny that befell the Nivkhi also befell the Nanai, the Selkup, the Mansi, the Evenki, the Nenets, the Khanty, and other nationalities.

The resettlement to industrial cities, ports, and rayon centers of the nationalities of the North separated them from their traditional types of economic activity. Did they perhaps become oil field workers, as the local party and soviet bureaucrats hoped? Or did they become lumbermen? No.

While in 1959, 70 percent of the working population of the nationalities of the North worked in traditional sectors, in 1979 only 43 percent remained in them. A significant number of the resettled indigenous population of the North has replenished the ranks of those people engaged in unskilled physical labor (up to 30 percent): handymen, loading hands, cleaning women, boiler workers, and the like. And this type of employment is really hypothetical: often two or three people work at one job at one rate of pay. In V. Sangi's observation, this category of working people, which is a new one for the nationalities, has also largely become the focus of social problems—alienation, vagrancy, drunkenness, aggressiveness, and a very high mortality rate.

The resettled population for the most part lives in very crowded housing conditions, often in emergency shelters which need repair. New companions of the social misfortunes have taken shape in very recent years among the nationalities of the North: games of chance, prostitution,

narcotics and substance abuse. The sick rate and mortality rate of the nationalities of the North is 3 to 5 times higher than the same average indicators for the nonindigenous population, who live in incomparably better conditions. In cities and large settlements the indigenous population of the North and the Far East are losing their culture, native language, and way of life.

And here is the result. While in the 1950's the average life expectancy of the nationalities of the North exceeded 60 years, in the 1980's for many of them this indicator fell to 42 years, that is, it became equal to the indicators for the most socially displaced Indian tribes of the United States.

V. Sangi proposes setting up vast biosphere preserves and cultural-nature complexes for habitation and administrative-economic activities by the nationalities of the North. The priority of exploitation of nature by the indigenous population is being consolidated in all regions of the country. In all regions where the nationalities of the North live, national villages based on multifaceted exploitation of nature should be restored in accordance with the suggestions of the indigenous population.

I. Ukhanov (Moscow) asserts that a serious ecological situation has been created in Orenburg. The enormous gas decontamination plants were built hurriedly, in a rush. And it is no accident that the air pollution and the permissible limit of concentration of harmful substances is several times the norm not only in the shops but also within a radius of tens of kilometers. And now the air there is so saturated with hydrogen sulphide that when trains pass several kilometers from the gas plants, a strong, asphyxiating smell reaches every passenger, no matter how tightly the conductors close the doors and windows in the cars. They are trying to paint over the alarming ecological situation with sparkling reports of early fulfillment of the gas production plan by the Orenburg Gas Industry collective. There is no other collective in the oblast which has so many workers who have been given awards and bonuses as the gas industry. But the main leaders who built these gas plants flew to Moscow on the wings of success and now sit in ministry chairs and at main administrations.

Last year in Moscow, with the permission of the forest park system and the Moscow Soviet, builders cut down and burned 360 trees and 503 shrubs on the Yaroslavl highway in 2 days. Four high rises are now being built in place of the destroyed pines, lindens, and birches. These terrible ravages were not carried out in some Siberian backwoods, but in Moscow; and at a time when the "green lungs" of the capital are constantly being resectioned into segments and can no longer supply the organism of the ever-growing giant city with oxygen, and when the time has come for us to hang a protection sign not only on every tree but on every green bush.

The Kazakh poet M. Shakhanov. Before the eyes of one generation a million-year-old sea is dying—the Aral. Human history cannot remember such a scandalous case, but some comrades are contending that there is no cause for serious alarm. And that in the fourth year of restructuring. Last year we managed to acquire a map made in the 1970's for the official use of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Soil Science. This map makes it clear that by the year 2000 there will be a small sedimentation pond like the Sar Kamysh. Rice is to be grown at the bottom of the dried up sea. After that who can assert that the destruction of the Aral was not planned?

Speaking from various tribunals on behalf of a public committee, I also appealed for an explanation to Comrade Vasilyev, the USSR Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, Comrade Izrael, the chairman of the governmental commission on the Aral, and Comrade Sukharev, the USSR General Procurator and demanded that they begin an investigation of the mechanism of the destruction of the Aral, find those to blame, and—if they are not brought to court—then at least make their names public. But all these appeals found support in words only.

With deep regret I must state that the governmental decree on the Aral is a half-hearted one and is not averting catastrophe. It does not ensure stabilization of the water level (proposals developed with the participation of well-known scientists and specialists which envisioned this were in fact rejected). The catastrophe will reach other regions of our country as well. The gross yield of grain and animal husbandry products will sharply decline. The Food Program will actually be disrupted. The glaciers of the Pamir and the Tien Shan are now melting intensively because of saline rain, and in 10 years the flows of the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers which give life to the Aral Region will drop. Lengthening of the cold season, which is already observed, and salinization of soils will result in loss of lands suitable for planting cotton and rice.

The gloomy but scientifically substantiated predictions of scientists can be multiplied endlessly. In our opinion, the government was misled by people who prepared the decree on the Aral, and therefore, taking the decree as a basis, we must fundamentally revise all of its points, taking into account the opinions of scientists and specialists and the demands of the broad public.—among others, the opinions of the public committees of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan and the Aral-88 Expedition, which possess alarming facts that demand the adoption of emergency measures. We believe that all this work and all the efforts of republic party and soviet organs, scientists, and the public of Central Asia and Kazakhstan must be united under the aegis of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government and it must made effective. Otherwise all our efforts will remain disconnected.

The next problem is the use of DDT and hexachlorane in the fields and in everyday life. They are highly toxic and dangerous to people's health, destroy the genetic apparatus, and cause dangerous chronic illnesses—cancer, hepatitis, cirrhosis of the liver, mental and heart diseases, and the like. In the Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary, it states that DDT has not been used in the Soviet Union since 1970. These lethal compounds were categorically banned by a World Convention 23 years ago, but in fact DDT and hexachlorane are widely used even to this day. Tons of them are exported abroad and they are manufactured at the plants of Vurnary (Chuvash ASSR) and in the city of Dzerzhinsk (Gorky Oblast) at the order of the USSR Ministry of Health and USSR Gosagroprom. Last year alone the animal husbandry kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Alma-Ata Oblast used several hundred tons of hexachlorane dust, and another 240 tons have been ordered for 1989.

With my own eyes I have seen herdsmen grease their faces with this lethal compound for protection from mosquitoes. Last year members of the public committee found 16 sacks of DDT in Housing Administration No 6 in Alma-Ata. At the Alma-Ata oncological institute I was recently informed that the fish in Lake Balkhash are not safe to consume. But they are prohibited from stating this officially.

The public committee on problems of the Aral, Lake Balkhash, and the ecology of Kazakhstan under the republic's Writers' Union sent a letter to USSR Gosagroprom chairman Murakhovskiy, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences Marchuk, and USSR Minister of Health Chazov in which we demanded that this insanity be stopped. So far there have been no results. Moreover, by special instruction of the USSR Ministry of Health, it is categorically prohibited to make this matter public. It is obvious that we will not succeed in bringing the country out of its critical ecological situation without fundamental restructuring of sanitation services offices.

P. Shermukhamedov (Uzbekistan) prepared a speech on the menacing proliferation of toxic chemicals in agriculture. In his opinion, no serious, accurate data on the harmful consequences of the use of toxic chemicals have been reported until very recently. But it has been known for a long time that not only adults and not only those who work in the fields and are directly connected with the poisons get sick and die, but also children.

So it was in the 1960's and the 1970's, and it continues in the 1980's. Of course, there were people of high civic responsibility who persistently spoke the truth and tried to reach the press and the podium. After the June 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, even they got access to the mass information media and to high offices. It was not without their pressure that finally in 1987 the decree of the USSR Ministry of Health prohibiting the use of the most terrible poison, butifos, was adopted. It would seem that at last people can in the literal sense of

the word breathe easily and freely. But it has become clear that butifos alone is still not the solution to the problem. There are other toxic chemicals which are almost as bad. It suddenly became clear that not only state warehouses but our stores were filled with all kinds of toxic chemicals. Now there is no shortage and the assortment is a rich one. As everyone knows, one must get permission to buy hunting rifles. One can buy as many poisonous substances as one wants without any permission.

In the opinion of specialists, among them medical experts, abnormal, feeble-minded children are born and many adults become seriously disabled every year in the republics of Central Asia because of the destructive consequences of senseless use of toxic chemicals.

A natural question arises: how long can we look at this disaster and not take fundamental measures? Today it is already sufficiently clear to all of us the kind of irreparable damage toxic chemicals do. Nonetheless, we continue to produce many of them and use them recklessly, and even buy them extensively abroad, while at the same time people there are beginning to reject them. All these complex questions come together chiefly in the monoculture. That is why a positive humane solution to the problem of toxic chemicals depends directly on resolving the global problem of monoculture, which has profound sociopolitical and ecological consequences.

At this time our republic has 4.1 million hectares of irrigated land, of which 3.3 million are plowed fields requiring irrigation. About a million hectares of these lands are potentially of low productivity, and 600,000-700,000 hectares are pebble beds, steep adyry, lands with thick gypsum layers, and swampy, strongly saline, or sandy soils. However, in the years of stagnation and of increasing the gross yield of cotton at any price, they were all planted; and even now they are being planted with cotton, even though they are not suitable for it and provide a yield of only from 5 to 15 and at most 18 to 30 quintals per hectare. "Pumping in" toxic chemicals does not help: about 60 percent of the fertilizers are applied in vain and fall into water. As was noted in the press, the number of chemicals introduced into the soil in cotton production is 5-6 times higher than the average throughout the country, and even to obtain doubtful yields the investment of enormous financial and material-technical means, not to mention social and domestic sacrifices, is needed. And then, instead of intelligently using irrigated lands and putting crop rotation in order finally, toxic chemicals, which certainly are not cheap, were secretly and openly used. What a price we are paying—and not for our a benefit, but for blatant harm!

The plans for procurement of raw cotton increase every year. And this year the plan has been increased even more: from 5.25 million tons to 5.35 million tons. Moreover, another 300,000 hectares of land are to be developed during the 13th Five-Year Plan. That means

more "helpings of poisons" and more dissipation of efforts and capital. More expenses—for what? For false profit and actual losses—of people, capital, and faith in social justice?

We are very worried that the USSR Ministry of Health, instead of firmly banning or intelligently reducing the use of pesticides, with their documents are in fact helping to raise the acceptable level of nitrates in agricultural products.

The question of cotton has fundamental significance for us. Today it is the core of the republic's economy. But at the same time it is time for us to choose: either a continued increase in cotton production, or ecological well-being. Preserving the health of the people and increasing their standard of living. There is no other alternative in present conditions.

In listening to the report and the statements of the speakers, A. Yakubov, the first secretary of the governing board of the Uzbek Writers' Union, notes: I was thinking how similar are our pain and our misfortunes and how similar are the wounds which our native land has borne everywhere. At the mention of Lake Sevan and Baikal, Issyk-Kul and the Sea of Azov, I could not help but remember my native Aral. It seems to me that the misfortune which is ready to befall Central Asia is many times more tragic than the misfortunes of other regions. I am by no means saying this out of a sense of "local patriotism." Yes, throughout the country rivers are being polluted and lakes are drying up and it is becoming more and more difficult to live and breathe. However, nowhere has the threat to the very existence of civilization yet become so close and destructive as in the Aral Region.

When one hears his friends and remembers the misfortunes of his native land, again and again the question comes to mind of how we, a humane socialist society, could have tolerated such a disgraceful immoral and irresponsible attitude toward nature. How could we senselessly expend what belongs to all the people and what belongs to the future generation? What did this all begin with, where are the sources of the catastrophe in which we have found ourselves?

Of course, the misfortune did not come to us all at once, not in one day. Regretfully I must repeat the story of certain dramatic and at the same time tragic events which have occurred in the republic in the past and were related to the monoculture of cotton. All our misfortunes are related to the dominance of the monoculture. Not enough is changing in local areas, and therefore following the policy of monoculture, in the opinion of scientists, may lead to unpredictable consequences. In the last 30 years it, cotton, has become an all-powerful deity to whom countless numbers of victims have been sacrificed. This deity was the main reason for the ruin of the Aral; for suffering from an insatiable thirst it has drunk up to the last drop all the waters of two of our great central rivers. To the great misfortune of our people, it, this deity called the monoculture, has proven to have an insatiable appetite for toxic chemicals as well.

Last fall at a conference at the CPSU Central Committee before the adoption of the important decree on the Aral, very well-known Russian scientists and writers openly expressed the idea that we must take at least part of the burden from the shoulders of the Uzbek peasant and turn our land of plenty into a vast and prosperous orchard for the country. And we Uzbek writers are convinced that this orchard will produce so much fruit and so much income that they will exceed the income received from cotton today many times over. It only remains for USSR Gosplan and USSR Gosagroprom to think things through thoroughly and calculate, rather than flee from an indepth scientific analysis.

At the same meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Academician Aganbegyan expressed the thought that a serious governmental commission consisting of prestigious economic scientists, water-transport workers, soil scientists, and the like must be sent to Uzbekistan. He said that we essentially know nothing about this land—about the dramatic events which have occurred in this great republic. The idea is a very constructive and useful one.

Our great and unforgettable Pushkin asked for mercy even for those who have fallen. It is not a fallen people, but an honorable, long-suffering people who are now in dire need of moral support. Their only fault is their uncomplaining nature, their gentleness, and their love for labor and their native land which they received from their ancestors. The peoples of Uzbekistan and their land and their nature are also in need of support and compassion.

Failure of Cooperative Agreement Leads to Hunger Strike

18300343 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 24 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent S. Stepanov under the rubric "A Conflict Situation": "A Cure by Starvation?"]

[Text] "Because of the failure in settlement of the dispute between the Blok cooperative and the Almaatagorstroy [Alma-Ata Regional Municipal Construction Association] trust, we are declaring a hunger strike at the workplace commencing 17 January 1989. Help us."

You will agree that a hunger strike is an extreme action, even for our turbulent times. And that is primarily why a telegram, the text of which is presented above, caused alarm. Only truly desperate people would deliberately take such a serious step. E. Ivchenko, a Blok cooperative representative, who arrived at the editorial office shortly after the telegram, clarified the situation. He brought a letter signed by Yu. Arlamenkov, the cooperative's chairman:

"Dear Editorial Office:

"On 25 April 1988, the Progress cooperative concluded an agreement with the ZhBI-2 Plant [Reinforced Concrete Products Plant No 2] for the lease of a vacant workshop for a period of 5 years. The cooperative established its cinder block manufacturing branch there, and began to operate. At the end of August, the grounds where our workshop was located were transferred to the Almaatagorstroy trust. The workshop was torn down because it was interfering with reconstruction of the primary production workshops for the Almaatagorstroy trust's KSMK-5 [Construction Materials Combine Cooperative No 5]. I.S. Milgram, the trust's manager, assigned a small piece of land—a dump for scrapped reinforced concrete articles—to our branch, and said: 'The trust will give you the necessary materials, the equipment, and three or four equipment installers, and you build yourself a workshop, and nobody here will force you out in a hundred years.'

"So it all was. We built the workshop, and we tidied up and fenced the grounds. Be happy in your work. But....

"As soon as we began to build, V.D. Litvak, KSMK-5's director, called us in and spoke to this effect: 'Inasmuch as your workshop is on the grounds of KSMK-5, and we, in turn, are in Oktyabrskiy Rayon territory, see that your deductions for the state budget and your fulfillment of the plan for consumer goods are also submitted in Oktyabrskiy Rayon.' Well, all right, what is necessary is necessary. Our branch, which had previously been part of Progress cooperative, was severed from the latter (Progress itself is registered in Alatauskiy Rayon), and became the independent Blok cooperative in Oktyabrskiy Rayon on 4 October.

"By November, the workshop was ready, but the heating system and water supply system had not been installed, and the electricity had not been turned on, although all of these had already been brought up. We made an offer to the trust to conclude an agreement for lease of the workshop for a 10-year period and a cooperation agreement, wherein we assumed obligations for fulfilling a 1989 consumer goods plan for the trust in the amount of 630,000 rubles. However, entirely unexpectedly, and despite promises, the offer was rejected. It was proposed to us that we liquidate ourselves and vacate the workshop.

"Three months of complaining at various levels of authority, often in two or three groups, has led to nothing at all. Why did Comrade Milgram make a 180-degree turn in our regard? Why does he make our existence dependent upon preposterous and absolutely unacceptable conditions? We insist on our rights, strictly relying upon the Law on Cooperatives in the USSR, and he simply does not wish to tolerate such refractory people. He has even told us that he is not accustomed to having anyone express disagreement with him. He does not like an independent cooperative. That is the crux of the matter.

"Unfortunately, not one of the organizations to which we turned (quite a few of them, believe me) could assist in settlement of the matter. We are compelled to resort to extreme measures in this situation in order to attract attention to ourselves."

Stout lads.... By no means sanctioning the hunger strike as a way of fighting for rights, we are, nonetheless, obliged to admit that the cooperative's members attained their objective. The following visited the trailer housing the starving members (in the order in which the visits actually occurred):

- a) auditor from the city fiscal department
- b) Oktyabrskiy Rayon militia chief
- c) the same rayon's public procurator
- d) deputy chairman of the Oktyabrskiy rayispolkom
- e) city party committee department chief
- f) city public procurator's senior assistant;
- g) Kazakh Television reporters.

Besides this, Blok cooperative's chairman received a personal invitation to visit the party oblast committee, of which he immediately availed himself. In other words, the cooperative's members attracted to themselves the attention they had sought in vain for 3 months. The affair gained impetus, and now the situation is being

examined and evaluated in all aspects, including the legal. It seems that the necessary and lawful decisions will now be made in the shortest time period.

And this is the very time to exclaim: How in the world did the matter come down to a hunger strike? Can it be that everything could not be decided calmly and amicably? Indeed, the cooperative's members did not pound their fists on the table (although they sometimes all but pounded them), and they did not demand the impossible or unobtainable. Gently but firmly they asked: Please look into the matter, and give us an answer based on the law—Do we have the right to conclude a contract or not? If not, we will leave without a word....

No one undertook to look into the matter. It came to this? Perestroyka, you know, is all around us!

But these, however, are matters of an organizational nature. And what about the dispute itself?

Everything is almost as set forth in the letter. However, there is a snag in this "almost." At one time, the cooperative's members took the word of the Almaatagorstroy trust's management. However, as everyone knows, you do not falsely give your word in business. But now, I.S. Milgram, the trust's manager, is saying entirely different words to them. He is saying, thank you, lads, you helped build the workshop, I paid you for the work, and now—good-bye—or else join the cooperative that we ourselves are organizing....

Words, words.... But since when did the word of a businessman cease to be an honest word? Indeed, even now many people confirm the existence of that verbal agreement. Can it be that, when you are dealing with cooperative members, you may break your promises to them? In the final analysis, one can understand them, too: They had talks with a high-powered manager, and he promised them something.... Having no cause to disbelieve a government man, they believed him. And—"they got burned."

If only they had demanded the signing of a contract back when construction had not been started! They would be invincible now. Take note, future cooperative members: A contract—above all! The Law on Cooperatives, by the way, also speaks of this. And, if you follow the letter of the law, Blok's demands have no legal basis.

However, in addition to the law's letter, there is also its spirit. In the final analysis, it is easy to establish the course of events in their true time sequence, given an objective approach to the affair. It is not difficult to find and interrogate the people (including those in the Almaatagorstroy Regional Construction Association), before whose eyes this whole affair took place. Surely the time

has finally come to pay attention, as well, to the proposals of Blok cooperative's members, which are not without logic, and do not at all rule out counterproposals from the trust. These proposals were drawn up by business people, realistically evaluating their capabilities and rights....

The newspaper cannot lay claim to the role of supreme judge in this affair. However, it seems that the affair merits description—primarily so that both cooperative members and those who have business with them in an official capacity may draw a lesson from it. We assume the obligation to follow the future course of events and tell you how things turn out

Leningrad Crime Situation Profiled

18000608 LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian
19 Feb 89 pp 2-3

[Interview with Lt Gen A. A. Kurkov, chief of the Main Administration of the Leningrad Oblgorispolkoms, by I. Lisochkin, special correspondent of
LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA: "Crime: Aggravation of the Situation"; date and place not specified]

[Text] As is already to the reader, meetings of the collegium of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the coordination council in the USSR Procuracy have taken place in Moscow. They were devoted to the results of the struggle against crime during the past year and the determination of tasks for the current year. In so doing, an extremely disturbing fact was stated: Throughout the country, in all its regions, crime has risen sharply and continues to rise.

About the problems related to this, our special correspondent I. Lisochkin talks with the chief of the Main Administration of Internal Affairs of the Leningrad Oblgorispolkoms, Lt Gen A. A. Kurkov.

[Lisochkin] The reports both on the collegium of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and on the coordination council in the USSR Procuracy have already been published. The statistics indicating the growth of crime in the country have also been published. But I believe that every inhabitant of Leningrad is interested in the question: But what in this sense is happening in our city? Can one cite relevant statistical data for Leningrad and the oblast?

[Kurkov] The situation that has developed in our city and oblast is close to the one that today exists in the republic and in the country. In Leningrad, the number of all crimes committed increased by 1,133 (+2.6 percent) and came to 44,527, in the oblast—decreased by 554 (-2.8 percent) and came to 19,180 criminal infringements. Along the line of criminal investigation, 3,320 more crimes, or 11.1 percent more, were committed, in the oblast—by 819, or by 6.2 percent. During the year 363 murders were committed in the city—93 more, 951 serious bodily injuries—(+327), 353 rapes (+70), thefts

of state property—4,198 (+591), robberies of personal property—2,045 (+473), robberies—542 (+164), and apartment thefts—6,830 (+943).

I am setting forth a brief, "compressed" set of statistics of the socially most dangerous crimes, but even on the basis of it you can judge what negative changes have taken place in Leningrad and in the oblast.

[Lisochkin] All of us perceive figures and percentages somewhat abstractly. Is it possible to characterize what has happened, in general?

[Kurkov] It is possible, my considerations may appear controversial, but to keep them to myself, I believe, would also be incorrect.

And here is what I would like to share with the readers of LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA. The main thing consists in the fact that up to now we do not have any reasons for happy and comforting prognoses for the immediate future. We are forced today to state not simply the growth of crime, but also obviously negative trends in the operative situation. If we prove to be unable to overcome these trends, then after another year crime may become one of the most acute problems. I am far from wanting to dramatize the situation, but I am not inclined to smooth over the corners.

Moreover, I suggest that if today's trends of the growth of crime will be preserved, then, from a political point of view, a perceptible blow will be inflicted on perestroyka, from which it will not be easy to recover, and which possibly will entail extremes of which there have been more than enough in our history.

[Lisochkin] Our discussions, Anatoliy Alekseyevich, one can say, have become traditional. The present one is the fourth in number. But I acknowledge that I have never heard anything similar from you. . . .

[Kurkov] Times are changing, and we change together with them, as well as our assessments. That's all.

[Lisochkin] You talked about disturbing changes in the operative situation. Probably, the majority will decide that the issue is the growth of organized crime, our home-bred "mafia," the "racket" with respect to the relationship to cooperators and other such phenomena, which we previously did not suspect.

[Kurkov] No, it is possible, this will seem strange and unexpected, but I have in mind something quite different. By the way, I do not like the words "mafia" and "racket", I try not to use them. They are characteristic of a completely different sphere, they have their historical and national roots. We have organized crime and extortion, which at times are not in any way better than the "mafia" and "racket", but they are precisely, as you have noticed, our, home-bred ones.

The phenomena about which you are speaking now call forth general attention, for there are many publications on this subject. But I am convinced that it is not organized crime, not extortion, and not recidivist crime which represent the greatest danger today, with which we are fully in a position to cope. In any case we have at our disposal all possibilities for this.

In order to be understandable to the readers, I will make a small explanation. We call the people, who are operating in this sphere, "professional" criminals. Precisely in the struggle with them, the organs of internal affairs have accumulated sufficient experience, and the proved forms and methods of operational-service activity remain effective.

All this is not words. Thus, in the past and already in this year, our subdivisions for the struggle against organized crime after their additional strengthening, exposed 9 criminal groups, whose 59 participants have had or are having criminal proceedings institute against them. Still more valuable is the fact that we have at our disposal the necessary volume of information which will make it possible for us to continue active work in this direction even during this year. By far not hopeless for us is the milieu of extortioners.

The chief danger of today, I see in the crime we call "first time." It arises among people who have previously not been involved in criminal proceedings and are not known to the organs of internal affairs.

This type of crime, similar to a number of spontaneous phenomena, does not lend itself to prognosis, it frequently reduces to naught the forestalling measures and calls forth the greatest irritation and dissatisfaction of the workers with the work of the militia. It is precisely first-time crime which accounts for 70 percent of all types of crimes, including violent crimes. The latter I want to underscore in particular, in order for it to become clear that I am speaking not only about thefts, misappropriations, speculation or hooliganism. Among the first-time crimes during the past year, for example, there were three murders, which in general is encountered extremely rarely. First-time crime is growing and, in the final analysis, is shaping the operational situation. It goes without saying, we, as other law enforcement organs, are undertaking quite a number of efforts in order to find ways of forestalling that sort of crimes and violations of the law. However, this task is being solved with great difficulty and insufficiently effectively.

[Lisochkin] We have already forgotten the time when crime in general was considered "the birth-mark of capitalism." Several years ago the thesis was formulated precisely: Crime arises in our society through the fall of social morals. Can it be said that the fall of social morals which began already in the 1970's proved to be impossible to stop?

[Kurkov] This is a very serious question. And I would like to answer it as precisely as possible. There is no alternative to perestroika. There is no need to show this. There is a great multitude of examples of how perestroika emancipates the individual and calls creative forces into life. But this, in my opinion, should not call forth euphoria among us. Because different people are taking part in the genuinely revolutionary changes that are taking place. And I believe that quite a few of those who interpret democracy as all-out permissiveness are manifesting patent disrespect of obedience to law. This is why, in my view, a general decrease of social discipline is taking place. Three years of perestroika were successful, especially the years 1986-1987, and a consistent reduction in crime was observed. During the fourth, it appears, a manifest failure occurred, the reasons for which still demand additional careful analysis.

[Lisochkin] Could you not name some of the reasons already now?

[Kurkov] All, and we are included, but especially the mass media (please, don't be offended) talk a great deal about the rights of the citizens, forgetting about their obligations. Although the one and the other are interrelated, fully correspond to the Constitution, and represent the essence of democracy. . . .

A confusion of moral reference points has taken and is taking place—the spirit of commerce and money is increasingly making itself felt, especially among young people. Is this not so? Does this not influence the psychology of man, does it not push people with defects in education toward the search of the easy paths in life? Meanwhile, our society does not yet have a moral defense, which exists in all countries where attitudes are based on financial relations.

And, finally, sharp changes in the approaches to court and legal practice have played and are playing a big role. Or, in other words, distortion of the principle of the irreversibility of punishment is being permitted. Frequently it turns out that laws not repealed and not changed by anyone are not utilized or are utilized with caution.

Here one could cite quite a few examples, but I will dwell only on a few. Last year, 181 people, who were under investigation with a written undertaking not leave (they were not put under guard), committed 304 crimes, including 220 apartment thefts, 32 robberies, and others. The necessity of humanizing the punitive policy is not in doubt, but it is impossible to go to the other extreme.

Another example, 57 percent of all materials based on Article 206 of the Criminal Code (hooliganism) (1,363) were sent to comrade courts, whose low effectiveness today we know very well. As is well known, hooliganism

raises the ceiling of other more dangerous crimes. Meanwhile, during the past year the number of criminal cases that were instituted here in Leningrad decreased by 1,059.

The questions of that sort we—I have in mind, above all, the workers of the law enforcement organs—today, I am convinced, must put directly, discuss honestly and frankly. Though this, perhaps, is not very easy. Even some of our scholars and jurists frequently occupy the position of “yes-men”, although their competence, knowledge, and authority, it would seem, give them the real possibility of noticing undesirable tendencies in the first place. You see, we are talking about the criminal offenses that inflict damage to the interests of citizens and society. Sometimes the impression is formed that they are apprehensive about being included in the category of conservatives and bureaucrats and even opponents to perestroika. But the cause is suffering from this. And, it seems, the situation now requires the introduction of correctives in our law enforcement practice.

[Lisochkin] In previous discussions, I have repeatedly advanced the thesis that at times some economic managers it seems as though specially create conditions for the perpetration of crimes, and then dismiss the problem: “Pilferers are not our business. Let the militia pick up the pilferers.” You have always rejected it. Does it not seem to you that we are involuntarily returning to this thesis?

[Kurkov] There are no contradictions here. I believe as before that “to catch pilferers” is our first professional duty. You see, no one, besides us, looks for the murderer, seizes the hand of the dangerous plunderer, and exposes the violator. We can investigate various social phenomena and possible failures, to take them into account, but we do not have the right to use them as cover and to justify ourselves. The implementation of the well-known principle of the irreversibility of punishment depends, first of all, on the law enforcement organs themselves, including, it goes without saying, the militia. And we are obliged to carry out our duty.

In January, a collegium [meeting] of the glavk [main administration] on the results of the year took place. Of course, notice was also taken of what was good, what turned out to be possible to do, and the subdivisions which attained convincing, concrete results were named. But this is not the main thing. The discussion turned on the fact that we are far from making full use of our possibilities. We cannot lower exactingness with respect to ourselves. And the main direction of all statements at the collegium [meeting] was sharply critical.

[Lisochkin] Is it not possible to tell about this in greater detail?

At the collegium, we talked about the fact that the leading subdivision of the militia—criminal investigation—worked with considerable effort. During the past

year, it proved possible to expose complicated crimes much more than in 1987. At the same time, a recent check by the USSR Procuracy also brought to light a number of cases of unwarranted refusals to institute criminal proceedings and other violations of socialist legality.

This can be explained only by the careless attitude to one's direct obligations, indifference and even thoughtlessness. As before, we will hold [people] strictly responsible, including those who carry out departmental checks and control.

Among the serious shortcomings, we should include the unsatisfactory work in the examination of places incidents and the execution of initial measures of investigation on hot trails.

The service of the struggle against the theft of socialist property and speculation is working in a very difficult situation today. The changed court and investigation practice, no doubt, has an effect on the state of the struggle in the sphere of the economy. And although large groups of plunderers and bribe-takers in the trade and public catering system, in the agroindustrial complex, construction and transportation have been exposed, we are not satisfied with its results.

From the analysis of the activity of the rayon apparatuses of the struggle against the theft of socialist property and speculation it is quite apparent that the results are highest where people work more energetically. For this reason, the reserve for increasing the result of the activity of the service of the struggle against the theft of socialist property and speculation must be sought, above all, in the service itself. And the administration of the struggle against the theft of socialist property and speculation must, as was said at the collegium [meeting], resolutely set about increasing the professional mastery of the operational staff, especially in the rayon link, to introduce on a broader basis into practice new forms and methods of work (for example, the method of economic-legal analysis, which has successfully recommended itself).

Subjected to serious criticism was the work of the district inspectors, the patrol-post service, the inspection for affairs of minors, the state motor vehicle inspection, and other subdivisions of the main administration. Stress was laid, above all, on the necessity of changing the attitude of every staff member, irrespective of his work, to the fulfillment of his direct obligations. In this lies the path of increasing the effectiveness of all our activity.

...Perhaps you have other questions?

[Lisochkin] There exists a known connection between crime and hard drinking. What has changed here recently?

[Kurkov] Hard drinking was and remains a social evil. Some more statistics. Every third crime is committed in the state of intoxication. And in such crimes as murder, serious bodily injury, and rape—more than 50 percent. There are people now who express the opinion that the struggle against hard drinking and alcoholism was a mistake. This is a dangerous error. One can criticize the methods that were used, but every conceivable struggle against this evil must besteadfastly continued. Incidentally, the militia, too, during the past year, in our view, lowered its activity. We are resolutely inclined to correct this.

[Lisochkin] One hears quite a few complaints about young people and about their conduct. I will say at once that I do not share these complaints. And your opinion?

[Kurkov] In terms of the large picture, I, too, it goes without saying, cannot complain about the young people. There are no foundations for this. But it would be incorrect to close our eyes to the actually existing negative phenomena among adolescents and young people. Unfortunately, this, too, is a fact—persons 18-29 years old constitute the basic mass of criminals in Leningrad.

It is impossible not to mention here the events that took place in October of the past year at the Sports and Concert Complex. Rock music lovers allowed group violations of the public order, smashed windows in six militia vehicles, and injured a staff member.

Most likely, many inhabitants of Leningrad remember what happened in the center of the city on 28 May, 31 July and 2 August of the past year. These were mass violations of the public order by groups. Order was secured, but the assessment of these manifestations must be very sharp.

And in the future, too, we intend to act resolutely, with the involvement of additional forces. They are available. Including for these purposes, a detachment of special purpose militia has been created in our city.

[Lisochkin] Phenomena about which the press has begun to talk relatively recently—drug addiction, prostitution—continue to call forth the constant interest of our readers. Are there changes here?

[Kurkov] Yes, there are. There has been an appreciable decrease of drug addicts. But the problem has remained, because the roots have not been extirpated: The suppliers, the distributors, and the keepers of hang-outs. Here more work is needed.

As far as prostitution is concerned (I add—also black marketeers), the number of persons who were made to answer for such actions increased sharply during the past year and came to more than 2,700 people. But, according to our observations, the prostitutes (as also the black

marketeers) have not become fewer. On the contrary, the young generation is actively joining their milieu. Bad, but fact. We intend to work still more actively in this direction.

[Lisochkin] Thank you for the discussion. If additional questions arise among the readers, to whom can they be addressed?

[Kurkov] Of course, to us, the main administration. Every year, we answer a greater number of letters and we consider this matter to be necessary as well as useful for both sides.

Internal Affairs Ministry Official on Theft Problem in Armenia

*18300196 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
25 Nov 88 p 4*

[Article by E. Manukyan, chief of the External Departmental Security Agency of the Armenian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, militia colonel: "Guarding the People's Property"]

[Text] Success in transforming our economy depends to a great extent on the effectiveness of our struggle with theft and poor management. An active role in this effort is played by one subunit of our republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs, the External Departmental Security Service, a developed, specialized police service.

Today more than 8000 facilities of our national economy fall under the protection of external departmental security. This includes almost half the trade enterprises and public eating establishments, almost all the banks, jewelry stores, museums, narcotics and weapons storage facilities. Over 2000 citizens' apartments are covered by permanent security and another 1500 annually fall under temporary, round-the-clock protection during periods of trips and vacation.

The technical capabilities of external departmental security are several dozen times greater than this, however. There is a need in our republic, unfortunately, to disseminate widespread information on this kind of crime prevention in order to overcome certain stereotyped thinking. Apartment theft in our republic has assumed widespread proportions, a fact which makes this form of lawbreaking prevention particularly important. Over the past three years not a single incident of theft has occurred from apartments under our protection with this equipment. External Departmental Security compensates in full for loss and damage incurred during incidents of theft. Nonetheless, the Ministry of Internal Affairs Investigations Section and criminal investigations division must join in the effort to explain and clarify. Apartment security will then be able to attain a qualitatively new level.

And what about the situation concerning protection of facilities dealing with the national economy? In spite of the high degree of security reliability here, there still occur attempts to penetrate the facilities. Devices are set up to signal an alarm at a centralized security station which has all the information about a facility, and an operations team is dispatched to the scene. Just in 1987 and over 10 months of the current year, 25 incidences of theft were averted using this alarm system and our colleagues arrested 40 criminals.

Thus there is every indication that 10 or 15 years from now security will become a service of technical engineering. In the near future, almost all facilities will fall under the protection of an inexpensive and effective security system using centralized monitoring equipment.

But one of the most important preventive missions of External Departmental Security—the fight against petty theft—is today a responsibility of sentries. Do we have a reliable shield to protect us from "lifters"? How paradoxical it is that with all the knowledge we have concerning the channels and means through which petty theft is accomplished, we find it a complicated matter to eliminate it entirely. Experience shows us that sentries and inspectors uncover the greatest amount of illegal activity during their initial period on the job. Results decline after that. Apparently a certain number of inspectors get along, while others cannot keep up the unnerving struggle against the "lifters."

All the same, I think the reason our fight with petty theft is not very effective lies in the lack of a precise and efficient system. The Agency for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation should provide the coordinating service here, because at those enterprises where the majority of petty theft incidents occur, no shortage is ever brought to light—the loose ends are always tied up. Where do we get surpluses of unaccounted-for products? Apparently they are the result of imperfect inventories, allowable-loss standards set too high, disruptions in equipment operation, and many other things which must be identified. In short, we find it necessary to unite the efforts of external departmental security, state inspection agencies, public organizations and enterprise administrations in the struggle against petty theft. Meanwhile, 4560 "lifters" were arrested over a nine-month period this year in accessible enterprises. But even these figures in no way fully reflect the petty theft situation. We have significantly greater numbers of "lifters" and they are inflicting great loss and damage upon the state. It is not surprising—only 50 percent of all organizations and enterprises in our republic are under observation by External Departmental Security.

The incidence of petty theft at Armenian State Agricultural Industry enterprises is particularly widespread—1820 such occurrences were reported over the nine-month period this year. Facilities of the meat and milk

production industry, food industry, fruit and vegetable production industry were especially affected. The republic's Ministry of Light Industry reported 1602 cases of theft at its enterprises.

Here we want to cite a number of enterprises at which "lifters" feel especially comfortable and where the level of theft is not decreasing—the Leninakan Textile Combine imeni May Uprising, Leninakan Knitted-Wear Factory, Yerevan bakeries Nrs 4 and 5, the Yerevan cannery, knitted-wear subdivisions 1 and 2, and the Yerevan wine combine.

What are the reasons for this evil? Primarily, they amount to irresponsibility and poor management exercised by the administration of these enterprises. Equipment disruptions, allowable-loss standards set too high, and a lack of storage facilities contribute to the theft. "Lifters" also take great advantage of poor supervision of expenditure of all kinds of materials stored out in the open, or in huts not adapted for storage.

Another unpleasant fact is the poor technical level of security at facilities, the absence of a reliable pass and entry system. Thefts occur, as a rule, through numerous breaches and violations of perimeter security. Let us take, for example, the state agricultural industry enterprises, where the number of facilities not secured by electronic equipment comprises almost 70 percent. As a result, there is a high level of petty theft here. The same is true of the Ministry of Local Industry, "Aykoop," and the Ministry of Light Industry.

Examination has shown that "lifters" enjoy especially favorable conditions at the Yerevan Leather Association imeni Shaumyan, the cannery, wine combine, champagne plant, the garment factory of the Ministry of Local Industry, Razdanskiy Milk Plant, Martuninskiy Cannery, and Leninakan Food Warehouse.

All the same, I am certain that we must look for the main cause in the human factor, when incidents of theft not only fail to arouse contempt in one enterprise collective or another but, quite to the contrary, are considered an ordinary occurrence.

Moreover, the practice of illegal appropriation is tacitly approved by the enterprise administration as a means of encouraging the collective's efforts. The governing principle here is: "I will take no notice of theft—in return, you will work."

For example, a raid conducted by External Departmental Security personnel resulted in the arrest of four workers—A. Mkrtychyan, R. Aleksanyan, S. Oganesyanyan and L. Khachatryan—at a worsted combine. These individuals had attempted to take home 70 rubles worth of fabric. Would a worker at a boiler-works wine combine, M. Srotsents, be able to attempt to carry off 42 bottles of vodka and three liters of grain alcohol, totalling 520 rubles, without outside assistance?

There is practically no fight being conducted against "lifters" at many enterprises. Uncovering incidents of petty theft, we send the materials either to peer courts at the enterprises or to the rayon people's court. However, fines imposed upon embezzlers usually amount to about 10 rubles, whereas the minimum fine is supposed to be 20 rubles. Mid-level managers, as a rule, are not held accountable to the party for incidents of theft committed by members of their collectives. Special agencies and people's inspection teams and agencies take no preventive measures.

An analysis of the record of legal action taken against "lifters" shows that the average fine imposed on each violator by the people's courts amounts to 44 rubles, by peer courts—15 rubles. Public censure and reprimands are given to approximately 62 percent of the "lifters." It is not surprising, therefore, that in most instances embezzlers get off with a light scare, and soon afterwards begin again—but more cautiously now—to steal material valuables.

At the same time that we see a need to beef up punishment measures, there is another solution to the problem. In order to enhance the interest of workers and other employees in light industry, the food industry and other branches of production, a number of socialist countries have introduced programs by which they can buy the products at less than retail price. Why don't we adopt such a practice?

We should acknowledge for the sake of objectivity that we also have difficulties in resolving the personnel problem—serious deficiencies have been encountered in the selection and placement of security and sentry personnel. The bitter lessons of the past, when individuals who failed in other positions were assigned to managerial posts in security subunits, is still fresh in our memory. The fact was then not taken into account that, as in any service, external departmental security subunits need their own personnel with the required professional skills—technical engineering skills in particular, and that in the moral sense each worker should experience growth in his position as a result of conscientious work. Yet shameful instances are still to be found where external departmental security personnel enter into collusion with criminals and get involved in the theft of material valuables.

As an example we can look at the episode in which G. Gasparyan, a sentry at the trade center, conspired with A. Arshakyan, a guard at the rayon hospital, and turned off the alarm system at his facility, thus enabling Arshakyan to steal production goods valued at five thousand rubles. Chief of the militarized guard Matevosyan and guard Khachatryan were guilty of the same criminal irresponsibility when they conspired with officials of the Yerevan Leather Plant and stole more than three thousand rubles worth of citric acid and other

valuables. Corporal of the Guard Levonyan and sentry Babadzhanyan acted similarly when they conspired with supply officials at the Yerevan Brewery to steal four thousand bottles of beer.

A decree issued by the USSR Council of Ministers addresses the need to augment the role of the External Departmental Security Service, obligating ministries and departments to transfer to it all enterprises and organizations situated in the cities, rayon centers and towns. In this manner we will finally put an end to departmental fragmentation with regard to security. Our service will become the chief sentinel over public property.

External departmental security subunits are prepared operationally to accept facilities into their sphere of security responsibility. However, accomplishment of the resolution provisions is threatened with breakdown. In connection with the transition to cost accounting and self-financing, enterprises and organizations have decided that they themselves have the right to select the form and quantity of protective measures, and enterprise managers have generally turned down the services of external departmental security. As a result, 523 facilities, mainly in the ministries of Electrical Engineering Production, Communications, Culture, Construction, Public Health, Light Industry, Local Industry, and the management of "Aykoop" and the State Agricultural Production, have justified their position based on a lack of funds and refused to transfer their facilities to our security protection.

This fact can be explained by just one thing—the desire to have "their own" security service so as to avoid unpleasant occurrences. What happened in the case of the Yerevan Meat Combine is significant here—our service provided its security prior to 1986, and a departmental security service from then on. For 1984 and 1985, 313 incidents of petty theft were uncovered by our service. But just 124 such occurrences were reported for the following two-year period. It is not that there was a drop in theft, but rather a drop in discovering incidents of theft.

Thus, the External Departmental Security Service is prepared to undertake an especially responsible mission in these days of perestroika—effecting security of public property. It is therefore important today to resurrect the prestige of our colleagues in the police department, significantly damaged during the stagnation years. The lack of people's trust and confidence in the police was even addressed at the September Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee—and justifiably so. We must rebuild that trust and confidence. It is our obligation as party members and citizens.

ERRATUM: Doctor of Immunology Complains of Slow, Inadequate Response to Aids

[In JPRS-UPA-89-024 of 17 April 1989, the article entitled "Doctor of Immunology Complains of Slow, Inadequate Response to Aids" (CSO:18300349), which appears on page 41 of the report, is not highlighted as a new article nor does it appear on the Table of Contents page where it should be listed as the third headline under SOCIAL ISSUES.]

Industrial Technocrats 'Enemies' of Restructuring
18080024 Riga CINA in Latvian 13 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by G. Baltins, highly awarded Latvian economist and chairman of the Latvian SSR State Statistical Committee]

[Text] Yes, the larger part of the republic's industrial enterprise managers are production organizers who have gained earned authority, who actively support the restructuring process and understand that without the solution of sore socioeconomic questions it is impossible to stimulate the social living standard, as well as the further development of the republican economy. But the successful solution of this question is, in its own turn, not possible, if the dictate of the All-Union ministry and departments continues. Those, it would seem, are complete axioms.

However, in the republic, as far as we can tell, there is forming an influential enterprise manager group, which, out of its narrowly selfish interests, wants to support the department dictate and to preserve unchanged the presently complicated situation in our nation's economy, social sphere, and thus becomes the main enemy of the restructuring process in this republic. This was, at least, proven by this year's 30 November press publication PAZINOJUMS ["Announcement"], whose authors, passing themselves off as defenders of workers' interests, spoke up against the resolution on agriculture's priority in the republic and against the published resolution project on stopping the mechanical increase of inhabitants. Threats are being aired, stating that, look, realizing these resolutions, in several cases enterprise activity will cease, and "as a result, industrial workers will lose employment on a mass scale."

But let us think: In whose interests are actually being proposed the ventures against which the PAZINOJUMS authors are turning? I wonder if anyone will be courageous enough to assert that empty store shelves and poor provision of several foodstuffs meet worker interests. But, if we will not accomplish rapid development of republican agriculture, the situation will even worsen in immediate years. In its turn, rapid development will not be possible if, in agriculture and in enterprises that process its products, capital investment is not increased and supplemental material resources granted. Furthermore, since the republic's construction organization power and construction material resources are limited, it is completely logical that, by giving priority to one direction, others must be limited. It is no longer feasible to decrease the already stagnant construction of social-sphere objects and apartments; therefore, the only solution is to correspondingly limit industrial building. And precisely that bothers the PAZINOJUMS authors.

Of course, looking from their perspective, unlimited, extensive industrial development is the easiest road, but—excuse me—that is not necessarily the best way from the perspective of national and societal interests.

No one is forbidding the development of production and the replacement of antiquated technological systems and mechanisms. For this purpose, large construction and assembly projects are not necessary. Increasing production efficiency is similarly unthinkable without the better utilization of existing production potential. Unfortunately in this sense our enterprise accomplishments are more than modest. In February 1987 the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers accepted a resolution that in the 1987-1988 year it be achieved that industrial enterprise production systems work two, but in unique and expensive systems—even in three shifts. Actually in this year's nine months the system load change coefficient in the republic's mechanical and metalworking enterprises was 1.36. It was slightly higher (1.49) in original production shops, but, as is visible, there also it is far until the fulfillment of the resolution.

Not looking at that, many enterprises continue the long criticized extensive development path and utilize newly-received production systems not for replacement of the old ones, but for the creation of new work-places. Thus are acting the production union "Current," "Commutator," "Compressor," and "Lighting Technique," a diesel and auto-electrical factory.

Permanently taking this road, many enterprises have turned into old system repositories. Almost 40 percent of machines and systems are exploited for more than 10 years, but 12 percent—for even more than 20 years. The number of obsolete systems grows from year to year. The incorrect development course is also proved by the fact that for old system replacement in our industry, only 18 percent of the total capital investment volume is utilized, whereas in economically developed countries 45-50 percent of capital investment is used for these purposes. Under the mask of enterprise technical reconstruction, their expansion in the republic is actually occurring on the account of new construction.

The reason for the insufficient production system workload is, by no means, a lack of workers, as it is explained by a few enterprise managers. Its main cause is disproportionately rapid construction of new work-places! Similarly, the possibilities that a switch to the new work payment system offers, are not being taken advantage of. Putting this system into practice, in the second work shift in our factory currently only 924 people are freed. The number of workers engaged in manual labor is also very slowly decreasing; in some enterprises it is even increasing.

The resolution project published in the press on stopping the mechanical inhabitant increase contains several essential defects, and it is undoubtedly necessary to perfect them. But can one because of this turn against the very solution of the problem?

Of course, it would be ideal if the economic management mechanism would already now forbid extensive production development. In economically developed countries

this is blocked by competition. Unfortunately, presently it is more advantageous for enterprises here to build dormitories and bring in workers, than to concentrate on production mechanism automation and the introduction of progressive technological processes. However, this management mechanism anachronism must be averted! That is why a one-time supplemental payment for the benefit of local Soviet of Nationalities deputies is anticipated from each worker who will be invited to work from other republics, but in Riga, Jurmala, and the Riga rayon—also from those from other Latvian districts. These resources will then be used for the development of the social infrastructure and agro-industrial complex, which in the last decades has noticeably fallen behind from the rapidly increasing number of urban dwellers. And this proposal has an economic, not an administratively commanding character! It also meets the interests of the republic's entire population, regardless of national and social grouping.

In 1987 more people arrived in Latvia than left it—18.8 thousand, among these in Riga—10.2 thousand people; the natural increase of inhabitants was 10 thousand people. Therefore, the total number of inhabitants increased by 28.8 thousand. In the same time, not counting the dormitories, in sum 20.6 thousand apartments were constructed, from them—6.5 thousand in Riga. This relationship between population increase and the apartment construction situation constantly worsens. In 1 July of this year in Latvia, 157.8 thousand families were admitted onto the apartment list. In only the last 2 ½ years their number grew by 15.4 thousand, or 12 percent. Currently in Riga 76.2 thousand families are listed, i.e., almost twice as many as in 1980. And, corresponding to the inhabitant national make-up, the majority of apartment seekers are not Latvians, but precisely other nationality inhabitants.

A difficult situation has developed in other social sphere branches as well. Thirty-five thousand children, of that number, 18 thousand in Riga, are waiting to be accepted into pre-schools. Polyclinics are overburdened with work, while in hospitals, due to the number of beds, the suitable room width is less than the regulation width almost by half.

A few enterprise managers are very upset with the ban on building new dormitories in Riga, but even more are worried that the resolution project on stopping the mechanical inhabitant increase provides for the development of ventures for the liquidation of existing dormitories. This, of course, will not be accomplished in the immediate future, but the first steps in this direction must be taken, because how else can one fulfill the CPSU requirement that by the year 2000 each family must be guaranteed a separate apartment or private house? And is the liquidation of dormitories then not in the interests of workers living there? Dormitory construction, as is known, is financed with apartment construction resources, therefore each new dormitory actually robs those people waiting in the apartment line. Moreover,

they are being robbed twice, because the need to move new families and single mothers out of the dormitories and individual residences is also one of the reasons why the rest of the citizens must wait 15 to 20 years to receive an apartment.

The limiting of the mechanical increase in inhabitants and the gradual liquidation of enterprise dormitories will not decrease, but will increase the workforce demand in the republic, and, only by ignoring elementary logic can one assert that this will create unemployment.

Finally—one more argument defending the inhabitant mechanical increase—the local inhabitants, especially Latvians, supposedly do not want to work in industry... This statement is also without any support! Latvian worker presence in republican industry is 38 percent, truly less than the Latvian portion in the number of total inhabitants. However—let's not rush!—one cannot ignore the actual distribution of industry and the inhabitants themselves. Enterprises are concentrated in the large cities, mainly in Riga, where the concentration of Latvian nationality inhabitants is much smaller than in the republic at large. In Riga's industry 32 percent of workers are Latvians. But that totally corresponds to their presence in the sum total of city residents. On the other hand, among country inhabitants and agricultural workers, the number of Latvians exceeds 70 percent. Should we therefore conclude from that, that other nationality inhabitants, look, do not provide enough investment for the realization of the Foodstuff Program?

Industry has and will have a large meaning for our people's agriculture, which no one wants to deny, but the PAZINOJUMS authors' assertion that its "earnings form more than 50 percent of the republic's national income" is dishonorably, tendentially exaggerated. In fact—only 17.4 percent!

Without any doubts, nobody objects to the development of industry, but it must be achieved with intensive, not with extensive methods, thus worsening inhabitant living conditions. There is no alternative to the restructuring process. But a true realization of restructuring requires correcting the deformed national agriculture structure and proportions. If we submit to the dictate of the technocrat group, then we must also reconcile ourselves to the thought that henceforth we will live even worse and worse from year to year.

Great Latvian Publisher Janis Rose Remembered
18080011 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian
2 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Ieva Raiskuma: "He Is Back"]

[Text] Karlis Skalbe wrote that the book publisher Janis Rose always wanted to serve only the cultural needs of his peoples. And now we are trying, at least partially, to repay the debt to our culture's figures which has accumulated during the decades and which, in reality, cannot

be repaid. Now between fall and winter it is the turn for one of the greatest Latvian book publishers Janis Rose. He was the owner of a publishing house, printing house, and a bookstore (these attributes became the cause of Janis Rose's tragedy on 14 Jun 41) [Day of the greatest mass deportation from Latvia]. He was the man who published 2 million copies of 850 Latvian books. As his contemporaries and literature researchers described him-, he was a democratic, very intelligent, hard-working and unselfish book publisher, who was not interested in publishing well-selling trash literature, but regardless of the demand, valued most of all the really good and wise books.

Wednesday, 30 Nov 88, the 110th anniversary of Janis Rose's birthday and, probably, his real and final return to Latvia were celebrated.

In the morning we were at the snow covered Lielupe cemetery, where Janis Rose's name is engraved on the strong, gray Latvian granite tombstone. The dates of his life clearly express everything: 11. 30.1878 Vecpiebalga - 5.10.1942 Solikamsk.

Now we know that Janis Rose's remains are buried several kilometers from Solikamsk, where years ago a camp named "The Grave" used to be. Remembering Janis Rose at the Lielupe cemetery, we wanted to believe that in reality only his remains are there, in that strange land. It must be that the spirit is greater, eternal, and that it always returns home.

And only the wind of Motherland is allowed to extinguish candles at the grave...which is not there.

Janis Rose's birthday celebrations continued in Riga near the house at 5 Krisjanis Barons Street. After a long struggle that required strong and determined efforts, the former bookstore Dzintars got back its real name and we in Riga have again Janis Rose's bookstore! A plaque at the entrance informs everybody: "In this building the Latvian book publisher Janis Rose (1878-1942) was working from 1919 to 1940."

Bookstore manager Inara Belinkaja told the first guests: "We have taken upon ourselves a great responsibility to work in Janis Rose's bookstore, but we have plenty of ideas and energy."

The bookstore's collective has indeed many ideas, such as, how get back the premises of the neighboring music store that in the past belonged to Janis Rose, and to organize Janis Rose's memorial apartment either in Riga, or in Lielupe. They are thinking that the future cooperative Atmoda [Awakening] will be able to publish Latvian classical works and those of the emigre authors.

Will we attempt to realize the main project and to fulfill the main program that we ourselves proposed,- that is, to develop Janis Rose's bookstore into one of the republic's culture centers?

I believe that we will be able to do it. For obvious reasons I cannot forget the words of the Krisjanis Barons Museum's director Ruta Karklina: "In the bookstore's thick guest book there are signatures of some Latvians, 'no' from some Latvians to the idea that Janis Rose's bookstore would be again..."

Therefore, I want even more so to wish the bookstore's collective strength, happiness, and perseverance. To wish them customers, friends, and guests would be unnecessary, since we all will be there.

We will be there. This is what I would like to say as a footnote after the ceremonial meeting that took place at the Krisjanis Barons Museum in honor of Janis Rose. One more important and inseparable part of the Latvian culture, which was interrupted by violence, is again continuing its march in Latvia.

"I have little to say, because the people started to speak. To speak through deeds is the strongest and the best language." Karlis Skalbe. Collected Works, Volume 9. Published by Janis Rose in Riga.

Interest in BSSR Martirolog Society Spreads to Mogilev Oblast

18000531 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
12 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent A. Gulyayev under the rubric "We Are Learning Democracy": "They Shunned Dialogue: On How Inability To Consider Requirements of the Day Led to the Force of the Word Being Replaced Simply by Force"]

[Text] It was reminiscent of a bad detective story. People gathered, not openly, but in conspiratorial secrecy, lacking only the passwords and countersigns. Finally, a whole group—about 40 persons—walked up to the Mogilev Garment Factory dormitory. They opened the doors, and suddenly....

It was discovered that, in the dormitory, awaiting the visitors as in ambush, were the factory's director, the raykom secretary, officials of the rayon soviet ispolkom, and Komsomol representatives.... And all of these tried, with combined efforts, to drive the newcomers out onto the street. They ultimately succeeded in this, especially because authority and the law were on the administrators' side, and on the other side.... The other side simply had to try to find itself another refuge.

They walked about the city again. No one was particularly surprised when they found a new refuge in the oblast cultural education school dormitory and representatives of the authorities appeared there once again. This time, too, the representatives were not noteworthy for variety of demands: "Vacate the premises. Your assembly is illegal!" Tempers again began to flare. Who knows how it all would have ended, but that cool heads were found on both the one side and the other, who somehow

reached agreement on half an hour of time. It was just enough time to complete that for which the more than three dozen persons had assembled here—Mogilev residents and visitors from rayon centers as well as the republic's capital, among whom was the well-known scholar and publicist Z.S. Poznyak, public council chairman of the republic's Martirolog Belorussii historical education society. In fact, the entire incident was nothing but an attempt to conduct the founding assembly of this society's Mogilev Oblast Branch.

Some people probably do not know what Martirolog represents, and what kinds of tasks it sets itself. Basically, the tasks boil down to discovering the complete and truthful picture of the repressions during Stalin's personality-cult era, making lists of the victims, and perpetuating their memories.

Until quite recently, the society was exclusively a capital city one, but the very focus of its activity led inevitably to expansion into the interior. This is understandable: In Mogilev Oblast alone, three-quarters of the repression victims, whose reputations were restored in 1988, were from the country. Thus there is no way to manage without the help of active members from the oblasts and rayons. And, interest in Martirolog's activity is constantly growing.

But let us return to the events of 27 November, especially because that quasi-detective story subsequently caused a rash of rumors. The following, for example, is among the most absurd: A group had been coming from Minsk for the purpose of "organizing Belorussia's separation from Russia...." Stories also were circulating about casualties during dispersal of the activists' Mogilev demonstration with billy clubs and water cannons....

Rumors, rumors, rumors.... I fear that I shall disappoint the opportunist, but there were no billy clubs or water cannons. There was only an unlucky meeting that got a bad name. And yet there is good reason to talk about it. And not just to refute the rumors. The main thing, it seems to me, is that this incident shed light on the contradictions that have accumulated in our public practices.

It is appropriate to begin discussion of the latter with an answer to the question: And just why did people, assembled to organize an oblast chapter of a society that already legally exists in the republic, have to wander about the city in search of a refuge? Maybe they should not have tried to be clever and conceal themselves, but should have submitted a request to conduct the meeting, as the applicable ukase requires? By the way, one of the leaders of the Mogilev activists T.Ye. Romankova, was later tried specifically for violating the ukase. And she was fined 100 rubles.

"We told the authorities about the meeting many days before it," said Romankova at the trial.

However, this is an untruth. No one informed anyone of anything, and, it seems, no one intended to do so. Just having arrived from Minsk, Z.S. Poznyak literally forced the meeting's organizers to telephone the party oblast committee.

"They would not have given us authorization anyway," says A.F. Fedorov, now deputy chairman of the volunteer organization's oblast chapter. With all of such a statement's doubtfulness, one still should ponder it for a while. Indeed, in doing so, the attempt of the Minsk activists to seek authorization to make 30 October the day for remembrance in prayer of one's ancestors— "forefathers"—comes automatically to mind. The city authorities responded with denial at the time. As a result, an unsanctioned mass meeting of many thousands took place, and the forces for preserving law and order intervened. The confrontation assumed such proportions that, under the pressure of public opinion, a republic government commission was compelled to evaluate the authorities' actions.

Articles in republic and oblast newspapers are recalled, in which the activist organizations' leaders were accused of all the unforgivable offenses from nationalism to scientific ignorance. But, in the process, the possibility of a discussion with the activists was not even considered.

Based on this, it is likely that such actions as would preclude the activists' organizational meeting had also been taken in Mogilev. So let us be objective: The activists did not start the game of spies and detectives because they wanted to; they had reason to fear a groundless denial.

This is a dangerous thing—orientation upon something to the exclusion of all else. It is a mind-set that closes the eyes to much. Was this not so during both the personality-cult era and the stagnation period? Many people today give the excuse: "Such was the policy then"! Yes, it was the "line," and it dragged everyone into its course and led them along it. There were the dedicatedly believing and the honestly mistaken. But the point, however, lies in something else: Blind adherence to the "line" absolves one of responsibility, and helps one avoid agonizing doubts. And, accordingly, life becomes easier, more comfortable, and more secure. Is it not for this reason that there are so many people, even to this day, who want to follow it and pursue methods in which the force of the word, persuasion, is replaced simply by force?

The representatives of the local authorities appeared at the Mogilev activists' meeting ostensibly "by chance." Here is where the trouble is, and here is what causes alarm: The methods were those very ones! And not on the part of run-of-the-mill executives and low-ranking officials: High-ranking police chiefs and representatives of Soviet authority had assembled at the entrance to the cultural education school dormitory to which the people

driven out of the garment factory dormitory came. Even V.P. Fursov, first secretary of the party gorkom, was there. Later, I tried to obtain clarification from him:

"Why did you not go to the people, did you not want to listen to them?"

Vladimir Petrovich tried for a long time to maintain that he was not at the scene of the incident at all. And only later, when we had finally agreed that he was there nevertheless, and saw it, did he answer:

"But they did not invite me. Why should I have gone?"

Yes, neither the first secretary nor any of the gorkom's numerous ideologists went to the meeting, but preferred to send the police there. The police, by the way, turned out to be wiser than their bosses. Captain A.V. Zolotukhin had prudence enough not to take away the cameras, not to expose the film, and not to act harshly as had been recommended to him. But here is what worries me in this regard: How will the rayon police officers, to whom the same order may be given, behave in the foreseeable future, when Martirolog chapters appear in the rayon centers? They too, you know, are oriented upon the ban.

"They did not invite me...." However, in all probability, the party ideologists should have gone there on their own. This is especially so because neither spies nor enemies, nor even unregistered sectarians had assembled in the building. Here are just two of the names: V.A. Yermolovich, honored BSSR cultural worker, founder and director of an amateur theater, well-known in the republic, in one of the oblast's most remote rayons; A. Kandrushevich, well-known writer on the Mogilev scene. And, in addition—journalists, artists, students, Communists, and non-Communists. What, it would seem, could be easier: Sit down beside them and listen. There is something to object to—object. You do not agree with something—persuade.

And then it will become clear that if someone has dubious ideas and opinions, it is only because he or she has never encountered an opponent who was capable of persuading him otherwise. No, judging by everything, the society's Mogilev chapter does not threaten to undermine our state and moral institutions in any way at all.

What is more, it may even be entirely of practical benefit. In this regard, a signed decision of V.S. Leonov, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Mogilev Obkom, also expresses precisely this thought in a letter that the activists sent to the party oblast committee. It reads, almost verbatim, as follows: "these people propose to do what we should have done long ago on our own." That is when Martirolog at last received its citizenship rights in Mogilev and the opportunity to work without disturbance! Its members are conducting a search for repressed persons and meetings in the collectives.

The impression of these meetings is contradictory. The public's interest in Martirolog's activity is manifesting itself rather clearly. No less clearly manifesting itself, in my opinion, is the tendency of some of the activists' leaders to win popularity by any means at all, including the use of scandal. That same Romankova, whom MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI made one of the principal heroines in its material "Late Trials" (25 Dec 1988), it described thus: "A person difficult to get along with, and annoying at times." Knowing her by the descriptions of colleagues, and observing Tamara Yemelyanovna's conduct during the trial and subsequently, during the activists' meeting with the art supply workshops' collective, I can say that this formulation is more than kind.

Here is another aspect of the matter: Although the most prominent intellectuals and most outstanding persons, such as the writer V. Bykov, head the society in the republic, those who are simply trying to make a name for themselves by any means whatever are frequently reaching leadership positions in the outlying areas concomitantly with the society's expansion. Of course, the atmosphere of scandal that has been created around Martirolog primarily fosters this.

In Mogilev Oblast, the atmosphere around this society apparently is becoming normal, although there is a desire, on the part of many party workers and executives of various ranks, to shift the responsibility for mistakes, setbacks, and unfulfilled expectations to the activists. Levelheaded, knowledgeable, and respected people now are cautiously accustoming themselves to the volunteer society's activity. And at the same time, significantly, the persons, for whom the situation of the day is the most important thing, are leaving.

But whatever the kinds of people sometimes infiltrating into the movement's staff of leaders, and whatever the mistakes the leaders may be making today, the task itself is the most important thing of all. During our meeting with Z.S. Poznyak, he said: "We are not trying to be activists. Our task is to read the tragic pages of our people's life completely, if only so that we do not have to leaf through them again."

No doubt we should pay attention to these words. Noble tasks are assigned, and every honorable person should strive for their accomplishment.

BSSR CP CC Reports on Rehabilitation of Repression Victims

18000613a Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 21 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro Commission on Additional Study of Materials Connected with the Repression Which Took Place in the Period of the 1930's and 1940's and the Beginning of the 1950's"]

[Text] At its 19 January session, the commission heard reports from V.S. Karavaya, chairman of the BSSR

Supreme Court; G.S. Tarnavskiy, BSSR Procurator; and V.G. Baluyev, BSSR KGB chairman, concerning work carried out in the republic on rehabilitation of illegally-repressed citizens.

It was pointed out that last year 832 persons had been rehabilitated. In terms of social make-up, they were: 77 workers, 206 kolkhoz members, 331 individual peasant farmers, 69 white-collar workers, 11 students and 106 military servicemen.

Decisions made on 201 people were remanded for re-examination. These were for the most part cases of betrayers of the Motherland during the Great Patriotic War, members of nationalistic bandit formations and their accomplices.

V.T. Golovan, chairman of the Party Control Commission at the KGB Central Committee provided information on work to reinstate the party membership of formerly repressed citizens. Last year, in the oblasts, cities and rayons of the republic, 18 cases on rehabilitation of persons with respect to the party were studied, prepared and sent to the Belorussian CP Central Committee and obkoms: 17 people were reinstated in the party, 14 posthumously, and the break in party service time was removed for one.

BSSR Deputy Finance Minister I.A. Makoyed dwelt on the questions of compensating the rehabilitated persons or their relatives for the damages caused by illegally subjecting them to criminal liability.

Attention was devoted to organization for carrying out the CPSU Central Committee resolution of 5 January 1989, "On Additional Measures for Restoring Justice with Respect to the Victims of the Repression which Took Place in the 1930's and 1940's and the Early 1950's."

The commission took note of the fact that the restoration of historical and juridical justice has now taken on enormous political significance. Our progress along the path of forming a socialist legal state and the development of social consciousness depends a great deal on it in particular.

It was emphasized that the examination of criminal cases pertaining to those sentenced in the years of repression must be speeded up; that all those who suffered innocently must be completely rehabilitated; that the rights and interests of the rehabilitated people be fully guaranteed; and that the memory of the victims of the lawlessness be perpetuated.

Questions were discussed on extensive dissemination of the work of the obkom, gorkom and raykom party commissions via the republic's mass information media. Specifically, the necessity was stated for reporting about the rehabilitated people in the places where they lived

and worked, making wide use of the local press, television and radio for this purpose. Other questions connected with the activity of the commissions of the party committee were discussed as well.

Taking part in the work of the commission were chairmen and members of the Belorussian CP Obkom commissions and the Minsk party gorkom; and, responsible officials of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, the BSSR Council of Ministers, and the republic ministries and departments.

Speaking at the session were Belorussian CP Central Committee Secretary N.I. Dementey, and V.I. Andreyev, a department chief and member of the board of USSR Procurators.

BSSR Supreme Soviet Measures on Kuropaty Forest Purge Victims Detailed

Memorial To Be Erected

18000613b Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 22 Jan 89 p 1

[Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers Decree: "On Perpetuating the Memory of the Victims of the Mass Repression of 1937-1941 in Kuropaty Forest"]

[Text] Having examined the materials and conclusions of the government commission on establishing the facts of the mass shootings of people in the Kuropaty Forest during the 1937-1941 period of repression; proceeding from the importance of exposing the historical truth about the events of the past; and taking into consideration the opinion of the general public, the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers decrees :

1. To accept the recommendations of the government commission on perpetuating the memory of the victims of the mass repression, and to erect a monument.
2. The BSSR Ministry of Culture, BSSR Gosstroy and the Minsk City Executive Committee, together with the BSSR Architects' Society and the Belorussian Republic Department of the Soviet Cultural Fund, shall hold an open competition for design of a monument and layout of the forest tract, and shall also work out the necessary design documentation.
3. BSSR Gosplan and Gosstroy shall submit proposals on organization of construction of the monument to the victims of the repression.

The BSSR Ministry of Finance together with the BSSR Ministry of Culture shall present to the BSSR Council of Ministers proposals on financial expenditures connected with holding the competition and erection of the aforementioned monument.

4. The government commission shall continue to operate. The Presidium of the BSSR Academy of Sciences shall organize an exhaustive study of the causes and the consequences of the mass repressions of the 1930's, '40's and early '50's in Belorussia.

5. The Belorussian Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia Publishing House shall implement the preparation and publication of a special edition for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of the victims of the repressions of the period of the 1930's, 1940's and early 1950's in the republic.

Commission Findings Noted

18000613b Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 22 Jan 89 pp 1-2

["Report of the Government Commission Created by the BSSR Council of Ministers' Decision of 14 June 1988"]

[Text] The membership of the government commission included: N.N. Mazay, deputy chairman, BSSR Council of Ministers (the commission chairman); G.S. Tarnavskiy, BSSR Procurator (first deputy chairman of the commission); A.Ye. Andreyev, chairman of the republic Council of Veterans of War and Labor (deputy chairman of the commission); T.M. Bezruchko of the "Integral" Workers' Production Association, deputy chairman of the BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; M.P. Belaya, a deputy of the Borovlyanskiy Rural Soviet of People's Deputies; V.V. Bykov, People's Artist of the BSSR, laureate of the Lenin Prize, Hero of Socialist Labor; G.I. Danilov, chief of the Administrative Organs Department, Minsk Obkom, Belorussian CP; Professor A.V. Dulov, chief of the Criminology Department, Belorussian State University imeni V.I. Lenin, doctor of juridical sciences; O.B. Dargel, deputy chairman, Minsk Oblast Ispolkom; V.S. Karavay, chairman, BSSR Supreme Court; P.P. Kishkurno, deputy chairman, Minsk City Ispolkom; V.I. Korotkov, BSSR Military Commissar; V.A. Kovalev, first deputy minister of internal affairs, BSSR; I.S. Nedelyay, chief of the Administrative Organs Department, BSSR Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs; M.B. Osipova, Hero of the Soviet Union, a participant in the Minsk Communist underground and partisan movement in the years of the Great Patriotic War; M.A. Savitskiy, People's Artist of the USSR; Professor V.I. Semenov, doctor of juridical sciences, associate member of the BSSR Academy of Sciences; P.P. Sikorskiy, chairman of the Minsk Rayon Ispolkom; D.I. Chervyakov, Hero of Socialist Labor, a lathe operator at the Production Association imeni V.I. Lenin; I.G. Chigrinov, a writer, chairman of the board, Belorussian Department of the Soviet Cultural Fund; and E.I. Shirkovskiy, first deputy chairman, BSSR KGB.

Invited to take part in the work of the governmental commission were scientists at the USSR and BSSR Academy of Sciences, the Belorussian State University imeni V.I. Lenin, specialists at the Central State Archives of the October Revolution (Leningrad) and the

Belorussian Branch of Soyuzgiproleskhoz [All-Union State Planning and Surveying Institute of the Forestry Industry], the Scientific-Research Institute on Forensic Expertise of the BSSR Ministry of Justice, the Minsk Forestry and Parks Administration, the "Luch" Shoe Production Association; associates at the procuracy, justice, internal affairs, state security, and health organs; deputies of Soviets of People's Deputies; and, representatives of the public and the mass information media.

The work of the commission has aroused broad public interest. Testifying to this are the numerous appeals to the commission and to the editors of the mass information media not only from citizens living in the republic, but in other regions of the country as well.

The commissions's work has been illuminated in the press and on radio and television.

In its activities the commission has used existing archival documents, the conclusions of expert witnesses, and materials on the criminal case which alerted the BSSR Procuracy to the fact of discovery of burial places in an isolated area of Kuropaty.

Upon investigation of the Kuropaty Forest tract it was established that in an area of about 30 hectares, there are 510 probable burial places.

The governmental commission made a decision to conduct selective exhumation of the probable burial places. Archeology specialists from the BSSR Academy of Sciences History Institute, specialists in forensic medicine, criminologists, and deputies of the Minsk Rayon and Borovlyanskiy Rural Soviets, were invited to take part in the diggings, which are being carried out in accordance with archeological methods. During the exhumation, human remains, personal belongings and fragments of them, were discovered.

At expert institutions and others, 38 forensic examinations were conducted in researching 3,080 objects discovered in the burial places; to include expert analysis by the republic Bureau of Forensic Medicine, BSSR Ministry of Health, which carried out five comprehensive expert analyses on examination of bone fragments.

The Scientific Research Institute on Forensic Analysis of the BSSR Ministry of Justice conducted ballistics tests on bullets and empty cartridges, and 18 forensic examinations were made on fragments of shoes, money, clothing and other personal articles.

Experts at the Industrial-Trade Chamber of the BSSR conducted a commodity-research examination of articles found with significant brand markings.

The BSSR Academy of Sciences has carried out laser analysis of certain objects under study.

The results of the work carried out by the commission has established the following: the remains removed from the burial places belong to no less than 356 people. The majority of the skulls displayed gunshot wounds in the back of the head and in the temporal-parietal sphere.

The empty cartridges and bullets found are parts of the ammunition for the Nagan revolver and the "TT" [Tul'skiy Tokareva] pistol. These cartridges and bullets were manufactured in the USSR from 1928-1939.

Some of the better-preserved personal effects and articles and footwear bear markings in the form of proprietary labels and inscriptions.

Study of the fragments of clothing, shoes and other articles and personal effects discovered in the graves provide a basis to assume that the social make-up of those who were shot was rather broad.

From the fact that each of the graves exhumed contained, on the average, skeletal remains belonging to 50 or 60 persons, one can come to the conclusion that no fewer than 30,000 citizens were interred in the Kuropaty Forest tract. It does not seem possible to establish their number more precisely at the present time.

Eyewitnesses (55 people) have affirmed that the shootings began in 1937 and continued until the summer of 1941. The section of the forest in which the executions were held and the burials were conducted was enclosed by a fence in 1937-38. During the Fascist occupation the forest was cut down and the fence was taken away. Specialists have concluded that the age of the newly-grown trees on the burial sites ranges from 35 to 46 years.

No materials or documents relating to the events in Kuropaty have been found in the archives of the Ministry of Justice, the KGB, the MVD and the BSSR Procuracy.

Familiarization with the practice of drawing up archival documents, including criminal cases against the persons repressed in the years 1937-1941, has shown that the NKVD organs did not compile documents which indicated the site of the shootings and burials.

The Commission has undertaken measures to expose former officials of the BSSR NKVD who took part in the investigation of cases of the so-called "enemies of the people" in the years 1937-1941. Study of criminal cases in the archives of citizens who were rehabilitated in the 1950's and '60's has disclosed the names of over 40 such officials. It has been established that during the period of repression many of them were brought to criminal liability and were shot.

For example, G.A. Molchanov, born in 1897, who was BSSR NKVD People's Commissar from 28-11-36 through 04-02-37, was sentenced to the highest form of punishment on 2 November 1937.

B.D. Berman, born in 1901, worked in that same post from 04-03-37 through 22-05-38: on 22 February 1939 he was sentenced to be shot.

A.A. Nasedkin, born in 1897, who was BSSR NKVD People's Commissar from 22-05-38 through 17-12-38, was sentenced to death on 25 January 1939.

L.F. Tsanova, born in 1900, who occupied the aforementioned post from 17-12-38 through 30-10-51, committed suicide on 12 October 1955 in connection with a criminal case instituted against him.

The commission, as a result of analysis of available materials, has come to the conclusion that the organs of the NKVD carried out mass shootings of Soviet citizens in the Kuropaty Forest tract from 1937-1941.

It has not yet been possible to establish the identity of those who perished; nor the specific motives for the executions; nor the identity of the persons who carried out the sentences and decisions of the non-judicial organs in the years 1937-1941.

The governmental commission has submitted a proposal to the BSSR Council of Ministers on perpetuating the memory of the victims of repression of 1937-1941, who were buried in the Kuropaty Forest tract.

The commission has also deemed it necessary to instruct:

the BSSR Ministry of Culture, in conjunction with the BSSR Artists' Society, the BSSR Architects' Society and the Belorussian Department of the Soviet Cultural Fund, to hold an open competition for the design of a monument;

Gosstroy BSSR, the BSSR Ministry of Culture and the Minsk City Ispolkom, in conjunction with the BSSR Artists' and Architects' Societies, are to develop the design documentation for construction of the monument and for the layout of the territory of the forest tract.

The BSSR Ministry of Culture, in conjunction with the BSSR Ministry of Finance are to submit proposals on the financial expenditures connected with holding the competition and construction of the indicated monument.

The commission submitted other proposals as well.

The governmental commission is continuing its work on the search for archival documents and materials pertaining to the events in Kuropaty, and the search for witnesses, in order to establish the identity of the victims, the specific motives for the executions, and the persons who carried them out.

The commission once again appeals to all citizens who know anything at all about these and other tragic events, to inform the governmental commission or the BSSR Procuracy.

'Georgians for Georgians,' Ethnic Minority Issues Addressed

18130049 Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 51, 23 Dec 88 pp 2-3

[Article by Revaz Karalashvili: "Problems, Problems..."]

[Text] It can be said without exaggeration that LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO is the newspaper with the most clearly delineated individual profile and distinctive position among Georgian periodicals. Much of the material published there resonates directly with the kind of problems which disturb and concern us. For this reason we often get the desire to respond, although this desire for the most part goes unrealized. But because I sincerely sympathize with your newspaper's position, I have decided this time to carry out my intention and share with you the thoughts evoked in me by M. Giginishvili's, G. Gegeshidze's and V. Rodonaia's quite remarkable article "Boundary/Limit."

I must confess that the many letters containing topics like "national" and "patriotic" which have appeared so abundantly in our periodicals lately—in particular the campaigns relating to some Northern writer's or journalist's thoughtless remark, evoke apprehension and anxiety in me. This anxiety is due primarily to what I think is an unhealthy reaction that generally follows the publication of such articles. This reaction includes moods of mass hysteria, mistrust, and disdain for other nations, moods which for some time take possession of rather broad segments of our society. Reading such articles, many of our countrymen tend to find proof "once more" of the treachery of such-and-such a people. All of this damages what I consider to be one of our most precious and unique national traits—generosity and tolerance toward the sons of foreign tribes.

Recently I had a talk with a West German political observer who was literally stunned by the fact that in one small district of Old Tbilisi, Armenian cathedrals, a synagogue, and a mosque stand side by side with Georgian churches, that Shiites and Sunnis say their prayers side by side in that mosque, and that Georgian and Russian Orthodox worshippers use the Kvashveti Church together. The German had also heard about the Jews who migrated from Georgia to Israel, and he was deeply convinced that when it comes to inter-ethnic relations, the Georgians have provided the world with a model which all of mankind today ought to strive to emulate. It is the kind of tolerance and respect for other nations which, far from diminishing one's own national image, actually enhances it.

I do not know whether my interlocutor was right when he spoke of the Georgians' future mission, but this kind of evaluation of us by a foreigner pleased me very much, I must confess. And I am convinced that it would please all other Georgians as well. Well then, if this is true, and if we are proud and hold our head high because of our tolerance and generosity toward other nations, we must

cherish these traits and take good care of them. But any publications which encourage and even incite our anger, I think, do little to promote love and mutual understanding.

Let me explain one more reason why I cannot share the general agitation when a wave of indignation ripples through our press over some correspondent's irresponsible statement in all-union periodicals or on radio and television. It seems to me that we Georgians today have much more important things to concern ourselves with than getting even with some ignorant and malicious person, that our national energy, skill, and fervor ought not to be expended on such trivialities.

One of the most important concerns facing each one of us today, in my opinion, is to take an honest attitude toward our tasks and obligations. We must all keep in mind that Georgia's future destiny is decided in the workplace of each one of us, and we answer for the quality of our work, our competence, and our attitude toward our cause not to the director or some supervisory organ—but to our nation. I am firmly convinced that what Georgia needs most today is people who know how to do a good job—economists, jurists, engineers, teachers, artisans, and so on and so forth. Every one of us is aware, after all, of the kind of mess our dilettantism, carelessness, and dishonesty got us into these past several decades. And no matter how full of patriotic sentiments we may be, dilettantism and carelessness will not build our motherland's future.

In a recent interview, the respected Akaki Bakradze stated that computerization should be one of Georgia's priority tasks. But how can we speak of computerization when we don't even have the rudiments of technical culture, when the elevator is out of order in almost every building, doors are ripped off of mailboxes, water and electricity are cut off several times a month at least, you practically die trying to telephone a friend living a block away, you very seldom see a home in which the plumbing is in good working order, and water drips constantly in the kitchen, the bath, or the toilet. How can we talk of computerization, when the faculty where I work hasn't had a single working typewriter for years, so that members of the department have to have department minutes and other documents typed at our own expense. Does the honorable Akaki really think that all we have to do is import a certain number of computers into Georgia and train the same number of specialists and everything will be rosy? It's not so simple. First we have to raise the overall culture of labor, change our attitude toward the job assigned to us, and only then can we speak of other things. But in order to reach that level we need highly qualified specialists and professionals in all spheres of science and the national economy. This, in my opinion, is the most important national task that faces every one of us. (Of course I am not so naive as to think that this task can be accomplished through enthusiasm and national inspiration alone. Naturally, economic, financial, and legal levers must be activated as well. But since

I was speaking about the priority tasks of national development, I could hardly fail to touch upon the problem from the perspective of our personal attitudes toward labor as well.)

We have many other concerns to deal with—issues of law and order, the ecology and demography, upbringing and education, and others too many to count. All of this requires all our willpower, but the articles I have referred to only mess up our mind, fill us with resentment, irritate us, and—most important—channel our spiritual energies in the wrong direction. What we need today is common sense and clarity, not minds clouded with resentment.

But, you may ask, what about those insulting statements that have so proliferated lately and are being spread all over the USSR by the mass media? Are we supposed to turn a deaf ear, pay no attention, and leave them unanswered—even when they no longer express the opinion only of a few irresponsible individuals but in fact constitute a certain definite tendency?

First of all, we should probably not be so sensitive to every little thing that is said about us, because this kind of sensitivity constitutes a show of weakness. It is much better to show those who wish us ill, by our deeds and accomplishments, just who we are, rather than engaging in polemical sniping which often doesn't even come to the attention of its target.

Second, when we do come upon any distortion of our history and culture or any other concrete aspect of reality, naturally, we ought to respond to the falsifiers. But such a response must not give rise to "patriotic" turmoil and heated passions; it should be matter-of-fact, well substantiated, it should clearly reveal the true state of affairs and, most important, it should be oriented toward a specific result. Yes, it is one thing to write public commentary on patriotic themes just to make points and gain easy popularity, commentary which can have no other result than that of stirring up the philistines, venting one's spleen, and arrogantly attacking other people; it is quite another to write newspaper articles filled with genuine concern, articles which are clearly thought-out and designed to resolve an issue.

I classify M. Giginishvili's, G. Gegeshidze's, and V. Rodonaia's article as just that kind of businesslike, very timely, and essential publication. It focuses attention on the problem of so-called "compactly settled" national minorities and on the alarming situation which has developed in connection with this problem both inside and outside of our republic. One of the main themes of the article, if I am not mistaken, is that Georgia ought to belong to the Georgians, that the Georgian nation is the owner [khozyain] of the republic, and that this fact must be the starting point and foundation for any discussion of the issue of "compactly settled" national minorities.

This idea is so clear and obvious that I cannot understand why it took us so long to say it out loud. Acknowledging the Georgian nation to be the rightful rulers of Georgia in no way infringes upon the interests of the national minorities residing in our republic—Azeris, Armenians, Greeks, and so on. Naturally, they must enjoy all constitutional rights now and in the future. Any manifestation of ethnic discrimination must be rooted out, and the state must see to it that these ethnic groups are enabled, as far as possible, to meet all their cultural, social, and religious needs; the state must provide them with the necessary conditions for normal growth and development. At the same time, acknowledgment that the Georgian nation is the owner of Georgia also spells out the status of the national minorities which are settled in our territory, defining not only their rights but also their obligations.

Let me explain what I mean: if we say that we Georgians are the owners of Georgia, we must also say that "compactly settled" national minorities are our guests. A host should love and respect his guest; he should make every effort to see to it that his guest is as much at ease as possible in his home. But the guest should also observe rules of behavior and show respect and gratitude toward his host. (Would any one of us like it if someone who came to our home as a guest began, without asking, to rearrange the furniture or, for example, after a while imposed all his relatives on us?) If we agree on this assignment of roles, I think that any remaining disputable issues will not be very complicated.

Naturally, a much more detailed and organized discussion is needed on all of this and on problems relating to "compactly settled" national minorities, but such a discussion can only be constructive if the interlocutors recognize the Georgian nation's undivided right to Georgia's territory.

I am grateful to you for publishing M. Giginishvili's, G. Gegeshidze's and V. Rodonaia's article (you have published similar materials previously as well). It is my hope that LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO will offer readers more matter-of-fact articles dealing with issues that are so vital to our nation and, as far as possible, avoid articles which say nothing but only generate collective psychosis, such as I referred to above.

I hope you will forgive me for meddling in editorial affairs, but if the editors do not consider it worthwhile to take account of my wish, at least they will find it useful to know that such viewpoints do exist among their readers.

I hope readers will understand me correctly: What I have called "patriotic" turmoil has nothing in common with our society's—especially our young people's—growing national consciousness, which I consider to be one of the most valuable trends of our time. It is our young people today who are setting an example of a sound and realistic approach to things.

Georgian Specialist Debunks Popular Opinions on Demography

*18130046 Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian
8 Dec 88 p 3*

[Article by Gia Pirtskhalava under rubric "Demography: Unresolved Problems and Ways To Solve Them": "To Replenish the Generations"]

[Text] It must be said from the outset that a peculiar situation has developed in our republic's demography sphere. In terms of the particularities of the demographic situation, this branch of science lags furthest behind in Georgia among the union republics. We are similarly behind in terms of cadres specializing in demography, the study of demographic processes and the organization of research, we lag even in terms of a correct public opinion concerning demography and, in the final analysis, a demographic policy which would serve as a system to exert influence on events, processes, and the replenishment of the generations. Further silence in this regard can only damage demography and demographic processes and, to that extent, the whole population, also those who are yet to be born. This is especially true in that our republic has a large number of tasks and problems in this regard which require urgent attention and which have long since been resolved in union republics having similar demographic situations and traditions (the Ukraine, the Baltic republics, and the European part of the RSFSR), also those socialist countries where demographic policies have been worked out and are in place since the 1960s.

We have not really done demographic research, nor have we had professional demographers. The work that was undertaken at the dawn of Soviet rule in Georgia was halted in the 1930s without any significant demographic research having been done or any meaningful study having been written. In the year 1937, in fact—the period of massive repression of the intelligentsia—our economic scientists were literally destroyed. It is sufficient to note that about 10 economic scientists suffered repression in the Tbilisi State University alone; half of them were already full professors and some of them were well known all over the USSR (Professor B. Ramishvili, the well-known statistician, and Professor Z. Chakhvadze). Naturally, this was a severe loss to the University, barely two decades old, and it greatly impeded the development of our science of economics and, in particular, the branch of demography, still in embryo.

So that in the early 1960s, when demographic research was again resumed in our country after a long hiatus, Georgia alone among the union republics was found to be simultaneously in a new demographic situation, confronting the problem of starting the scientific research of birthrates and demographic processes, and yet without any tradition of demographic research whatever, lacking special literature and the necessary information, quite

apart from cadres. Again, however, demography in our republic came up short, nor did higher organs deign to provide support and concern in this regard.

Meanwhile, all the other union republics took special advantage of favorable conditions to develop their own demographic research. Work in this field has also been revived in our republic since the 1970s, but not very intensively and not along the lines which the circumstances of demographic science and our actual situation have required. For this reason, we lack a long-range integrated program for the republic's demographic development, nor have we formulated a concept for a regional demographic policy. A number of central problems relating to the demographic history of Georgia and the Georgian nation, including the demographic consequences and aspects of Georgia's union with Russia, have yet to become a topic of special study. It is an unprecedented fact that the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, alone among the union republics, has never in its entire existence carried out a demographic forecast—either by the variant-diagnostic method (pessimistic, optimistic, medium, or whatever) or even the traditional method, i.e., by age shift [peremeshcheniye]. This despite the fact that the Academy's Institute of Economics and Law has had a functioning Department of Sociology and Demography since the 1970s, and there is a scientific council for the study of the social-economic problems of population [narodonaseleniye] attached to the Academy's Presidium (until recently, without any demographers). In our Institute, in particular, the Sector of Labor Resources was reorganized five years ago as the Sector of Labor Resources and Demography. It was done, however, without any actual changes being made, but for some reason it was considered "perfectly permissible" to work on demographic problems... with the same scientific staff and facilities. So we are using the same staff and facilities to work on the same old problems of labor resources and, to the extent possible, on demographic problems as well. Hence, we have yet to begin the study and formulation of the problems of economic demography, the progressive new line of demography appropriate to our Institute's profile.

No matter how great our desire, it is impossible to study and work out demographic problems without the necessary specialists. For some reason, however, this truth has been ignored in our republic. The following fact gives us a specific idea of the extent of this erroneous notion and the state of demographic research in this republic: Georgia, which leads the USSR in terms of the number of persons per thousand having a higher education, until recently did not have any cadres with a specialized demographic education at all; even today, the republic's 5.25 million inhabitants have only one degree-holding demographer with a higher education, yet one degree-holding specialist per million inhabitants [sic]. Even the small number of scientists working on demographic problems are scattered all over and lack coordination. Frequently, training and scientific-research institutions of various profiles are working on exactly the same

problems of demography and population and, not infrequently, obtaining mutually contradictory results, which continue to live in peaceful coexistence in published works concerning Georgia's population. To illustrate this and everything else that has been mentioned I will cite a work in which demographic problems are confined to the title page. It is sufficient just to list the title of the book and the articles that make it up: "Problems of Sociology and Demography," Metsniereba Publishing House, Tbilisi, 1980. Table of Contents: 1. Social-Economic Planning as a Factor of Society's Development; 2. Total Labor Costs as a New Indicator To Measure Social Labor Costs; 3. The Dynamics and Structure of the Use of Women's Labor in Social Production; 4. On Questions of the Effectiveness of Training Highly Qualified Specialists; 5. Problems of Labor Resource Utilization in Georgia's Machine-Building Industry; 6. Problems of Family Structure Today." If we leave out two of the articles, this work essentially presents the problems of one branch of science as a different branch of science, and both suffer from it, in particular the one which lags furthest behind.

This state of backwardness in the republic's demographic science clearly shows signs of infatuation with the questionnaire type of study of demographic phenomena and processes, which to some extent conceals the necessity of mastering the methods of classical and modern demographic science and the need to train professional demographers.

Demographic research should be based primarily on state statistics; without them it is impossible to administer work in this sphere properly and to define and formulate the directions of a realistic demographic policy.

To this day, unfortunately, we encounter completely inappropriate statements and assertions in the press or in public speeches by representatives of various fields concerning the actual demographic situation. Not infrequently, we come across demands that run counter to the abundant experience on demographic policies that has been accumulated in the socialist countries. In these peculiar demographic impromptus, generally, the demographic situation in the distant past is depicted as a demographic idyll of large families, in which Georgian women, even under the most difficult social-economic circumstances, bore large numbers of children. On this basis, people here generally blame the declining birthrate on selfishness, frivolity, the desire for luxury, people getting married later, and widespread abortions, all of which must be combated as a way to boost the birthrate and revive large families. Depicted even more pessimistically are the demographic prospects, in which, it is asserted, the percentage and even the number of Georgians in the republic will decline by the beginning of the 21st century. People offer their own calculations as to the number of children necessary for the Georgian nation to multiply. And all these pseudodemographic notions are presented as if they had been obtained through special demographic research.

Altogether, in the final analysis, what we have here is a public which is extremely ill-informed about the real demographic situation and measures to improve it—more accurately, the broad masses of the public are disinformed, including persons upon whom the development and improvement of demographic research in this republic depend. By way of illustration we could cite many materials on file, but here I will only say that we are now in a particular demographic situation which requires measures and methods quite different from what we think—more precisely, different from those that are insisted upon in emotionally and patriotically motivated demographic impromptus and sometimes even in published works concerning Georgia's population.

In the 1970s, in fact, a demographic transition was completed in Georgia as in the other union republics in the European part of the country, and here too a qualitatively completely new, intensive type of population growth became fully formed and established. In contrast to the extensive demographic type of the past, it is characterized by a low birth rate and an even lower death rate and a longer average lifespan, which (despite low birth rates) have resulted in a natural population increase and several generations living together for a long time. The advantage of the new intensive demographic type is seen in the fact that whereas it took the entire 19th century for the whole population (and that of the Georgians) to double in the pre-revolutionary period, it took only half that time—53 years—to double in the years of Soviet rule. In particular, the 1926 census showed a Georgian population of 1.732 million persons; the latest census, in 1979, showed the figure to be 3.433 million. This, despite the mass repressions of 1936-1938 and the negative consequences of the Great Patriotic War, whose total direct (military) and indirect (declining birthrate) demographic losses came to almost one million. This circumstance shows specifically and clearly the potential capabilities of socialist society generally, the full realization and accomplishment of which is a prime strategic task of perestroika.

It is worth pointing out that the percentage of Georgians in the republic has risen in the period of the last three censuses; whereas it stood at 64.4 percent in the 1959 census, it had reached 68.8 percent in 1979, the latest census. This circumstance is due, in part, to the fact that since the 1960s our republic has had a negative inter-republic migration balance, and the number of persons coming in has been exceeded by those leaving, most of whom, naturally, are not representatives of the native population. During the same period, moreover, non-Georgian birthrates have declined more intensively, particularly among nationalities with high birthrates (Azerbaijanis) and medium birthrates (Armenians). As a result, sharp differences among the birthrates of the different nationalities have been reduced, rates remaining high only among the Azerbaijanis, while among the Georgians the birthrate coincides almost perfectly with the average birthrate for the republic.

Of course, any citizen, whether housewife or public figure, is free to express his opinion and viewpoint as to how many children are desirable in a family and what is necessary for that. But as for the question of how many children are necessary for expanded replacement of population that is one of demography's central issues. A system of demographic indicators and models has been worked out and is in existence enabling us to determine (for any birth and death rate levels) how many children are necessary to replenish the generations. These materials have been located in the republic's State Statistical Committee since the 1960s. Therefore, when people claim insistently and repeatedly in the press that the Georgian nation's increase requires an average of six children—almost twice the number required by a nation with even a very low birth rate these days—it is nothing but an illustration of cultural backwardness in demographic thinking. And the notion that the way to realize a pattern of six-children families in order to make Georgia immortal is to curb selfishness and the desire for luxury and strengthen patriotic impulses, is an absurdity; it represents an absolutization of the well-known proposition of the inverse proportionality between birthrates, income, and standard of living—irrespective of time and circumstances. Unfortunately, this has become a universal dogma among us.

I should like to bring to the attention of these amateur demographers that maintaining one child in the republic's preschool institutions costs the state 50 rubles (at "state" prices, of course, and not counting the cost of clothes), while wages average 170 rubles. Moreover, as surveys in recent years have shown, the family costs of supporting schoolchildren from the 8th grade onward rise faster than wages.

An immanent law governing the development of any society is the constant desire to achieve a higher standard of living. And demographic practice in many countries and among many nations has shown that parents mostly limit the number of children in a family in order to provide them with living conditions already attained. As far as selfish, frivolous, and demographically obstinate persons are concerned, moreover, they have always been with us, are with us now, and probably always will be. Fortunately, they have never counted for much in demography.

The more important reason for Georgia's birthrate problem is that small families have become widespread among the working population, office employees, and kolkhoz members. Let no one think that if one out of every two women in our republic were to have one more child it would be a trifling or easy decision. There are more than 1.3 million women of child-bearing age in the republic today, and resolving the third-child problem (with due consideration that not all of them will reach the age of marriage and not all of them will get married, that many marriages are childless, and so on), a single demographic generation (28 to 30 years) would give us an additional hundreds of thousands of children. But

this is only a possibility, the realization of which requires a number of measures, including those which do not need any special demographic investment.

Some 80 percent of the total number of children born in Georgia today are born to women aged 30 and under. This fact shows us clearly how widely family planning and birth control are practiced here. It must be stated, in this connection, that abortion is essentially a technical means of implementing active factors and causes with respect to birth control. Therefore, we should fight against abortions not as a means of increasing the birthrate but primarily in order to improve women's and children's health and reduce secondary infertility. To do this we will need to encourage the mass use of appropriate devices against conception—contraceptives. And this will require the training of the necessary mid-level personnel and appropriate, widespread medical-hygienic education among the population, which is a much more difficult task than fighting illegal abortionists by warnings and administrative measures, which so far have failed to produce the desired result.

Considering the actual demographic situation and possibilities of birth control, it is an anachronism and completely unacceptable to lower the legal age for marriage (18), the proponents of which allege that it would help boost the birthrate. The latest research findings show that for the sake of the health of mothers and children the optimal age of marriage is 20; moreover, a longer period of socialization by itself rules out marriages at the age of 15 or 16. Especially in view of the fact that frequent divorces occur at that age.

The last census showed clearly that half of Georgia's men in the 20-29 age bracket, and one third of the women in that age bracket, are unmarried. Georgia still has plenty of reserves for increasing the birthrate (also, unfortunately, with respect to reducing the deathrate among children and among the able-bodied population).

Considering the present demographic situation and research in Georgia, we must consider that one of the prime tasks of demographic policy is to use the mass media to keep the public comprehensively informed about the characteristics of the present demographic situation, ways and means of improving it, and in this way shaping unified, correct public opinion concerning demography.

In Georgia today, as in all the Soviet Union, conditions are favorable for demography and demographic development. In contrast to many other union republics, the necessity of this here is dictated, *inter alia*, by the need to improve the presently unsatisfactory demographic situation in order to formulate and implement an active demographic policy.

But a demographic policy of the kind we need by no means calls for a "major overhaul" of the birthrate and the demographic situation. It is a component part of the

social policies of the socialist state, the fundamental and final goal of which is to optimize population growth and demographic processes in order to simultaneously provide the population with full, rational employment and a steadily rising standard of living.

Unlike other sciences, demography is functionally designed to quantitatively reflect the demographic past, the demographic characteristics of the present, the prospects, the basic directions and goals of demographic policy, and even the anticipated results. Naturally, all of this requires fundamental research and specialists and highly-qualified demographers of various profiles (demologists, demo-economists, demo-forecasters, demo-medical specialists, demo-jurists, and so on). Only in this way, and with professional demographic research, will it be possible to formulate and implement a realistic demographic policy. But we must keep in mind that because of their biosocial character, demographic processes have considerable inertial force. And if we fail to seize the right opportunities and moments, attempting to improve the demographic situation later will take much more time and be more costly, and produce less effect.

We can start by consolidating the republic's present scientific forces in a demographic research center and administering their work via a unified, goal-oriented scientific-research program in order to formulate and implement a regional and inter-ethnic demographic policy. Simultaneously, the appropriate scientific centers here and in the fraternal socialist countries must train highly qualified demographers of various profiles. A realistic possibility for this is provided by the recently created governmental-demographic commission affiliated with the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, which has examined a number of very important measures designed to develop the organization of demographic research in the republic and improve the demographic situation.

Another very important result of all this is that we will not offer one another unrealistic demographics and we will not consider useful those things which will harm us. We will know more about our demographic past and present, the tasks of the future, and ways and means to accomplish them.

In this regard, an important patriotic role must be assigned to the Rustaveli Society and its Demography Fund, based on an active regional demographic policy, in order that the coming generation, our young people, may become more numerous and happy.

NKAO, Armenian Officials Meet on NKAO Construction Projects

*18300175a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
5 Nov 88 p 3*

[Armenpress report: "Works Will Be Accelerated"]

[Text] At the Armenian CP Central Committee S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee met with Sh. M. Pogosyan, the deputy chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Soviet of People's

Deputies Ispolkom, and R.G. Israelyan, the manager of the construction trust in Stepanakert. The pace of designing and constructing facilities in Nagorno-Karabakh using the resources of organizations in the Armenian SSR was examined in detail.

Taking into account that winter is approaching and many Armenian families, who have arrived in Stepanakert from Sumgait, are living in extremely straitened conditions, it was considered expedient to accelerate the work on construction of housing. The possibilities of putting to use ahead of schedule two nine-story apartment buildings, which are currently being built in Stepanakert, and also of beginning construction on two additional nine-story apartment buildings before the end of the year, as was stipulated earlier, were investigated. In addition, it is planned to assist local construction organizations in the building of a small residential district consisting of 100 cottage style prefabricated houses. Part of the building materials and machinery which are required for this construction project has already been sent to Stepanakert, and the rest will shipped within the next few days.

The Ararat construction industry trust is faced with the task of operationally solving all problems regarding the manufacture and delivery of three sets of concrete forms for the construction of massive apartment buildings and the specialists at the Armenian State Design and Yerevan Design Institutes are faced with the task of accelerating the drawing up of the design estimates for the Young Pioneer Palace, the Palace of Culture, and a library in Stepanakert. A number of other measures, which are intended to intensify the cooperation between organizations in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh in the socio-economic development of the NKAO, were also studied.

F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and V.B. Artsruni, chairman of the Armenian SSR State Committee on Construction, participated in the meeting.

NKAO Ispolkom Chairman Babayan on Housing Construction Conflicts

*18300175b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
5 Nov 88 p 3*

[Armenpress report: "Problems Exist and We Must Solve Them"]

[Text] Life in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) continues at a normal working rhythm. Industrial enterprises and transportation and construction organizations are operating in Stepanakert. Agricultural workers are concluding the gathering of the harvest.

But there are problems, which continue to worry many of the residents of Armenia. An Armenian press correspondent asked S.A. Babayan, the ispolkom chairman of the NKAO soviet of people's deputies, to comment on these problems.

[Correspondent] Currently there is much discussion concerning the construction, which is in progress near the village of Khodzhalay. What can you tell us regarding this?

[Babayan] As a matter of fact, currently near the village of Khodzhalay, small panelboard type houses are being set up and a modular building is being constructed near the industrial plant. Since these works were begun without the permission of the rayon ispolkom, without allotting parcels of land according to established procedure, and without the availability of design estimates, the oblast ispolkom has demanded that the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and the oblast public prosecutor's office suspend the illegal construction.

T. Kh. Orudzhev, the secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, has arrived in Stepanakert to ascertain the circumstances of the case. A meeting took place in the Party obkom, which I.G. Sidorov, the responsible official from the CPSU Central Committee, participated in. A joint protocol was worked out at the meeting.

The protocol specifies that small wooden panelboard houses will be set up near Khodzhalay for the temporary resettlement of Azerbaijanian residents of Stepanakert, whose homes were damaged during the September events. After the housing in Stepanakert is rehabilitated, these families will move back to their own apartments and the small panelboard houses near Khodzhalay will be given to families, who are permanent residents of the NKAO, in order of priority.

As for the modular building which is being built near Khodzhalay, it is intended for the subsidiary of the Karabakh silk industry complex, at which the local residents will work. We plan to limit ourselves to this modular building and to halt other construction near Khodzhalay.

[Correspondent] During the September events, housing in Stepanakert and Shusha was damaged. How is the rehabilitation of the damaged buildings proceeding?

[Babayan] A commission was immediately created in the oblast ispolkom, which determined the aggrieved parties and rendered them material assistance. The work of rehabilitating the buildings which were burned down or damaged has begun. Now, in accordance with the protocol which has been signed, this work will be accelerated. All the conditions will be created so that Azerbaijani families will be able to return to their homes in Stepanakert and Armenian families—to their homes in Shusha.

Construction organizations in Stepanakert are in need of serious assistance. Guarantees have been given to them that deliveries of stone and other materials from Azerbaijan will be increased.

[Correspondent] How will the problems of the Azerbaijani families, who have come to Shusha from Armenia, be solved?

[Babayan] An agreement has been reached to conduct the necessary explanatory work, which will be participated in by representatives of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's, with them. I think that through joint concerned efforts we will be able to ensure the return of Azerbaijani families from Shusha to the places of their permanent residence in Armenia.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize: we have many problems. But they can be solved, if the approach of both parties is rational and responsible.

Economic Cost of Ethnic Clashes in Azerbaijan Cited

*18200142 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian
1 Dec 88 pp 1, 4*

[Article by Azerinform correspondent: "How Much Does Idle Time Cost?"]

[Text] For the second week now our republic and its capital have experienced difficult and anxious days. The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the attitude toward individuals of Azerbaijani nationality at places of compact residence in Armenia evoke just indignation on the part of all the people and representatives of all the nationalities living in the republic.

All these and other facts are justly considered by our republic's citizens encroachments on the people's rights, honor, and dignity and provocative actions, whose direct and main goals are a challenge and an attempt to destabilize the situation in Azerbaijan and to do damage to good neighborly relations between nations living next to each other for two centuries. This has served as an impetus for mass demonstrations, meetings, and strikes, by means of which the republic's public hopes to attract the country's attention, to resolve the entire set of accumulated contradictions in the shortest time, and to attain the most rapid adoption of the demands put forward.

Of course, all these forms of expression of the people's will have the right to existence, especially now, during the period of democratization and rise in political self-consciousness, when people, perhaps for the first time in many years owing to restructuring, feel to be truly involved in public and state affairs. At the same time, these, seemingly democratic, forms of expression do serious damage to the national economy of Baku, Azerbaijan, the country, and, consequently, each of us. After

all, they not only complicate the operation of city transportation, disrupt the normal labor rhythm of enterprises, institutions, and educational establishments, and sow disorder on streets, but also create a difficult psychological atmosphere and uncertainty and anxiety for tomorrow.

In what are these actions expressed? What form do these actions take from the economic and material point of view?

The republic's Goskomstat named specific figures for the Azerinform correspondent: Last week, owing to the idle time of plants, factories, and enterprises of extractive sectors, products worth more than 60 million rubles were underproduced. This means that the country will fail to obtain 8,500 conditioners, 1,700 refrigerators, 1.8 million meters of cotton fabrics, and 280,000 meters of wool fabrics. Sewn articles worth 700,000 rubles and knitwear worth 520,000 rubles were not produced. Losses in the production of oil field equipment totaled 8.5 million rubles!

How many complications and difficulties Baku residents had to experience owing to failures in the operation of public transportation! Thousands of people could not begin their work and get home on time. It turned out that strikers, who exercised, as they believed, their constitutional right, with their actions violated the civil rights of other people to labor. The republic's transportation organizations also incurred vast losses—more than 1 million rubles.

More than 800 railroad cars, in which food products, building materials, and necessities wait to be unloaded, have accumulated at the railroad stations Kishli-gruzovaya [freight] and Khyrdalan.

For those for whom these 60 million sound like an abstract figure we will cite the following example: With this sum it would be possible to build 90 standard polyclinics for 380 visits per day, or 30 schools for 1,200 students, or 90 nurseries. Is this impressive?

To be sure, it is worth pondering over what the idle time cost us. The entire burden of losses falls primarily on the shoulders of the workers themselves. During these days of meeting "democracy" we have been deprived of almost 300 apartments, which could have been built if not for the idle time. How many long-awaited housewarmings have been postponed for an indefinite period?

According to the most tentative estimates, industrial workers alone lost about 10 million rubles in wages. But most enterprises have changed over to cost accounting, whose basic demand is self-financing. In other words, these losses will not be compensated for by the all-Union budget.

It seems that Armenian extremists, destabilizing the situation in Baku, have sought precisely this.

Thus, to whom do we do worse?

Reader Raps Uzbek Media for Not Covering 'Birlik' Group Activities

*18300372a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
8 Jan 89 p 1*

[Article by Yu. Avetisyan under the rubric "Personal Opinion": "Letters to the Editor, Speaking Openly"]

[Text] Today there is much discussion of glasnost, but it is incomprehensible to me, why the mass media of the republic has not reported about the youth unrest, which is provoked by the so-called "Birlik" initiative group. Suppression and prohibition give birth to rumors and arouse a heightened unhealthy interest in this group.

I think it would be expedient to conduct an interview with the leaders of this movement, in which they would state their program, and publish it in the newspaper. We cannot allow events to develop as they did in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

UzSSR: Informal Groups Accused of Exploiting Nationality Issues

*18300372b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
24 Jan 89 p 1*

[Article by S. Usmanov, chairman of the Oblast Veterans' Council, under the rubric "A Word From the Front Page": "Friendship—An Important Treasure"]

[Text] Last year a person, whom I admire and consider my friend and mentor, came to Karshi to visit us. His name is Aleksey Petrovich Bureyev. During the years of the Great Patriotic War and for some time afterwards, he led the Guzar party raykom. This person has left a beneficial imprint on our land. It is no coincidence that old men in the most remote villages still remember him and even the young people know about him through the stories of veterans.

For many Uzbeks, Tajiks, and peoples of other nationalities he was an adviser and friend. He was unpretentious and dropped by any home without ceremony and was admitted. He neither built himself a home nor wore shirts which were better than ours. He reached the most remote villages on his old bicycle or on horseback. Among the people he was affectionately called in the Uzbek manner "urtok Bureyev". After the war, while working as an instructor for the raykom, I got to know Aleksey Petrovich a little better and I learned much from him. I am also indebted to him for the fact that I became a confirmed internationalist.

Many years have passed since then and my hair has turned white. But the bonds of friendship are not subject to time. My teacher lives in Moscow and has been on a pension for a long time. We have corresponded with each other for all these years. I have visited him time and again. And then Aleksey Petrovich came to Uzbekistan.

We took him to the Karshinskaya steppe. He saw the unique pumping stations, the man-made rivers, and the new settlements and towns. And he was amazed. Yes even the formerly uncomely Guzar has turned into a fine rayon center. There are sturdy houses instead of cottages of wattle and daub.

Our guest rejoiced from the bottom of his heart. And I told him about my friends, who worked in the virgin lands, by whose hands the dull steppe was transformed. I remembered the excavator operators Nikolay Shevchenko and Viktor Genkel, the machinist Nikolay Bibikov, the driver Aleksandr Babinchuk, the former chief engineer at Karshistroy (the Karshi Construction Office) Nikolay Kamenev, and other pioneers of the virgin lands—Bekmurad Usmanov and Begalek Ovezov.

I worked as a secretary in the Party committee administration at Karshistroy for approximately 15 years. Construction became the testing ground of internationalism for me and my comrades. There were members of 33 nationalities among the communists, who were working in the new lands. Many of the new lands' pioneers found a second homeland in Kashkadarya. Some returned to their homes. But they still write letters and invite us to visit. No matter where I go: to Moscow or Baku, to Leningrad or Dnepropetrovsk—I have friends everywhere. They are my main treasures.

I often think if not for the collective help of our friends, could gardens really bloom in the steppe and the dream of water become a reality? What creative potential our friendship contained. It was precisely friendship that was our primary achievement.

That is why my veteran friends and I react with particular pungency to attempts to cleave our brotherhood and to bring about dissension and a lack of understanding in our mutual home. Those who dislike perestroika and are afraid of change pursue this goal.

Recently informal associations under various guises are cropping up first here and then there. This also includes those groups whose leaders are attempting to profit by our troubles and misfortunes. Do they think we are unaware of these problems? Do they think the "informals" have opened our eyes to the problems? The Party has openly and honestly told the people the truth about our misfortunes. And only together and conjointly will we be able to wage the struggle for the realization of the Food Program, for a healthy environment, and against any infringement of social justice. It is difficult to believe that certain orators are concerned about the people's happiness and the nation's destiny. Their aspiration to earn political capital comes across too strongly.

It is disturbing that they have chosen young people as the target of their influence. And we, veterans, do not have the right to give them complete control over our future. We discussed this fervently at this year's first meeting of

the oblast veterans' council. Approximately 100 thousand veterans live in Kashkadarya and every one of them based on their own experience can attest to the great strength of friendship in our multinational nation.

This friendship has stood incredible tests. Thus, is it possible now, on the threshold of a new life, that we will allow it to be trampled?

Never!

The tragedy of the earthquake in Armenia has set an example of unity during misfortune. Those who stood shoulder to shoulder and developed the Karshinskaya steppe are there today—at the epicenter of trouble. And it does not matter whether you are Russian or Uzbek, Armenian or Tajik, Jew or Chuvash, the main thing is that you are our friend and you stand together with us. That is the way it was and the way it will be.

Arutyunyan, ArSSR Council of Ministers on 1988 Economic Performance

*18200234 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
14 Feb 89 pp 1-2*

[Article: "Overcoming Hitches in the Economy"]

[Text] Results of the social and economic development of the ArSSR in 1988 and over the 3 years of the 12th Five-Year Plan were examined and this year's problems were considered at the extended meeting of the ArSSR Council of Ministers which convened 11 February 1989.

Chairman of the ArSSR Gosplan, M. Mkrtchyan, and Minister of Finances, Dzh. Dzhanyan, addressed the meeting.

Participants in discussion of the questions being examined included directors of some ministries, departments and organizations. They discussed deficiencies in pertinent sectors and the national economy, which hinder their normal functioning and fulfillment of state planned tasks.

It was noted that the lag in the economy deepened in the last 5 years. Plans for capital construction and scientific and technical progress were not systematically fulfilled. Production efficiency decreased. Many enterprises were in severe financial condition. The proper relationship between labor productivity growth and rates of growth of average salary was violated. The social dissatisfaction of the people increased and ecological problems worsened.

Analysis of operation of the national economy for January-November showed that fulfillment of the plan for 1988 faced a serious threat of breakdown even up to natural calamity. The causes of this situation are well known. They include mass absenteeism from work which was intensified significantly by years of accumulated social problems. The significant underfulfillment

of annual tasks for putting dwellings, clubs, cultural institutes and recreational centers and public health and national education items into operation confirms this.

In this period, in addition to disruption of planned tasks for production volumes, contractual obligations by enterprises of machine construction, construction and social complexes were not fulfilled. Production volumes of goods in public demand also were unfulfilled, especially by enterprises of republican subordination.

The new conditions of management still do not show significant effect on the increase of intensification of production. Labor productivity in industry remained practically at the level achieved in 1987. Needed attention is not being given to development of the newest technologies which ensure stability of output of high-quality production. Tasks for deliveries to production of new, modernized articles are not being fulfilled.

In the past year, as in preceding years, the commodity circulation plan was unfulfilled as a result, practically, of the unsatisfactory interaction of trade enterprises and organizations with industry, poor work in the study of interplay of forces of demand and also the negative factors existing in trade.

It was noted at the meeting that stability still has not been achieved in the development of agricultural production and in the work of processing branches of the ArSSR agroindustrial complex. The rates of increase of gross agricultural production lags behind that planned for the Five-Year Plan.

Although the plans for production and procurements of grain, sugar beet, production of melons and fruits and also the plan for purchasing animal husbandry products and accumulation of fodders were overfulfilled, fulfillment of state purchases of some agricultural products still was not accomplished.

For the 3 years of the current Five-Year Plan, fulfillment of tasks for purchase of potatoes, vegetables, melons, grapes and fruits was not guaranteed, basically because of the decrease of yield of these crops.

The destructive earthquake aggravated the state of affairs in the agroindustrial complex. The immediate task of the current year is the normalization, in the shortest possible time, of living conditions in the village including the start of working of all arable lands in a 110,000 hectare area, the restoration of inoperative irrigation systems and installations, processing and storage units, efficient wintering of cattle and successful provision for spring-field operations.

The state of affairs in capital construction worsened for the past 3 years of the Five-Year Plan. As usual, very many items are being constructed at the same time. The periods of time required to construct them exceed the standard times significantly. Tasks for bringing into

force capacities and fixed capital are not being fulfilled systematically. All of this intensifies disproportions in the economic structure and impedes acceleration of social and economic development.

Fulfillment of the plan for municipal construction items in cities and rayon centers of the republic and, first and foremost, for the executive committee of the Yerevan Urban Soviet is especially unsatisfactory.

Great underfulfillment of tasks in putting capacities and projects into operation and in the level of acquiring capital is caused by poor labor discipline in all subdivisions of construction production and also in spheres of its material and technical provision, by the lack of attention on the part of former ministers of construction and the construction materials industry, the ArSSR Gostroy to creation of the necessary construction base in both volumes of construction and quality of construction production produced. Exactness and control on the part of local Councils of People's Deputies and economic managers toward the work of construction organizations remains at a low level. There is still no purposeful, daily work of ministries and departments-clients from contractual organizations. They do not ensure timely mastering of territories, planning estimates, financing and equipment.

Chronic unfulfillment of planned tasks, especially putting capacities into operation, not only impedes further growth of material production but also improvement of the social sphere. The impending scales of construction and restoration operations today produce complex and special demands for development of the industrial base of the construction industry and the construction materials industry and for improvement of operation of the entire construction complex.

It was emphasized, at the meeting that, at present, the solution of primary tasks which make for the success of the entire restoration process depends upon the increase of responsibility of personnel at all levels. The executive committees of Councils of People's Deputies should play a special role here.

One of the basic tasks of ministries, departments and directors of different services is the restoration, in the shortest possible time, of slightly damaged objects and the creation of collectives capable of solving problems connected with restoration of production capacities by participation in construction and installation work of industrial enterprises and also by creation of conditions for normal life and work of the people.

The guarantee of job placement for unemployed persons and the timely fulfillment of all measures adopted by the Politbureau Commission CPSU Central Committee requires much attention and organizational work on the part of the ArSSR Goskomtrud, ministries and departments of the republic, local Councils of People's Deputies and directors of enterprises and organizations.

It was noted that, during reconstruction of destroyed production capacities which did not provide competitive output of production before the earthquake, it is necessary to make sure that they are equipped with the newest technique and technology which will ensure output of products at the level of world standards.

For rapid restoration of regions suffering from the elements, it is necessary to consider, without delay, suggestions of foreign firms concerning creation of joint enterprises in different regions of the national economy such as industry, construction, public health, education and sports.

Ministries and departments of the republic and enterprises and organizations of union subordination must work more actively with representatives of foreign firms in order to achieve agreements on the organization of joint enterprises, making sure to guarantee a high technical level of the enterprises restored.

In 1989, all enterprises of industrial sectors of the national economy of the republic must convert to complete profit and loss accounting and self financing. For this, it is necessary to assist enterprises in every way in the use of resources, introduction of a rental contract, organization of cooperatives on the base of unprofitable or inadequately profitable productions, shops and sections.

V. Markaryants, chairman of the ArSSR Council of Ministers appeared at the meeting. The problems discussed, he said, have serious and actual significance for the vital activity of the republic. Therefore, it is no accident that almost all members of the bureau of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, headed by 1st secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee S. Arutyunyan attended the conference.

There is great anxiety of the Central Committee and the government about the state of affairs in the republic, the serious shortcomings and derelictions of the Council of Ministers, its systems and state agencies both in the center and locally. The mechanism of administration in the republic, causing discord for well known reasons, zigzags in many directions and, if it is not adjusted, it may lead to serious complications in economic and social life.

It was noted that addresses and some speeches of the comrades are not of a "perestroyka" nature concerning basic problems of the life of the republic. They are not oriented toward solution of the main problems; they contain no clear-cut discriminations and formulated thoughts concerning analysis of economic agencies and responsibilities of persons for admitted errors, disorganization and responsibility, etc.. There is no careful analysis of causes but, mainly, a blurred idea about ways out of the crisis situation.

Such a situation is intolerable. We must think this over carefully, find specific culprits and help them to eliminate the serious flaws quickly and, perhaps, strengthen some parts of the work with the help of capable specialists.

At the same time, the Council of Ministers of the republic should proceed, in its own work, with one aim—to be guided strictly by decisions of the April 1985 Plenary Session of the CPSU Central Committee, by decisions of the 27th Congress of our Party and the 19th All-Union Party Conference and by the demands of decisions of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Under conditions of perestroyka, he continued, there are vast possibilities for creating a healthy situation for a normal moral and psychological life of society and active participation of people in socially-useful labor.

The economic activity of all ministries and departments and enterprises and organizations, without exception, should receive new impetus under the conditions of economic reform and guarantee fulfillment of plans, providing for an increase of growth of national income and of strict observance of principle—in labor and wages and standard of living, the solution of problems of social justice and revitalization of all spheres of social life of the republic.

It was emphasized that not one director of high or low rank should count on support of the Armenian government if he did not organize and guarantee fulfillment of planned tasks, if he tolerates self-conceit or supports nepotism and related principles in work with personnel and, against this background, assesses the state of affairs subjectively.

State interests and the interests of the people will always dominate in the activity of the Armenian government.

Under conditions of perestroyka and limitation of functions with Party agencies, the role of municipal and rayon Councils of People's Deputies is greater than ever and much depends upon how they organize matters.

It is necessary to examine this problem, to find the principal links in the chain of important work, to determine paths and ways out of the situation being created. I am speaking about this because many executive committees of Councils of People's Deputies willingly departed from their basic work and deal with problems irresolutely and therefore the municipal and rayon economy is neglected.

One of the main tasks of the Council of Ministers and its personnel is to help them find strength and confidence in all their diverse activity and to guarantee fulfillment of plans in their territories.

What do the overall figures indicate?

They indicate, first of all, that the sense of immediate reaction to events is lost, that, in many echelons of the state authority, some experienced personnel have been lost in talk without solving the most urgent problems of the people and react irresolutely to the unjust action of persons committing illegal acts or not fulfilling their direct obligations.

Rapid elimination of deficiencies in work today is the main task of the Armenian government, ministries and departments of Councils of People's Deputies.

First secretary of the Armenian Communist Party, S. Arutyunyan, participated in the meeting of the ArSSR Council of Ministers

He emphasized, in particular, that the national economy of Armenia is experiencing a difficult and crucial time. Growing elements of economic stagnation have reached such imposing dimensions that there is a danger of complete disruption of social reconstruction. The fate of reconstruction of the Armenian economy and its future development are at stake. You know it is no secret that the Armenian national economy, beginning in the mid 1980s, is characterized more and more by aggravating sectoral and territorial disproportion, by slowing of the rate of economic growth and scientific and technical progress, by the increase of capital-output ratio and capital intensiveness of public production, distortion of the economic and social infrastructure and ecological equilibrium, by a pronounced worsening of the financial state and resistance to inflationary processes, by the increase of scales of unsatisfied demand of the people for goods and services and by the inflexible organizational structure of administration. Culmination of these extremely alarming tendencies began in 1988. The tense moral and psychological situation, the strike and the earthquake undermined the normal course of the entire reproduction process and made our economy, in essence, unguided and uncontrolled.

The breakdown in many spheres of the vital activity of our economic system stands out vividly against the background of those positive changes which appeared in the Armenian economy after April 1985.

What is the real state of affairs? For the 3 years of the Five-Year Plan, our national income increased by only 5 percent and the volume of industrial production increased by 10.9 percent while the Five-Year Plan quota called for 12.7 percent and 15.3 percent, respectively. It would be an unpardonable error to complain about 1988 alone. The average annual rates of growth of national income for the first 2 years of the 12th Five-Year Plan were 2.4 times lower than those in the 11th Five-Year Plan. For the years of the current Five-Year Plan, for the first time in 20 years, the average annual rates of growth of national income and industrial production of the republic lagged behind analogous average

incomes for union republics (Armenia 1.7 percent and 3.5 percent and USSR 3.6 percent and 4.2 percent, respectively). The rates of industrial production fell significantly. For the 11 months of 1988 (the period before the earthquake), with the overall growth of industrial production for the country as a whole at 4.0 percent, output of industrial production in our republic increased by a total of 0.4 percent, that is, it was 10-fold less.

The slowing of regional economic growth causes special concern because it is not a consequence of temporary closing of archaic productions, progressive structural reorganization, reduction of output by an unneeded user nor inefficient production but it is the direct result of exceptionally unsatisfactory industrial activity, poor state and labor discipline and decrease of responsibility for fulfillment of entrusted tasks.

Contractual obligations concerning deliveries of industrial production at operating enterprises were fulfilled by 96.8 percent as compared to 98.9 percent for the country. Labor discipline was violated by 30 percent of all associations and enterprises, which failed to supply production amounting to 250 million rubles to consumers. The lion's share of this sum, approximately 73 percent, belonged to enterprises of union subordination.

The largest volume of under-delivery of production and decrease of the rate of growth of production were admitted by the unions "Armelektromash," "Armkhimmash," "Armelektrokondensator," "Luis," the Yerevan automobile plant, a tire plant, a milling machine plant, the NPO "Nairit," the PO "Masis" and others.

Enterprises and unions converting to new conditions of management operated especially unsatisfactorily. In comparison with the enterprises operating "in the old fashion," development of production here lagged by 0.8 of a point and the level of fulfillment of contractual obligations lagged by 3.3 points. One out of two enterprises did not fulfill their contractual obligations. There was a production shortfall of more than 235 million rubles. Moreover, you see, more than 47 percent of all industrial enterprises of the republic operated under the new conditions and produced more than 58 percent of the total production output and nearly 65 percent of contractual deliveries. This justifies the conclusion that the transfer of enterprises to complete profit and loss accounting and self-financing is carried out formally without the necessary and careful preparatory work, without real introduction of the principles of intra-industrial profit and loss accounting. Economic reform in the republic in the first year under the effect of the USSR Law concerning the state enterprise did not function at "prescribed capacity." How can it function if, for example, not one industrial enterprise, although slightly profitable or unprofitable, was transferred to a rental contract, if only three industrial enterprises operated according to the most progressive form of profit and loss accounting, based on standard distribution of income.

One of the greatest bottlenecks today continues to be the problem of quality of production. For the last 3 years, annual losses from substandard products in industry were approximately 30 percent higher than the annual losses in the 11th Five-Year Plan, on the average. The volume of export shipments of machine tools in 1988, for example, did not even equal the level attained in the 1970s. At unions and in enterprises working under conditions of state acceptance, 9.7 percent of production presented was not accepted as compared to 8 percent non-acceptance for the country as a whole.

Although Armenia occupies first place among the union republics in the level of education of the working population, scientific and technical progress play only a modest role in guaranteeing economic development. It is enough to say that, in 1985-1987 alone, the annual economic impact from introduction of scientific and technical achievements decreased by 13 million rubles while expenditures for this purpose increased by 238 million rubles. This is in a situation in which more than 40 percent of industrial workers, 66 percent of construction workers and 86 percent of sovkhoz workers are manual workers. Therefore we cannot be amazed at the fact that less than 50 percent of the increase of social labor productivity is due to materialization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

Losses of work time in industry and construction in 1986-1987 alone were equivalent to daily absence from work of approximately 1,700 workers or loss of production to the amount of 36 million rubles. And this is daily.

The year 1988 was unprecedented in this aspect. Strikes alone caused loss of 3.17 million man-days which is equivalent to a direct national economic loss of the order of 270 million rubles. Regrettably, our wastefulness is another thing. In recent years, only 20 percent of the increase of end production is being guaranteed by intensive factors of economic growth and reserves of commodity stocks in the national economy are increasing almost 1.3 times more quickly than the national income.

The financial position of many of our enterprises and organizations must cause concern. Defaults by banks and suppliers equalled nearly 135 million rubles at the beginning of the year, in the machine construction complex alone.

The PO "Armelektromash," which operates with a shortage of its own circulating capital of approximately 20 million rubles, is in an extremely grave financial position. During 1988, the union issued credit for wages 12 times to the amount of more than 18 million rubles. Regrettably, a similar picture existed at the Charentsavan machine tool union, "Tsentrolit" milling machine plants, "Elektropribor" machine tool union imeni Dzerzhinskiy and the PO "ArmAvto."

Actually, no clear-cut program of financial normalization of the economy is being carried out in the republic.

The republic faces vast problems because of the shutdown, ahead of schedule, of atomic power plant power units. The electrical power shortage in the hours of peak loadings is at least 170 Mw. This situation creates significant difficulties in providing electrical power for the national economy and the public and requires maximum mobilization of the efforts of all collectives of enterprises, institutions, Party and Soviet organizations and all citizens for implementation of measures to guarantee reliable power supply and savings of electric power. Regrettably, far from everyone realizes the complexity of the problem and the danger of the situation. The work performed by "Armenergo" to alleviate this situation does not satisfy us. We must adopt, in the shortest possible time, comprehensive measures to ensure that we produce enough power to meet the demand.

Today, the paramount task is to carry out thoughtful, well organized work on converting the atomic power plant into a thermal electric power station, to speed up expansion of the Razdan state regional electric power plant, to increase the level of operation of operating electric power stations and to reconstruct and technically re-equip power capacities. We must also intensify work concerning the use of non-traditional energy which will help reduce the growing power shortage.

At the same time, all ministries and departments, each enterprise and organization must resolutely eradicate existing instances of wastefulness and mismanagement and put into action a clear-cut, specific program for conserving electric power. Measures stipulated by the decree adopted by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the Armenian Council of Ministers on this problem, the other day, must be monitored constantly.

The complex of problems concerning further expansion and use of Armenian power capacities must be the object of most careful scrutiny by the Armenian government. This must be done without delay.

The situation arising in capital construction today causes serious concern. The number of contractual organizations not fulfilling capital construction plans nearly doubled in the past year. Production rates of construction industry enterprises and of the construction materials industry dropped abruptly. For 11 months of the past year, the acceptance of fixed capital made up a total of 36 percent of the annual plan. The total volume of contract operations was fulfilled by 86 percent. Labor productivity in construction decreased by 1.4 percent.

An intolerable situation appeared in construction of social items and items related to the social amenities. For the period indicated, the annual program of putting into operation was: 58 percent for housing, 74 percent for schools, 50 percent for pre-school institutions, 9 percent for hospitals, 26 percent for out-patient polyclinics, and 25 percent for clubs.

At the September plenary session of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the work of the Armenian construction complex was criticized severely. However, the leadership of Gosstroy did not take resolute measures to lead the sector out of the crisis situation being created. The situation intensified in connection with tasks involving elimination of the damages from the earthquake. But the inertia of Gosstroy in the worsening situation is startling. Designing and surveying operations and development of general plans and detailed planning projects are being delayed.

In many urban communities and rayon centers, reconstruction operations should be carried out by republican organizations. However, neither specific volumes of forthcoming operations nor contractual organizations have been determined yet. And this is a case which requires restoration and construction of more than 700,000 square meters in 6 rayon centers and 4 stricken towns.

The necessity for urgent adoption of measures to solve this problem was given special attention at a meeting of the Party and economic active members of the republic. However, after this, Gosstroy of the republic did not make the conclusions required. Hasty and ill-considered decisions adopted by them at the beginning of the year worsened the situation in the construction complex of the republic. Instead of working out and implementing a scientifically sound, purposeful program of increasing the earthquake-resistance of buildings being built and reinforced, including those outside of the zone of the disaster, Gosstroy practically paralyzed the work of construction organizations since the beginning of this year by their unsound decision.

Only 2.2 percent of the limit of capital investments for the year, for the republic as a whole, was utilized in the last month. Not one square meter of housing was delivered. In Yerevan alone, work on more than 500 buildings (85 percent) was stopped. This occurred when, today, more than 90,000 families (before the earthquake, of course) need housing. In Yerevan, one resident requires 7.5 square meters of living space and 12 square meters of general area, on the average. These figures are the lowest of all major cities of the country.

The worsening of the economic situation of the republic is being aggravated by social dissatisfaction. The fundamental course of the September plenary session of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee for guaranteeing radical change to the needs and social requirements of the people is still not being realized satisfactorily. At each step, we sense the dissatisfaction of the people with the organization of trade, medical, transportation and municipal services and the heartless and scornful attitude toward their everyday concerns. The Council of Ministers must resolutely begin the sequential solution of the urgent social problems and adopt all necessary measures to ensure fundamental improvement in satisfying the social needs of the people.

Special attention must be given to arresting the trends toward a deterioration of providing the consumer market with goods and services. The volumes of production of consumer items and retail goods turnover, as both price indicators and natural indicators show, increased instead of decreasing. However, the point is that the cash savings of the people are growing more rapidly and the gap between supply and demand increased significantly. Because of increases of the shortage of many consumer goods and services, unsatisfied demand for them reached the order of 600 million rubles. Such a situation must cause serious anxiety.

One of the key questions facing us is the improvement of supply of food to the people. There were many speeches and promises but the people today expect specific changes from us. This can be achieved only by strenuous work in all areas of agricultural production.

Success of operation in the agrarian sector today depends, to a great extent, on cardinal reconstruction of economic relations. Everyone understands that lease, family and collective forms of organization of agriculture cannot operate independently if they will not affiliate with kolkhozes and sovkhozes or unite in cooperative unions in order to best adjust their service and solve problems of sale, supply and social reconstruction of the village. Therefore, the Gosagroprom and local Councils must very carefully study and consider how to affect the functioning of the agroindustrial complex via organizational forms, so that it begins to work more efficiently and provide a yield that will solve the problem of providing a steady supply of food to the people more quickly. In regard to this, there must be serious preparation for development of a qualitatively new, integrated program of economic management of the agroindustrial complex.

The transfer to new organizational structures of administration of the national economy is not being carried out satisfactorily in the republic. Completion of this work in 1988 was stipulated by a decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. However, in many ministries and departments, new schemes of management which were approved as early as October-November 1988 still are not in effect. At the September plenary session of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, special attention was given to the inadmissibility of a formal approach to this matter and to the necessity of perfecting organizational structures of central systems, ministries and departments, predominantly in the functional aspect.

Regrettably, many of our economic directors showed complete misunderstanding of the importance of the problem and reacted carelessly to the transfer to the new structure of management. Conditions necessary for steady operations of enterprises and organizations on the principles of complete profit and loss accounting and self-financing were not created. This explains, to a large extent, the failure of work on introduction of new

methods of management in the structural complex and the system of trade and domestic service at many enterprises of republican subordination.

Decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers concerning intensification of integration of science and production and the inclusion in scientific and industrial associations of scientific research, planning and design and technological organizations so that at least 50 percent of the workers engaged in sectoral science would be concentrated in these associations are not being fulfilled. In its turn, the Council of Ministers of the Republic did not take a fundamental position on these problems.

The Council of Ministers has direct responsibility for the situation in social and economic development of the republic. Why is the mechanism of authority vacillating in the attempt to lead the Armenian national economy out of stagnation as quickly as possible, while implementing reform in the economy? You know delay encourages the appearance of new, even more difficult problems. The Council of Ministers, as a rule, pays special attention in its work to solution of current problems with "delivery" of instantaneous effects, does not have a clear-cut strategy nor tactics during solution of major national economic intersectoral and long-range problems, monitors decrees adopted inconsistently and manages the national economic complex of the republic by obsolete forms and methods. Complex development and disposition of industrial forces are still far from being guaranteed. Sufficient measures for ensuring efficient operation of all enterprises of industrial combines and organizations regardless of their departmental subordination are not being taken. Hundreds of millions of rubles drift from place to place in accounts in the form of non-productive expenditures and goods in small demand and monetary fines for shortfalls (in deliveries). What about the Council of Ministers? It states the facts but, at present, is not finding the levers of authority with which to pull down the obsolete mechanism of management and the inveterate style of leadership.

It is true that the Central Committee regulated the work of the Council of Ministers unnecessarily for many years which affected, to some extent, its responsibility and exactingness in solving urgent and long-range national economic problems. There are some joint decrees! They were occupied with 90 of the most diverse, most frequently economic problems in one year, on the average. But there is another aspect. The council of ministers discuss little and does not go deeply into conceptual problems but, basically, spends time on examination of current problems.

Today, it is necessary to increase the authority of the Council of Ministers and the prestige of its associates, to free the government from petty assessments, to expand its power in solving economic and social problems and in management of the national economic complex of Armenia.

After some time, we shall start working out the 13th Five-Year Plan. Lessons learned from the past and from the earthquake have taught us much. There came a time to rethink the processes occurring in the national economy and to solve problems which predetermine the nature of our development in the last 10 years of the 20th century and, consequently, the place of the ArSSR in the unified national economic complex of the country.

The year 1989 is unusual for us. First of all, we have to fulfill the vast work on realization of decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers set for us to eliminate the after-effect of the earthquake. Tens of thousands of people do not have a roof over their head. Normal living conditions have not been restored in the zone of the calamity. A significant part of the able-bodied population still has not found work. At the same time, the course of restoration and construction operations cannot satisfy us. It is not yet possible to return to harmonious and organized work, to purposefully concentrate all forces and means on rapid solution of problems dealing with issues of the day, connected with the vital activity of the people. Vast responsibility for carrying out the work facing us is entrusted to a republican governmental committee, the work of which must become much more active.

We also face scale work on the realization of economic reform, especially if you consider that all sectors of economic production must work under the new conditions of management.

Reform throws light on the most serious problems and permits us to outline the path to their solution and to create preconditions of the necessary sectoral and territorial economic strategem. In order to use this, we must refrain from erroneous solutions, adopted in another time and in a different situation. Without a general economic, including financial, cleanup, we cannot effectively enter the 13th Five-Year Plan and ensure a reliable bridgehead for transition, after 1991, to territorial profit and loss accounting and self-financing.

In this connection, the Council of Ministers and Gosplan must radically reexamine the concept of long-term development of the republic, resolutely repudiate all stereotypes and conventional approaches in predicting social and economic life. In determining the path of development of our national economy, it is necessary to proceed from priority and direct development of the social sphere, the intensification of the effect of the plan on the progressiveness and rationalization of the structure of the demand for basic social blessings with consideration of peculiarities of inquiries of different groups and strata of the population. One of the main criteria of quality of plans should be complete balance of the effective demand of the people with the volumes and structure of the corresponding social blessings.

In order to accelerate social and economic development of the republic, it is necessary to connect all resources and possibilities. We must resolutely reject the fallacious idea that there are not enough resources in our little republic that everything is limited or has been exhausted.

In order to search for additional resources and possibilities, the Council of Ministers must look into each chain of resources to the very end. You know, our greatest resources and possibilities reside not only within a specific sector but also at the juncture of sectors. Only an intersectoral approach will make it possible to reason out measures of their effective use. We have no alternatives other than cardinal reconstruction, turning the entire national economy toward human needs, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, replacement of the administrative system of management by economic regulation, and transition to balanced and dynamic development. Our republic is obliged to follow this path twice and three times more quickly.

Environmental Concerns About Volga Canal Projects

Reasons for Concern

18240081 Moscow *STROITELNAYA GAZETA* in Russian 27 Jan 89 p 1

[Article by A. Mironov: "Experts Have Determined..."]

[Text] The basic materials on this canal were prepared by USSR Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources] in 1984. It is 352 kilometers long. Capital expenditures for the entire challenge is almost 3 billion rubles.

The Volga-Chogray Canal—Stop Work!

The large-scale plan for the Volga-Chogray Canal (as well as the Volga-Don II Canal) has given rise, as we know, to numerous disputes among scientists and specialists, and the press and public have joined in the discussion. There is no doubt that a careful objective expert opinion of the project is needed. This is why USSR Gosplan and USSR Gosstroy formed special commissions. Recently a joint meeting occurred between the State Commission of Experts of USSR Gosplan and of the USSR Gosstroy Gosekspertiza [State Commission of Experts], which examined work results.

Experts feel that the primary question is to determine whether a "painless" additional diversion of water from the Volga is possible. In their opinion, the plan does not provide the foundation for the economic effectiveness of building the Volga-Chogray Canal and its ecological safety. This is why they have recommended to stop building now and in the future to examine the question of its expediency.

Evidently one more step is needed: the recommendations of experts—of an independent scientific organization—should be taken into account without delay in the practical work of USSR Gosplan and other central departments as well as of USSR Minvodkhoz. In other words we must stop financing work on the canal and the allocation of material and labor resources. It is expedient to direct freed resources, technology, workers and specialists into more important projects.

The Volga-Don II Canal: To Be or Not To Be?

Today at a joint meeting the State Commission of Experts of USSR Gosplan and Gosekspertiza of USSR Gosstroy have examined the results of the ecological appraisal of another large-scale project—the Volga-Don II Canal. Its plan was developed by USSR Minvodkhoz in 1984 with the goal of diverting water from the Volga to irrigate new agricultural lands with a total area of 1 million hectares in the Don-Kuban interfluvial area. It is planned to remove 5.5 cubic kilometers of water from the Volga annually.

Work to equip the canal is already in progress, about 111 million rubles of the estimated 488 million-ruble cost have already been spent. The technical-economic basis for the canal was confirmed on 9 March 1981 by a resolution of the State Commission of Experts of USSR Gosplan. This document, let us emphasize, states unequivocally that the diversion of water from the Volga to the Don can be implemented only by means of the refilling of the Volga from the northern rivers. Moreover, the Volga-Don II can be put into operation only after the completion of the project (today sadly known) of reversing the northern rivers.

The position of the parties is such. USSR Minvodkhoz workers are convinced that in the region of the country's dry southeast the notable increase in irrigated areas will provide the opportunity to create a guaranteed feed base for livestock raising and to produce a considerable amount of additional vegetables and potatoes. The canal is all the more necessary, feel the land reclamation workers, because in the given region droughts have become more frequent.

USSR Gosstroy's Gosekspertiza is convinced that the plan does not have a clear foundation proving natural-economic need to equip the canal, proving economic expediency or ecological safety. The building of the canal itself is being implemented in contradiction to the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Sovmin [Council of Ministers], "On Curtailing Work to Divert a Portion of the Current of Northern and Siberian Rivers" and "On Priority Measures to Improve the Use of Water Resources in the Country."

At a joint meeting opponents of the Volga-Don II pointed out that the complex of questions related to the deterioration of the ecological situation in the Volga

basin, the Don lower course and in the extensive territory of several oblasts and krays has not been worked out. Under conditions of an intensive water management balance and the unsatisfactory sanitary condition of the Volga-Caspian basin the building of a canal can result in difficult ecological consequences. It was pointed out that it is essential to make more precise the scale of development of irrigation in the Don-Kuban interfluvial area, the distribution and pace of assimilation of these lands. In the opinion of many experts the diversion of a part of the Volga current into the Don cannot be recognized as well-founded until the confirmation by USSR Gosplan of schemes for the complex use and protection of water resources in the Volga and Don basins for the period after 1990 which must be developed with a consideration of the aforementioned resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Sovmin.

The canal should be viewed within the general system of development of the country's national economy, emphasized academician T. Khachaturov. After all, the completion of the project requires 5 million rubles (this figure was mentioned at the meeting), or according to other assessments—much more. We must economically assess the end result.

However, at the meeting it became clear that the problem for discussion was developed incompletely because the subcommission of experts for incomprehensive reasons was assigned only the ecological expert assessment of the project and also only in the zone directly adjacent to the canal right-of-way. For this reason many questions by those who were at the meeting remained unanswered. There was nothing left to do but draw the conclusion that we must return to the problem of the Volga-Don II at the next joint meeting of the commission of experts.

At the same time the prevailing majority of speakers who were members of the State Commission of Experts (GEK) of USSR Gosplan decisively supported making a decision today about halting construction, feeling that there is enough basis for this. In the final analysis a vote was not taken; this opinion will only be transmitted to Yu. Maslyukov, USSR Gosplan chairman, in written form.

In conclusion I would like to focus attention on the following. V. Zarubin, Deputy Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, who was at the meeting, emphasized in his speech that people say that 111 million rubles have already been spent on the construction, so how can we let it go? Academician B. Laskorin wittily parried that this signifies the position of the person who commits suicide—the man who has spent money on a pistol and therefore must without fail put a bullet in his head. He evidently had in mind that for the Volga-Don II billions will be required, the return on which will begin to enter state coffers only in 10 years.

Wouldn't it be more expedient to direct the resources that Minvodkhoz is planning to spend on the canal to erect storehouses for vegetables, potatoes and fruit and for their processing? This question was posed at the meeting. After all, a significant, very significant portion of these food products does not reach the consumer; it rots. Why increase productivity if we cannot achieve the preservation of the harvest? Really, why?

Rally Protests Building of Volga-Chogray Canal
18240081 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
12 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by P. Kondratovich: "Canal—No! Land, Ecology, Man"]

[Text] Last Saturday in Moscow's Park imeni Gorkiy on the initiative of the public organization, the "Socio-Economic Union," a rally was held to protest the building of the Volga-Chogray Canal.

"There is no Russia Without the Volga!" "The Volga-Chogray is a threat to everything living!" Dozens of scathing placards in the hands of meeting participants could not leave indifferent even the accidental park visitors. What is this? An excess of emotion or a true voice of alarm?

Well-known Soviet scientists and public activists who spoke in the auditorium before thousands convincingly confirmed that there is reason for concern. And not just a few. Here for example is what A. V. Yablokov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, stated in his speech:

"The canal will only exacerbate the ecological and social problems of the Kalmyk ASSR, will result in the mass salination of land and in the laying waste of gigantic areas. The cost of the project has reached almost 4 billion rubles. But after all the Kalmyk ASSR can be transformed for much less money. Similar projects exist but USSR Minvodkhoz and other departments remain deaf to the conclusion of scientists."

"The canal is not justified either economically or ecologically," is the opinion of academician A. L. Yanshin. "It is essential to immediately cease the financing of its construction, otherwise we may lose our beautiful Volga forever!"

Even more categorical were the words of M. Ya. Lemeshev, United Nations expert on environmental conservation:

"We should not think that canals such as the Volga-Chogray, Volga-Don II and similar unthought-out projects are only our domestic affair. We are responsible to all of humanity!"

Orators replace each other. All the speeches reflect alarm and pain for the fate of their native land. Unfortunately, the meeting was not attended by representatives of USSR Minvodkhoz although, in the words of activists of the "Socio-Ecological Union," an invitation was sent to the ministry.

But taking the microphone on his own initiative was a worker of the department of natural-reclamation research of VNIIGIM [All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Hydraulic Engineering and Reclamation imeni A. N. Kostyakov], Yu. S. Lyalin. Alas, he was not allowed to open his mouth. And that is too bad! After all Yuriy Serafimovich brings forth the idea of creating a public committee on reclamation problems in which both parties could state and defend their views and bring developed joint decisions to the attention of the broad public.

"So what is interfering with this?"

"I am expressing only my opinion," says Lyalin sadly. "And I cannot answer for all of Minvodkhoz. I can only say one thing, that my friends at work and I, in planning hydraulic engineering structures, are involved in a matter that is necessary to the country. And it would not hurt to listen to our opinion..."

Conclusion

18240081 Moscow *LESNAYA PROMYSHLENNOST*
in Russian 4 Feb 89 p 1

[Article: "End to the Canal?"]

[Text] "Stop Work to Build the Volga-Chogray Canal"—this was the conclusion drawn by Gosekspertiza of USSR Gosplan and by the presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The plan for the canal's construction has been recognized as being without foundation and ecologically dangerous. This was discussed in *IZVESTIYA* on 2 February of this year.

However, official instructions about ceasing the building of the canal by Minvodkhoz have not as of yet followed on the part of the government chain, just as it is not clear whether this kind of building is ineffective in general. Minvodkhoz for its part does not feel that if a prohibition is put on the canal it will be permanent.

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