

Soviet Life

February 1989 • \$2.25





Dear Friends:

I would like to convey my heartfelt gratitude to all of the American citizens and organizations who contributed to the relief efforts in behalf of the earthquake-stricken people of Soviet Armenia. The aid that our country received from the American people helped to save hundreds of lives and will continue to help rebuild the devastated areas.

In this time of tragedy, the pain of our Armenian brothers and sisters has become the pain of each and every one of us in the Soviet Union. And it seems as though the American people also feel our loss as their own. We are very encouraged by the human dimension of the response in your country and by the active involvement of Americans helping those who survived this catastrophe.

YURI DUBININ
*Ambassador
of the USSR
to the United States*

EDITOR'S NOTES

Last December I visited the United States for the first time in my life. Seeing your country was certainly an eye opener. Even so, I felt as if I had been there before. In the more than 20 years since I joined SOVIET LIFE, I have learned a great deal about the United States from newspapers, books and movies, but most of all from our readers. After an hour or so of wandering around Manhattan under the weak December sun, I felt like a true New Yorker. When a young man asked me directions to the Guggenheim Museum, I showed him the way without a moment's hesitation. It turned out that the man was an American from Maine.

We started talking, and the young fellow said he had never even heard of SOVIET LIFE. He added, however, that he was very much impressed with Gorbachev's UN address and expressed his condolences in connection with the earthquake in Armenia. From the way he said all this, it was quite obvious that he was not just being polite.

I met many Americans during my visit. Most had rather vague ideas about the Soviet Union. But their reaction to Gorbachev's speech and to the disaster in Armenia showed that their feelings for my country were sincere.

To be perfectly honest, I was surprised. Stereotypes are very insidious things. Of course, I had never thought of Americans as "enemies"—that would be ridiculous. But I had more or less accepted the image of the "indifferent American." I am glad this stereotype has proved to be false.

By some malicious twist of fate, two events that stirred up public opinion around the world occurred on the same day—December 7, 1988. The world press called the speech "the epitaph on the grave of the cold war." It makes a kind of tragic sense that the earthquake that struck Armenia while Gorbachev was delivering his speech brought forth a worldwide reaction that was spontaneous and unanimous as never before.

Robert Tsfasman

Soviet Life

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Front Cover: During President Gorbachev's December visit to New York City, current and former presidents Bush and Reagan met with the Soviet leader. *Photograph by Victor Budan.*

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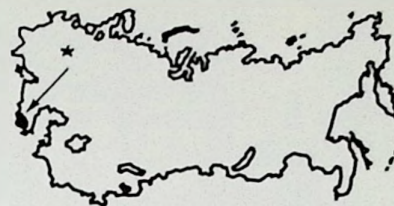
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GORBACHEV'S BLUEPRINT: Philosophy and Practice

By Vladimir Brodetsky

Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in the United Nations last December reflects the evolution of Soviet philosophical and political thought in the field of international relations. Therefore, the first and generally positive response to the ideas expressed in this speech is just the beginning of the serious analysis the speech will be given by political scientists and politicians. Without such an analysis it is simply unthinkable to live in the current interrelated world.

On the other hand, the urgency of the problems Gorbachev raised does not allow for any delays in such an analysis.

Apparently the Soviet leader had a reason for selecting the rostrum on the bank of the East River for this program speech. The increase in the prestige of the United Nations is obvious. This organization has often helped many countries involved in the fiercest conflicts of our time to find a compromise. The Soviet leader's speech at UN headquarters may be described as a Soviet contribution to the credit of confidence in the United Nations.

Gorbachev began with the most urgent problem: the survival of humankind, which is beset on a global scale with economic, food, energy, ecological, and demographic problems. Although each region, each country gives priority to these or other global problems, the Soviet leader believes that they can only be solved by a concerted effort of all humankind: "Further global progress is now possible only through a quest for universal consensus in the movement toward a new world order."

Gorbachev brought home to the people of the entire world a new formula born in the process of the evo-

lution of social thought in our country: International relations should be rid of ideology. Not that each side should give up its convictions, philosophy and principles; both should demonstrate by deeds the benefits of their systems, ways of life and values. This would be an honest competition between ideologies.

As for the nuclear threat and militarism, Gorbachev made a new breakthrough in this sphere when he announced the Soviet Union's decision to cut unilaterally its armed forces by 500,000 men in the next two years. The West immediately recalled a unilateral reduction of the Soviet Army under Nikita Khrushchev. But this analogy is irrelevant. At that time the reduction of troops was general—indiscriminate, so to speak. Now six tank divisions will be withdrawn (and disbanded) from the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary—the region on the line of contact with the NATO countries. Moreover, landing-assault and a number of other units will also be withdrawn from these countries. The Soviet forces stationed in these countries will be reduced by 50,000 men and 5,000 tanks. The forces that remain there will be transformed into strictly defensive units after a large reduction of tanks is carried out. At the same time the USSR will cut the strength of its troops and the number of weapons in its European part.

To sum up: Subject to cuts are 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems and 800 combat planes. Let's admit that these figures have not impressed all military men and politicians in the West. They maintain that the imbalance in the Soviet favor will remain after the cuts. At the same time the West prefers to speak as little as possible about imbalances that favor NATO—for example, in assault aviation and antitank systems.

But even now the American and West European people greatly appreciate the unilateral measures of the Soviet Union. This is a breakthrough not only in the sphere of disarmament, but also in the growth of confidence in the USSR. This fact is objectively prompting the West and NATO to begin moving to meet the USSR halfway.

Yet another question Gorbachev raised in his speech at the United Nations requires practical solutions—a change from the economy of arms to the economy of disarmament. There are no ready-made formulas here. As both American and Soviet specialists recognize, conversion is an expensive and lengthy process and will be naturally resisted by those who make money manufacturing armaments. Yet conversion is real, as Gorbachev stressed. He emphasized the Soviet readiness to draft and present its own internal conversion plan as part of its economic reform effort, to make public its experience in reemploying defense personnel, and to discuss the question of conversion at the session of the UN General Assembly.

All these steps taken by the Soviet Union require an even greater degree of openness. But *glasnost* has far from exhausted its potential, and it continues to break into previously closed spheres. As Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze stressed in one of his recent interviews, openness in international relations not only is sharply on the upsurge, but also is becoming an effective instrument of international communication.

Speaking in the United States, Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union will be a ready partner for the new administration of George Bush—without long pauses and retreats—to continue the dialogue in the spirit of realism, openness, and good will. ■

AFTERMATH OF A DISASTER

By Aloiz Fil
Photographs by Alexander Grashchenkov and
Ruben Mangasaryan

The earthquake that struck Armenia this December left a wake of unimaginable destruction and human misery. But the tragedy also brought the world together in a massive relief effort. Rescue teams worked day and night to free victims trapped in the rubble.



Scenes of devastation and sorrow in Spitak, Armenia.





The aid that arrived from all over the globe helped in large part to save thousands of lives and to give emergency assistance to the survivors. The people of Leninakan and Spitak, of the entire disaster zone, are grateful to all those whose hearts have been awakened by the catastrophe.

**On the site of these
ruins new, quake-
resistant structures
will be built.**



From now on, the tower clock in Leninakan's main square will always read 11:41. At that moment on December 7, 1988, the clock was stopped by the first tremors of Armenia's devastating earthquake. In a matter of minutes, four-fifths of the city's structures were reduced to rubble. Moans of people buried alive started coming from the ruins of collapsed buildings.

The zone of massive destruction spread to cover an area of 80 kilometers. Three other towns and dozens of villages were destroyed. Five hundred thousand people lost their homes. By the end of the first week of relief operations, the number of casualties topped 40,000.

At its epicenter the earthquake measured 6.9 on the Richter scale. Only two other earthquakes comparable to this one have been recorded throughout all of European and Asian history: In the eleventh century seismic shocks toppled the ancient Armenian capital of Aini, and in 1948 an earthquake in Ashkhabad, the capital of Turkmenia, took a toll of 110,000 lives out of the city's population of 132,000.

Nationwide Rescue Effort

Soldiers were the first to begin rescuing survivors from the wreckage. The soldiers and officers worked tirelessly, clearing the rubble away by hand to save hundreds of lives.

The accounts of the survivors freed from the debris are heart-rending. What gave them the strength to stay alive and keep their sanity? Ruben Khlgatyan was eating lunch with a friend at his institute cafeteria when the earthquake began. Khlgatyan was separated from his friend and has no idea what happened to him.

Susanna Saakyan, a student at one of Spitak's schools, was in class when the disaster struck. After the school building collapsed, she found herself under a desk, which saved her life. She managed to crawl to a clearing made by the rescue workers.

Yurik Safailyan, a worker at the Spitak sugar refinery, remembers only regaining consciousness. He was trapped between two panels. The soldiers heard him and helped him out.

The news of the catastrophe aroused compassion all over the country. Every Soviet citizen wanted to contribute to the rescue effort. A few hours after the quake, the soldiers and local survivors who were clearing the rubble were joined by volunteers from Yerevan, the capital of Armenia, and from other regions. Sixty thousand people had arrived at the disaster area by the fifth day after the earthquake.

From Brest in the West to Vladivostok in the East, and from Murmansk in the North to Baku in the South, people stood in long lines at clinics to donate their blood. About 30,000 donors were registered in the first five days. Packages of warm clothing started coming to Armenia. Private citizens and state-run enterprises sent money to the relief fund.

When sorrow enters a home, the voice of resentment, even legitimate resentment, is hushed. Compassion and charity are the feelings that move people during such times. It is rather strange to hear that the enemies of *perestroika*—political demagogues, corrupt elements and adventurers in Armenia and Azerbaijan—tried to use the catastrophe to escalate national enmity.

Coordinating Rescue and Relief Operations

A special high-ranking party and government commission was immediately set up to coordinate the rescue and relief efforts. It is led by Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Having cut short his trip abroad, Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in Armenia after a short stopover in Moscow.

By the end of the first week, 18,990 soldiers and 200 medical teams were working in the disaster area. Rubble was cleared and survivors and corpses extracted; trauma victims were treated and hospitalized; planes were unloaded and warm clothing and hot meals distributed.

Five days after the earthquake, 300,000 of the people who had lost their homes had received insulated tents. The rest were settled in 1,500 railroad cars, portable houses and other temporary housing. It was decided that women and children should be evacuated from the area as soon as possible. Looking at them, my heart ached. Still from shock and despair, their eyes seemed to be screaming.

Accommodations were made ready in the country's trade union resorts for the tens of thousands of temporarily evacuated people. By decision of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the victims' room and board there will be free of charge.

The first stage of relief efforts in the destroyed areas was on the whole fairly well organized and coordinated. At the same time, all shortcomings and omissions were openly and sharply criticized. If there were delays in unloading a plane, mistreatment of incoming machinery or insufficient information among the people, the press immediately stepped in.

Global Solidarity in Grief

People from around the world started sending messages and offers of help to Armenia. Presidents, prime ministers and the Pope sent messages of sincere condolences. Thousands of private citizens donated money to the relief fund. Governments and large firms of a number of countries contributed millions of dollars to the fund. Dozens of foreign aircraft made special flights to Yerevan and Leninakan to deliver medicines, medical equipment and other goods. About 2,000 experienced rescuers and doctors journeyed to the disaster area from a number of foreign countries.

The aid that arrived from all over the globe helped in large part to save thousands of lives and to give emergency assistance to the survivors. The people of Leninakan and Spitak, of the entire disaster zone, are grateful to all those whose hearts were awakened by the catastrophe. The helped and the helping are united by one thought: The earth is our common home, and the misfortune of



An American rescue worker.

some is a misfortune for all of us.

The Soviet leadership has expressed profound gratitude to all foreign governments, public organizations and private citizens who responded to the grief of the Armenian people and who gave priceless assistance to the earthquake victims.

Who Is to Blame?

Although this might seem like a strange question to ask about a natural calamity, it is being asked in the most emphatic manner. Experts testify that the seismicity of the disaster area was appraised at a significantly lower level than turned out to be the case. All construction was conducted on the basis of this estimate, and so the region was unprepared for December's earthquake. Examining the site of the calamity, Gorbachev noticed the shoddiness of the construction work and low quality of the building materials.

Could the earthquake have been predicted? Experts generally have reached the conclusion that it could not have been. However, one of the

experts reminds us that according to a seismic map compiled in 1985, the region was classified as a very dangerous zone. It was proposed that a network of short-term earthquake forecasting stations should be immediately created there. The suggestion was never carried out.

Restoration Within Two Years

While mourning the dead and making temporary provisions for the earthquake's survivors, people are beginning to think about the future of the devastated region. All of the constituent Soviet republics have volunteered to participate in the reconstruction effort. For instance, each republic will build a neighborhood of resilient and quake-resistant structures in Leninakan. The government of the Russian Federation has already earmarked 320 million rubles, tens of thousands of tons of materials and equipment for Armenia.

The sum total of restoration work is estimated at five billion rubles. In two years' time new towns and villages will stand in place of the present rubble. ■



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Through reading your magazine and looking at the photography of your beautiful country and its people, I realize more and more that this is one world, one space-ship that we are all in in the universe, and that we can take pride in our lands and other people and their achievements as well as our own.

In another vein, seeing what man has done wrong is important too. I think your magazine helps about that, and I hope our publications in your country do the same.

Marion R. McIntosh
Asheboro, North Carolina

On December 7, 1988, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the forty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. This remarkable speech has been widely reported, but the text is not easily available. I am writing to suggest that the text of this speech would be an excellent subject for a special supplement.

Edward C. Perry
Palm Springs, California

Enough about peace. We get the message. Endless articles about peace marches begin to wear a bit thin after a while. We realize that the Russian people want peace, and American readers of your magazine obviously want peace. So what is the point? Long-winded speeches by Gorbachev and others are boring. American magazines tend to keep articles short and concise to retain reader interest. And readers of SOVIET LIFE are Americans. Yet we do want to know what Gorbachev and others have to say. But put it in synopsis form. Verbiage is not appreciated by the average American reader.

Joseph Milakovich
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

THE HIGH COST OF MINISTERIAL POWER

Mikhail Lemeshev, Doctor of Science (Economics) and a United Nations expert on ecological problems, has studied the relationship between industry and the natural environment for about 30 years. For 10 years he headed a Geneva-based international group of experts in ecology. Lemeshev gave an interview to Vladislav Starchevsky, a correspondent for the weekly newspaper *Nedelya* (Week).

Q: The environmental crisis that we are facing today is the result of thoughtless consumption of natural resources. That is perfectly clear. However, industry cannot develop without processing natural resources. Is there any chance for us to break out of this vicious circle?

A: The ultimate goal of every production process is to satisfy the demands of people and society. This is an axiom. However, an enormous percentage of the natural resources that are consumed today end up as waste products. Waste products are a burden to the environment, to people, to all living things. Are they unavoidable? With the technologies that are currently being used in industry, agriculture and construction, yes, they are. In the past, say, in peasant households, there were no waste products because everything was put to use. The system was sort of a closed cycle. Even the ashes from firewood were used as fertilizers, to say nothing of manure. But the natural links between the environment and the economy were upset after the emergence of industrial production.

Unfortunately, during the construction of our socialist society, we adopted "cheap," environmentally unsound technologies. True, one can always argue that in the 1920s we had no choice: We were relatively poor; we were short of engineers and of resources for capital investments; and our scientific potential was low. However, more than six decades have passed since that time. The bureaucratic, administrative nature of economic management has forced us to keep following the same path. While most Western countries have already turned to intensive methods of economic development, we cannot seem to give up extensive methods. We produce

6 times as much iron ore as the United States, 1.8 times as much mineral fertilizer, 1.7 times as much cement, 5 times as many digital machine tools, 6 times as many tractors, and so on. But the revenue from this production is only 70 per cent of the U.S. receipts.

Our lagging economic development is not the only cause for concern. The use of "cheap" technologies that pollute the environment and a deterioration in the quality of food pose severe health hazards. The incidence of illness is rising in our country, especially among children. For example, in the city of Karabash in Chelyabinsk Region in the Urals, 10 tons of harmful chemicals per resident are emitted annually into the atmosphere. The incidence of illness there is several times higher than the average figure for the region which, in turn, is greater than the national average.

The number of regions and cities where the ecological situation can be described as critical is not decreasing, but growing. The mortality rate has also risen in the past several years. In 1960 it was 7.1 per 1,000 people. The figure for 1970 was 8.2, and by 1986, 9.8.

Q: Many resolutions have been adopted in the past 15 years to improve nature conservation. Why haven't they been more effective?

A: For the same reason that previous economic reforms have failed and that *perestroika* now faces so many problems. That is, the resources, the money and the real power in the national economy are still in the hands of the ministries, whose main concerns are their own interests, not those of the state.

Frankly speaking, not a single industrial enterprise has any reason to invest in the construction of purification installations or in waste-free technology, or to reduce its consumption of natural resources. These are seen as unprofitable expenditures. Why should anyone save water if it doesn't cost anything?

Moreover, why should anyone save raw materials? Let's suppose that an industrial enterprise introduces resource-saving technologies and realizes some economic gains from its reduced consumption. It will still not get any profit for its trouble because all the profits will be taken by the ministry.

The fact that the ministries' control is not decreasing is seriously hampering *perestroika*. Laws are ineffectual. The USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection cannot do much unless real economic power is wrested from the ministries. Each ministry proceeds from its own



The resources, the money and the real power are still in the hands of the ministries

interests and produces what it sees fit, not necessarily what society really needs.

Agriculture has followed industry's lead in polluting the environment. Waste products from stock-breeding complexes and farms flow into rivers everywhere; pesticides and mineral fertilizers are being stored carelessly and applied thoughtlessly, and on a large scale. Rains wash the poisons into the rivers, and from there they often get into the drinking water.

While all this is happening, many organizations that are supposed to control the situation are actually doing nothing. Even the USSR Ministry of Health regularly raises the maximum permissible nitrate content in potatoes and other vegetables. Naturally, the ministry claims to be acting in the best interests of the country in doing this. It maintains that if trade organizations do not accept agricultural produce with an increased nitrate content from the farms, there will be nothing to feed people.

Q: What do you see as the intensive way of developing agriculture?

A: Not only in agriculture, but in the national economy in general, one of the main things we have to do is to revise the planning system. We should plan the output of final products—for instance, bread, sugar, meat, clothes, footwear and housing, as well as health care and education—instead of increasing our production of intermediate products like ore, steel, pig iron, oil, gas, machine tools, tractors, fertilizers, and so on. If we know how much bread we need, we can calculate how much grain we must have, how much land we must sow with what and how many tractors we have to produce. After we've calculated the number of machines we need, it will be clear how much metal we need and how much ore we should extract to make it. This method can be applied in every sphere. If we planned and calculated everything proceeding from the final product, we would see that 60 to 80 per cent of the goods that we produce today are not needed by anyone.

In 1955 the Soviet Union and the United States had approximately the same number of dairy cows: the USSR, 25 million and the United States, 23 million. Since that time the U.S. has reduced the number of its cows to 10 million, but the USSR has increased the number of cows it raises to 42 million. Our country, however, is supplying only 60 per cent of the fodder that the animals need. The Americans have kept only the highly productive breeds and are feeding them well. While the average American cow produces 6,000 liters of milk annually, the figure for Soviet cows is 2,500. We can neither solve the fodder problem nor supply the population with enough dairy products.

Q: Why is the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] so indecisive and sluggish? It should be in the vanguard, setting the pace.

A: Unfortunately, Gosplan usually follows the suggestions of the ministries, which actually draw up the plans. The ministries have an enormous amount of power and are tied in with other powerful organizations. For instance, to make sure their resolutions are approved, the ministries often quote research institutions that work under their control or academic institutes they themselves pay under contract.

At present the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification is trying to convince the planning bodies of the need to build as many as 93 hydroelectric power plants by the year 2005. This will have tremendous ecological repercussions. The builders of power and land-reclamation projects have already flooded millions of hectares of our country's most valuable land, land that will never be arable again. These projects also involved the resettlement of people, causing great emotional strain as well as the loss of cultural riches.

Q: What other changes in the national economy do you regard as vital if both our interests and those of the environment are taken into consideration?

A: We need to strip the ministries of economic power and of the right to manage natural resources. We have some 1,000 all-union and republican ministries and organizations. Most of them have to go.

In addition, we need to disband the branch departments at Gosplan. The Soviets of People's Deputies should really hold the title to public property. Let's vest the Soviets of People's Deputies with real power, the power to manage natural and labor resources. Let's give industrial enterprises the conditions for real, not fictitious, cost accounting. Let cooperating enterprises establish direct links and sign contracts because they know each other's potentialities better than any ministry does. The figures recorded in their contracts will be used as a basis for plans.

We could set the highest possible prices for water and land, but if the enterprises are subordinate to a ministry that will take from them the money they save, we will get nowhere. But if the local Soviet holds and leases public property under conditions that would ensure the property's increased productivity, and if contacts with cooperating enterprises, self-financing and self-government are the basis of the well-being of the work force, then we will see that the ministries are superfluous. And then we will be able to say that *perestroika* has really won. ■

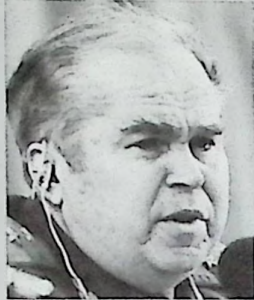
Courtesy of the weekly newspaper *Nedelya*

The Soviets of People's Deputies should really hold the title to public property.

GLASNOST

FIRST STALIN BIOGRAPHY PUBLISHED IN THE USSR

Excerpts from an interview with Colonel General Dmitri Volkogonov, Doctor of Science (Philosophy), given to the weekly book review *Knizhnoye Obozreniye*.



"I have wondered many times why the political biography as a genre has been so perfectly developed abroad and so entirely neglected in this country. Until recently, we did not have a single good book about the man who was the leader of the Soviet Communist Party and of the Soviet Union for 30 years. But looking back at the events of the Stalin era, merciless and tough as it was, we have an obligation to investigate certain tendencies and analyze their development, in order to enrich the present and to get a

glimpse into the future in light of our knowledge of history. In short, 10 years ago I made up my mind to write a book about Stalin.

"Writing this book meant long hours at military, state, party and juridical archives. It also meant

meeting with scores of witnesses, including Stalin's colleagues in the government and in the party, military commanders and members of Stalin's entourage.

Finally, it meant reading everything that had been written about Stalin and his time abroad as well as works by Bukharin, Trotsky and many of Stalin's other opponents.

"This effort produced a vast amount of material. The final product consists of two volumes, which will be released by Novosti Press Agency in 1989."

"HOW MUCH DO SPORTS COST?"



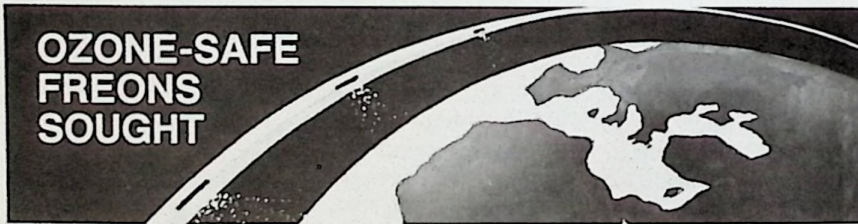
"I am 22 years old," wrote V. Parkhomenko, of Moscow, to the editor of the newspaper *Pravda*, "and I've never been active in a sport before. Can you tell me where I can find an inexpensive sports club to join?"

An official of the USSR Sports Committee answered:

"Most health and fitness services are offered by organizations that provide their workers with sports facilities free of charge. There are also paying sports groups, whose fees vary according to the sports facility used, the sport itself and the range of services offered, but they never exceed 25 rubles quarterly.

"Sports facilities are available free of charge to children."

OZONE-SAFE FREONS SOUGHT



Scientists are very concerned about the effects of Freon gases on the ozone layer. A mixture of propane and butane can be a good substitute for the Freon that is currently being used in the manufacture of aerosols for domestic use, and spray manufacturers are returning to the practice of storing their product in plastic pump bottles. It's much more difficult to find substitutes for the Freons in refrigerators and in the manufacture of foam polyurethane. But Leningrad chemists have synthesized several Freon gases that are not hazardous to the environment. Alternate Freon gases are likely to be produced on a commercial scale in the 1990s.

Courtesy of Novosti Press Agency



HYDE PARK IN MOSCOW?

For quite a while now the Soviet press has documented the advent of *glasnost* and democracy in our country. But until recently, many people have hesitated to take part in any public discussion of opposing views. Such discussion was perceived as an untapped reserve of socialist pluralism.

What is happening now in Pushkin Square, in the heart of Moscow, seems to indicate that free and open public debate is steadily finding a firmer foothold in Soviet life.

Here you can meet people holding the most disparate views. I happened to be walking by the square on a Sunday when my attention was caught by a group surrounding a short young man who was trying, with great energy, to convince his audience that the Soviet Union really needed a multiparty system. Several opponents, equally uncompromising, were trying to prove that it did not.

Not far away, other groups were listening to a war veteran recalling the events of 1941; a group of Armenians who began a debate about Nagorny Karabakh; and several followers of Krishna.

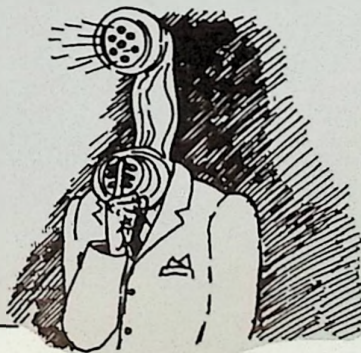
Some other speakers were amusing, as if they were speaking just for fun. But others were slightly alarming. One speaker obviously represented the extreme right wing of the temperance movement. He insisted seriously that all alcoholics should be sterilized. Like all obscurantists, he could not be argued

with. People like him know only two colors—white and black.

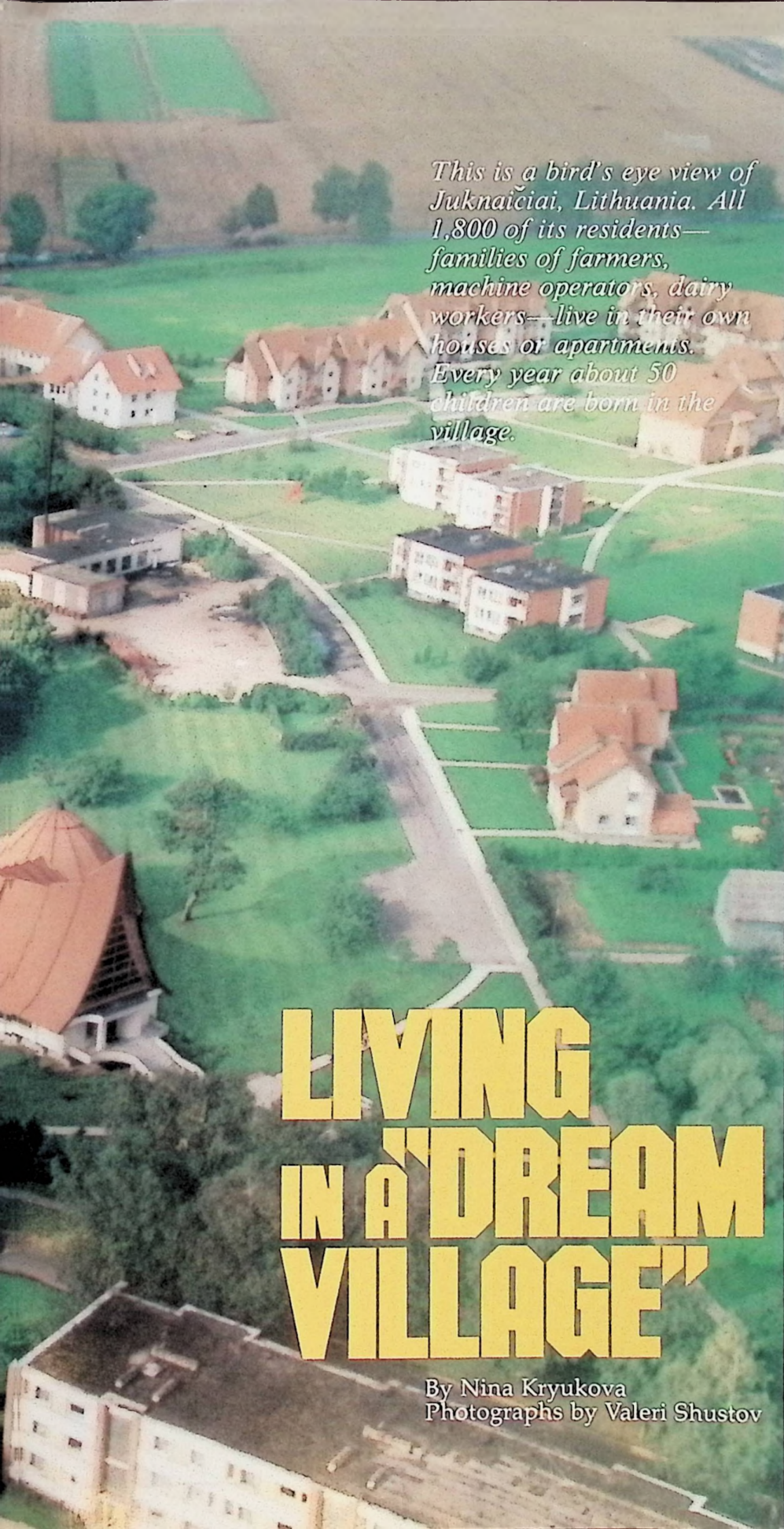
What will happen to Moscow's "Hyde Park" in the future? I hope that it will find its own place in our society. It would be easier, of course, simply to disperse both the speakers and the audiences and forget about the whole business, something the authorities would have done only a short while ago. Sadly, such things still happen in Moscow.

But even that is not really as easy as it appears. The new awareness seems to be gaining the upper hand. The Moscow City Party Committee is now considering how to set up several free podiums in Moscow, similar to the open-air forensic arena near Pushkin's monument. It's only a pity that the committee has been discussing the project for so many months.

Courtesy of APN and the newspaper
Sovetskaya kultura







This is a bird's eye view of Juknaičiai, Lithuania. All 1,800 of its residents—families of farmers, machine operators, dairy workers—live in their own houses or apartments. Every year about 50 children are born in the village.

LIVING IN A "DREAM VILLAGE"

By Nina Kryukova
Photographs by Valeri Shustov

About twenty kilometers from the port of Klaipeda is nestled the village of Juknaičiai. It is hard to believe that such a picturesque spot is just a stone's throw away from the highway that connects Klaipeda and Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania. Juknaičiai has a population of 1,800, and the average age of its residents is 34 years.

For the townspeople, Juknaičiai is a wonder village, with its network of asphalt roads and small paths, neatly cropped grass and shady gardens surrounding pretty houses, its fountains, sculptures and artificial ponds where swans glide. The atmosphere here is very relaxed, and it seems that the local people are never in a hurry.

Stallion and Eagle

When photographer Valeri Shustov and I arrived, Zigmantas Doksas, the director of the local state farm, was busy showing a foreign guest around. While we were waiting to meet with him, we learned that the director devotes 60 per cent of his office time to cultural and social questions and only 40 per cent to production issues. Even during the years of economic stagnation, Doksas had managed to make the farm a profitable enterprise. Under *perestroika*, the farm yields twice as much produce as the republic's average and 3.5 times as much as the national average. Economists have estimated that the meat, milk and cereals the farm produces every year could last the entire republic a whole week.

Before coming to Juknaičiai, I knew a couple of facts about Doksas: I knew that he was a Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and that in 1988 he and Stanislovas Kalinka, an architect from Vilnius, had received the Lenin prize—the Soviet Union's highest award—for the architecture of the village.

But now our tour of Juknaičiai was beginning, with Doksas as our guide. "You've probably noticed the sculpture *Stallion and Eagle* in our central square," he began. "It is a symbol: While standing with your feet firmly ▶



on the ground, you should not forget more elevated things. Stasys Kuzma, the renowned sculptor, gave this piece to our village. We invited Kuzma and other artists to help us implement our program for the social and cultural development of our state farm. The villagers used to make all the improvements themselves. But the landscape is a marvelous and very precious asset. That is why we invited experts to develop it.

"The architects Alfonas and Rūta Kiškis were the first to accept our invitation. Alfonas, the husband, is 80 years old. He was trained in Britain. The Kiškises have designed beautiful parks in Vilnius, Kaunas, Leningrad and Moscow, and they have turned our village into a park.

"The Kiškises were followed by Stasys and Lydija Kuzma. Stasys has made 30 sculptures in the studio we provided for him. His sculptures decorate the park and some buildings. Lydija works with ceramic and glass. You can see quite a few of her beautiful creations on our farm.

"Academician Algimantas Stoškus, whose masterful works in cloisonné adorn the streets of Vilnius, Moscow and Paris, also wanted to be involved in the project. He postponed all his other orders to make a stained-glass panel for our concert hall.

"Angèle Banité, a local artist, made frescoes for the farm's cafeteria, reception hall and school."

The director is especially proud of the local fitness and cultural center. Its building resembles a Japanese Shinto shrine. Doksas wanted it to be a center for physical and spiritual development—spiritual because, besides a health spa complete with two saunas, a swimming pool and other facilities, the center has an art gallery,

The state farm's designer, Gintaras Augaitis, is just back from a Moscow auction with several new pictures. Now he and members of the Art Council decide how to arrange the paintings.

a concert hall, a reading room and two parlors. The parlors are very popular with the local people in the evenings. The flames dancing in the fireplace create a good atmosphere for a heart-to-heart talk.

Various exhibitions are held at the art gallery. Visitors can meet with artists informally. The state farm has spent 800,000 rubles on the center.

"And it's worth every kopeck," Doksas says. "People work better when they've had a chance to relax."

Indeed, for the past few years the farm has netted 2.5 million rubles in profits annually.

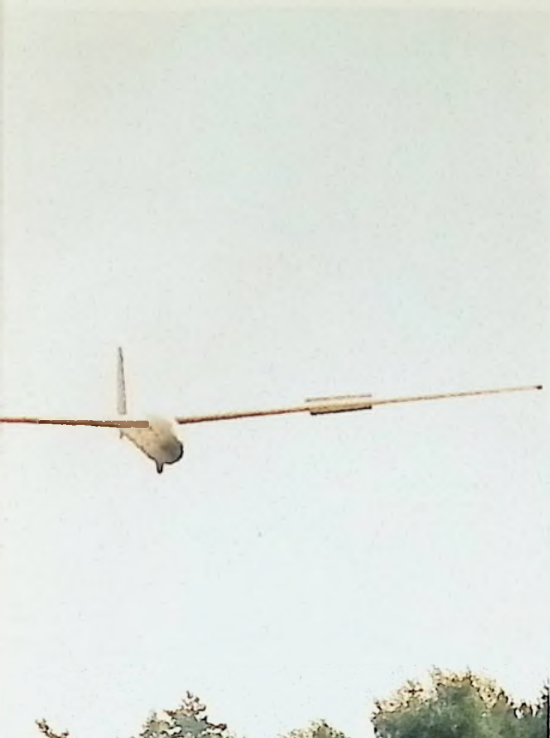
The Kuzmarkises, the Budvikises and Others

No two houses in Juknaičiai are alike. We decided to visit one made of dark polished wood with carved balconies. Three blonde little girls ran out of the house to welcome us. If not for the difference in age, they could be triplets. Lolita is 11, Aida is 10 and Mirta is 3. Their mother, Regina Kuzmarkis, 33, the farm's book-keeper, and their grandmother Ona also came out to meet us. The father, Bronius, 33, works at the local farm machinery repair shop.

The Kuzmarkises have six bedrooms and an impeccably decorated living room. The house was custom built by architect Edmundas Vicius and decorated by designer Gintaras Augaitis. The whole thing cost 29,000 rubles, half of which was covered by the state farm. The state farm ▶

For the townspeople, Juknaičiai is a wonder village, with its network of asphalt roads and small paths, neatly cropped grass and shady gardens surrounding pretty houses, its fountains, sculptures and artificial ponds where swans glide.





Juknaičiai has its own air club, where young people can make and fly airplane models. Above: Stasys Kuzma's sculpture *Stallion and Eagle*. Children love it because it reminds them of a fairy tale. Opposite page: Zigmantas Doksas, 55, is the state farm's director and a Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The state farm has been self-supporting for 10 years and is extremely profitable.





The state farm has spent 800,000 rubles on the center. "And it's worth every kopek," Doksas says. "People work better when they've had a chance to relax."





Opposite page, clockwise from bottom left: The swimming pool at the health spa comes complete with waterfall. The village concert hall is decorated with a stained-glass panel by the famous artist Algimantas Stoškus. Juknaičiai has a peaceful, parklike atmosphere. Above: A musical chandelier controlled by a laser graces the fitness and cultural center.

gave the owners a loan to cover the other half, to be paid in installments over a period of 30 years.

I asked Regina how they would be able to repay the loan. She pointed to the garden and the cattle shed in the yard. The milk, potatoes, vegetables and fruit that the family produces is enough to last them a whole year. The Kuzmarkises sell the produce that they cannot use themselves, bringing in 6,000 rubles of extra income annually.

Valeri and I went to another house. This one belonged to the Budvikis family. Jurgis Budvikis, 50, is a sewage equipment repairman, and his wife, Ženas, 44, is a dairy worker. Their wages are not very high: Jurgis makes 200 rubles a month and Ženas, 220. But like the Kuzmarkises, the Budvikises have a large plot of land, which is a source of significant additional income. Their son, Lenas, a bricklayer, makes good money.

Besides single-family houses, the farm has built apartment houses for people who come to work from other places. This helps the director attract experienced specialists to the farm. One such specialist is Edmundas Vicius, the farm's resident architect.

At the director's invitation Vicius, who is now 44 years old, came to the farm in the 1960s, after graduating from art school. He decided to stay. Vicius took a very active part in the building of Juknaičiai. He and his family now live in their own house.

Surprise!

Walking farther, Valeri and I spotted a rather inconspicuous house hidden among the trees, and we decided to find out who lived there. Imagine our surprise when Zigmantas Doksas himself opened the door. Doksas, his wife, his two daughters and their husbands and his three grandchildren live under this roof. Some years ago the director made a resolution: He would not move into a new house until each villager had a separate room.

"Sometimes I think my resolution was a little rash," Doksas mused. "Every family does have a house or apartment now, but it will be a while until we can say that every villager has his or her own room. So many babies are born every year that the builders just can't keep up." Doksas showed us around his house. There are many rare books in his library, old paintings, a collection of elegant bric-a-brac and hunting trophies.

Doksas told us that Juknaičiai used to be a small village with only a couple of dilapidated houses. The population was made up almost completely of old people because the younger ones had left for the city. The village owned a few skinny cows. ▶



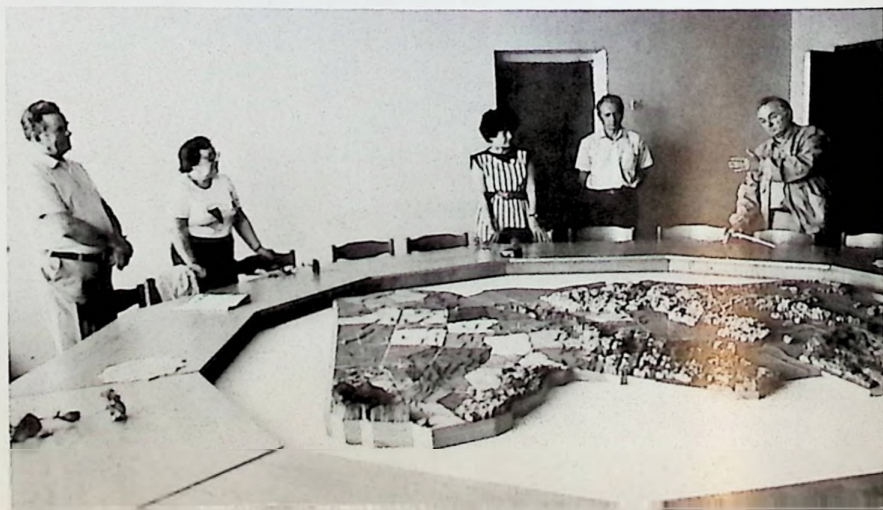
The director decided to breathe life back into the village. He advanced only one condition for his chairmanship: Regional authorities would not tell him what to do or how to do it for at least five years. He began with the construction of a nursery school—"This is always the right thing to start with if you are thinking about the future"—and a cultural center.

"You'll lose your last cow if you don't build a new farm," some said. "That may be," he answered. "But it's much more important to stop losing people."

Doksas has lived to see his shining hour. Many years ago, dressed in homemade clothes and wooden shoes, a small, cheap suitcase in his hand, he arrived in a big city from a remote village. To this day he vividly remembers the first words that greeted him at the railroad terminal: "Hey you! Country boy! Look where you're going!" It was probably then that the image of today's Juknaičiai was conceived in his head. ■

Every family does have a house or apartment now, but it will be a while until every villager has his or her own room. So many babies are born every year that the builders just can't keep up."

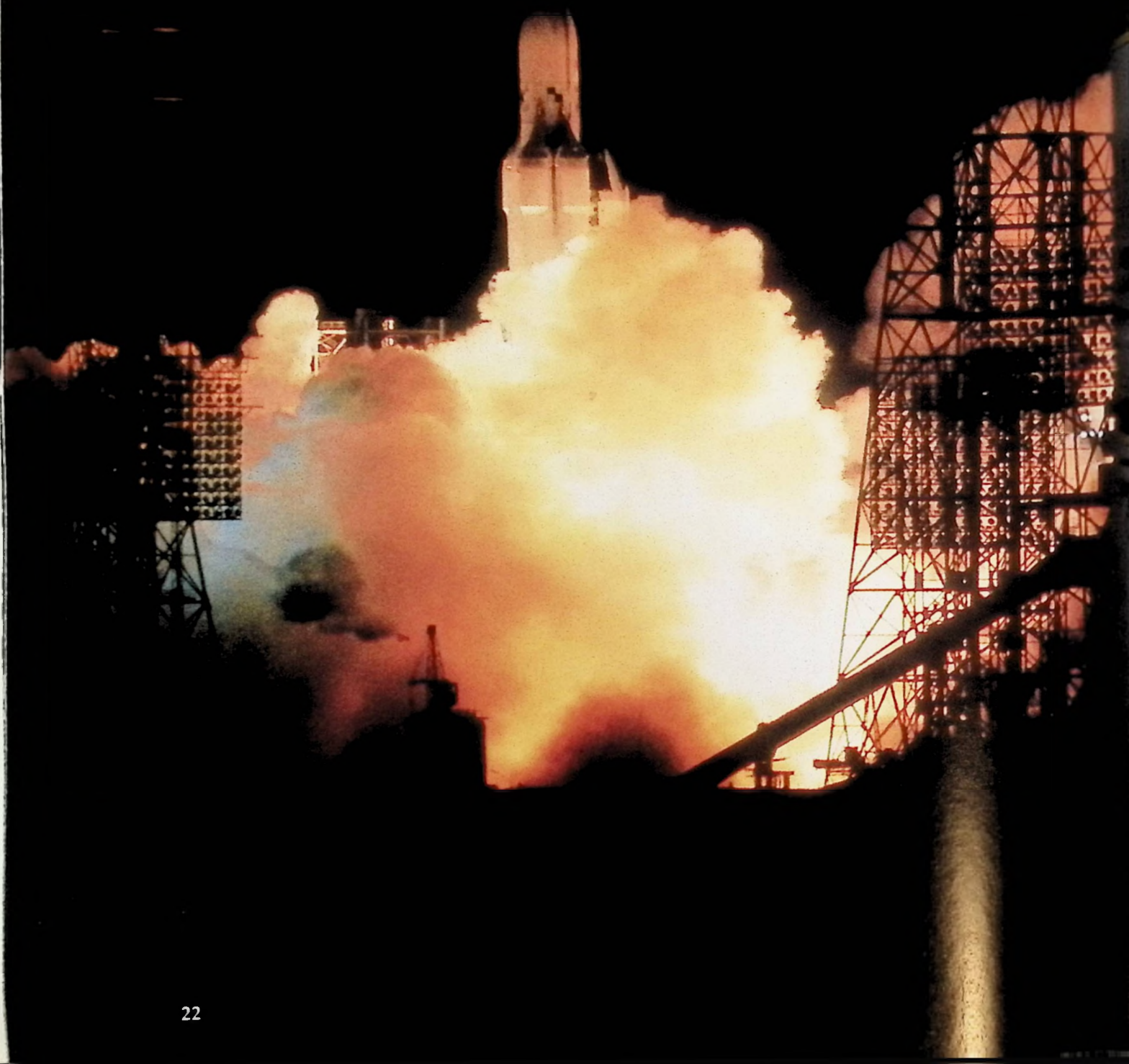
Clockwise from top left: Driver Yuozes Barskenis' friends and family often gather in his cozy living room. The Kuzmarkis sisters: Aida, 10, Mirta, 3, and Lolita, 11. Tractor operator Zygfirdas Paap and cafeteria worker Nikole Paap have just been married; now they will be photographed in the winter garden of the fitness and culture center. Director Doksas shows a scale model of his village to some visitors.

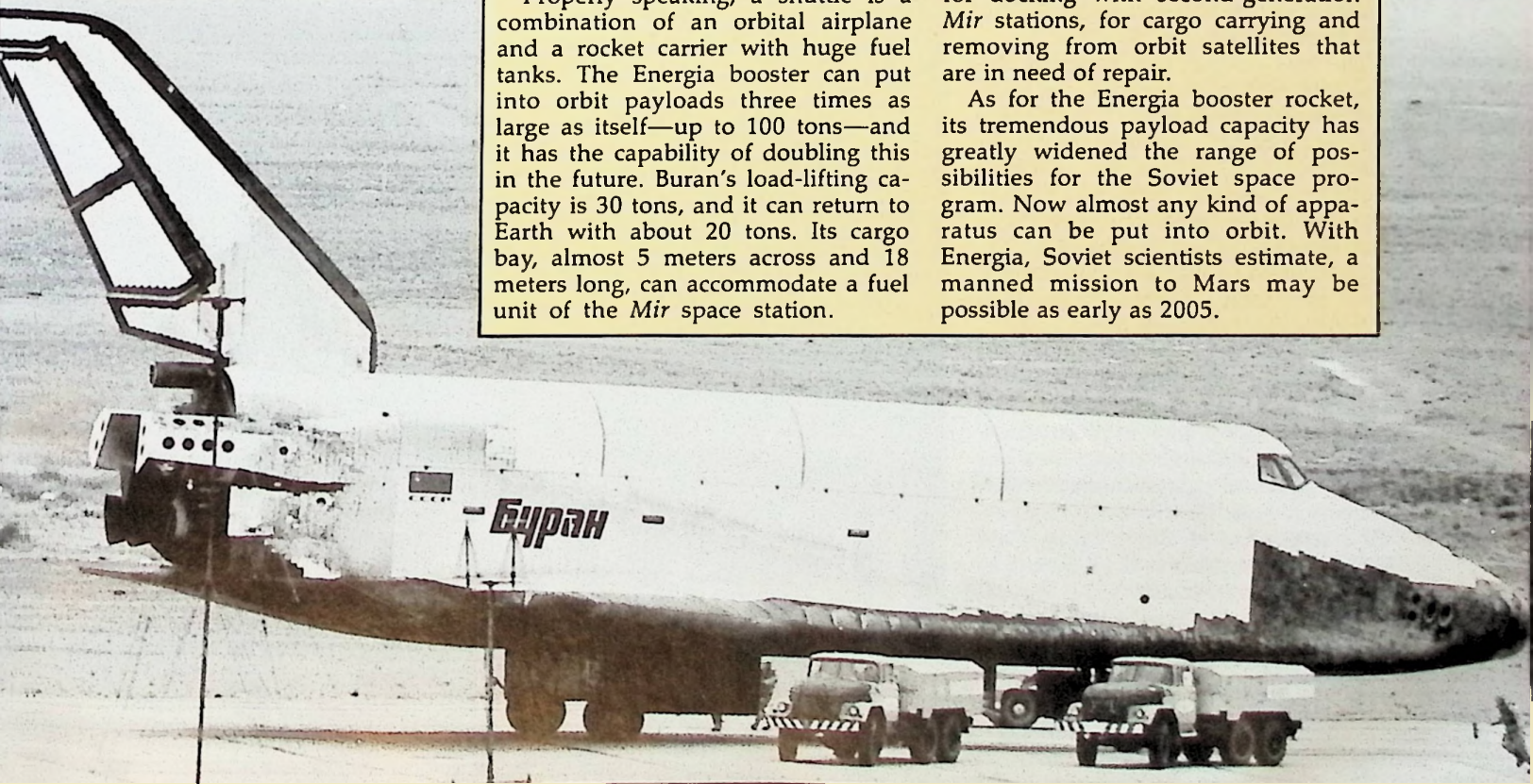




Soviet Space Shuttle

By Yuri Zaitsev
Space Research Institute,
USSR Academy of Sciences





Buran, a reusable orbiter, made its first successful test flight in November 1988. The maiden voyage was unmanned. After two full orbits around the Earth, Buran landed at the Baikonur Space Center. Although this flight lasted only 205 minutes, on future journeys it will be able to remain in orbit for many days.

In its 20,000-kilometer journey from liftoff to landing, Buran had withstood all speed and temperature overloads. It had to land with its engine dead, at a very steep, 17–19 degree trajectory. When Buran stopped on the runway, it deviated only one second from the programmed time, and its axis was out of alignment with the landing strip by just one meter and a half.

The idea of integrating an airplane and a rocket originated with the Soviet scientist Fridrikh Tsander. In his 1924 article "Description of an Interplanetary Spaceship of the Tsander System," he pioneered the use of winged vehicles for space flights, proving their advantage over parachute descent systems. A model of such a space vehicle was displayed at a Moscow international exhibition in 1927.

Properly speaking, a shuttle is a combination of an orbital airplane and a rocket carrier with huge fuel tanks. The Energia booster can put into orbit payloads three times as large as itself—up to 100 tons—and it has the capability of doubling this in the future. Buran's load-lifting capacity is 30 tons, and it can return to Earth with about 20 tons. Its cargo bay, almost 5 meters across and 18 meters long, can accommodate a fuel unit of the *Mir* space station.

The new transport system represents a major breakthrough in space technology not only because of its giant payload capacity. The test flight demonstrated in a spectacular way the spacecraft's ability to perform in automatic mode. The automated landing system was an especially important accomplishment.

The development of a protective coating for shuttles was a real stumbling block for both American and Soviet scientists. Upon reentry into the Earth's atmosphere, the surface of the orbiter experiences intense aerodynamic heating for a longer time than other space vehicles. As a result, the temperature at the spacecraft's surface may reach 1,000 degrees or more. Special armor is needed to protect the spaceship from overheating.

Buran's entire surface, except the leading edges and the nose, which are made of refractory graphite material, is coated with 38,000 plates manufactured of fine silicon fibers. The principal characteristic of the protective coating is its high plasticity, thanks to which the plates are not destroyed by the thermal shock caused by the superfast heating that occurs at the moment of reentry into the atmosphere.

Eventually Buran will be adapted for docking with second-generation *Mir* stations, for cargo carrying and removing from orbit satellites that are in need of repair.

As for the Energia booster rocket, its tremendous payload capacity has greatly widened the range of possibilities for the Soviet space program. Now almost any kind of apparatus can be put into orbit. With Energia, Soviet scientists estimate, a manned mission to Mars may be possible as early as 2005.

Washington Kishmishyan, from Elektrostal, Moscow Region, needs money—a lot of it. He will need at least 35,000 rubles to realize his dream of donating a building for a new art gallery to the city of Elektrostal. Kishmishyan intends to have the structure built of pink and black tufa, a mineral which is found only in his native Armenia. Before his dream took shape, Kishmishyan worked as an engineer. His wife, Olga, was a school doctor. Their combined yearly income was only one-tenth of the amount they needed to make their dream come true. After racking his brain over how to earn the money quickly, Kishmishyan decided to set up a cooperative café.

My first question to the owner of Café Shirak was: "Why were you given such an exotic name?"

He answered with a smile: "I expected you to ask that question. It was my father who decided to name me after George Washington. My father didn't know much about George Washington—only that he was the first President of the United States. My father didn't even know that 'Washington' was a last name, not a first name."

The local authorities assigned the Kishmishyans premises for the café, and a lease contract was signed. Under the contract, the owners of the café are fully responsible for the premises. They pay the rent, and they also pay for the telephone, gas, water and electricity. In the Soviet Union rents for co-op space are quite reasonable, and utility payments are very low indeed.

Like other Soviet citizens, the Kishmishyans are also expected to pay an income tax of 13 per cent, and as a cooperative they pay a profit tax—three per cent the first year, five per cent the second year and ten per cent thereafter. Besides, like every cooperative enterprise in this country, Café Shirak has regulations of its own formulating its legal status.

The Kishmishyans did not have to take out a loan from the bank when



By Ariadna Nikolenko
Photograph by Vladimir Perventsev

FAMILY CAFÉ: SMALL



Washington and Olga Kishmishyan, shown here with children Anush and Yeryom, own a cooperative café specializing in Armenian cuisine. In a short period the business has proved very lucrative.

BUSINESS, HIGH PROFIT

they started their business, thanks to some incredible luck. Kishmishyan once got back four lottery tickets at the local store instead of change. One of the tickets won him a brand-new Lada. The Kishmishyans immediately sold the car, which was worth 9,000 rubles, and with the money they bought the building materials that they used to turn the dilapidated basement into a cozy little café.

During the café's first year of operation, the Kishmishyans earned a total of 20,000 rubles. Half of that money was spent on everyday needs and the wages they had allotted themselves: The adult members of the family received 200 rubles a month each, and their children, who helped them during vacations, got 100 rubles each.

"Your profits are quite impressive. How did you manage to make all that money charging such low prices? Do you make any money on tips?" I asked Kishmishyan.

"No, we don't accept tips here. But as you see, we have a lot of customers," he told me. "And we do all the cooking and serving ourselves."

"Do you want to go down in the history of this city?" a neighbor asked Kishmishyan.

"Of course I do," Kishmishyan answered. "I just wonder why you don't."

This story was at the printer when I called to check up on the Kishmishyan family after Armenia's massive earthquake. Washington, Olga and Anush Kishmishyan had already been to the disaster area. Eighteen of their relatives were killed.

Washington Kishmishyan said that all through 1989 he would save money to build a monument to the earthquake victims. The construction of the gallery has been postponed. Kishmishyan added that, in recognition of the U.S. aid sent to the Armenians, he would send a gift to John and George Bush, son and grandson of the U.S. President. The gift is a portrait of Armenian national hero Vardan Mamikoyan that was carved years ago by Kishmishyan's father. ■

A COOPERATIVE UNION

Up to the present, the place that cooperatives have occupied in Soviet society has not been terribly significant. Although there are nearly 3,000 co-ops in Moscow, for instance, they supply only one per cent of the city's needs in goods and services.

But the potential influence of these private concerns is very substantial. Cooperative businesses are two to three times more efficient than state-run enterprises. Co-ops have very small staffs and provide better incentives for their workers, whose pay is directly linked to output.

All co-ops are required to pay a tax of three per cent of their profits for the first year of operation, five per cent for the second year and ten per cent thereafter. Local authorities cannot impose any additional tax on the cooperatives in their jurisdiction. All profits donated by co-ops to charitable organizations, such as the Children's Fund, are tax exempt.

Recently the Soviet Government has been taking steps to encourage the cooperative movement. The year-old rule requiring that every cooperative have a guarantor enterprise or organization has now been withdrawn. The earlier requirement that co-ops employ only pensioners, students, homemakers and state-employed workers in their free time has likewise been repealed.

Though the recent relaxation of rules has stimulated cooperative business, co-ops still face many problems. A shortage of available building space seems to be one of the worst of these. The authorities in Moscow have recently decided to allot plots of land to co-ops, on which the latter will build the structures they need at their own expense.

Another problem is that state-run enterprises sell co-ops materials and equipment at two to three times the state price, and sometimes even more. The cooperatives then have to sell their products at prohibitively high prices, with the result that many peo-

By Vera Kondratenko

ple still see cooperative owners as a grasping and dishonest breed.

Although co-ops now have the right to buy and sell products on foreign markets, the new Law on Cooperatives, which went into effect in June 1988, grants the final say on this matter to the authorities. In practice, this has meant that only one of the 2,548 cooperatives that were registered in Moscow by July of 1988 had received the right to conduct import and export operations.

Says Andrei Konovalov, manager of the Shtamp cooperative: "The Law on Cooperatives was discussed without cooperative representatives being present, and it does not meet all their interests. The law says only that any question related to import-export operations should be decided 'by established procedure.' And that procedure is extremely complicated."

Realizing that no cooperative could cope with these problems single-handedly, 80 Moscow co-ops first came together in an association called Vulkan (Volcano). Under Konovalov's leadership, they founded a cooperative union.

The formation of the two organizations was a good beginning, but neither of them was diversified enough to reflect the interests of Moscow's cooperative community accurately. A larger representative body was needed. So, after months of preparation, the Moscow cooperatives held their first congress. The 693 delegates participating in it represented all of the city's districts.

The congress lasted only one day and was not meant to solve all the problems facing Moscow's co-ops. But it did accomplish its main goal—an overwhelming majority of the delegates voted to create a Moscow Cooperative Workers Union.

When it came to the union's charter, however, a heated debate broke out and lasted for hours. Delegates strongly criticized many provisions of the draft charter, and many amendments were made to it. And though the final version did not satisfy everyone, it was endorsed. All the delegates agreed that they needed a union and a charter, even if provisional, and needed them now.

For lack of time, the organizers of the congress intended to limit the agenda to these two points, but passions ran so high that at times the discussion got out of control. Everyone wanted to talk about the problems that worried them and interfered with their work.

"We should be able at least to influence the appointment of executive secretaries of commissions on cooperative and individual businesses at the district government level," stated one delegate.

"State-run enterprises have the right to make deals with foreign companies, and we should have the same right," added another. Many delegates said that cooperatives should be given the same rights as the state-run enterprises in general.

Others said they wanted the union to serve a public relations function.

One delegate suggested building a club for members of cooperatives with cooperative money and publishing a cooperative newspaper.

The chairman of the Jurist cooperative raised the question of cooperatives nominating their own candidates for election to local and central government bodies. "That is really the only way we can protect our interests," he declared.

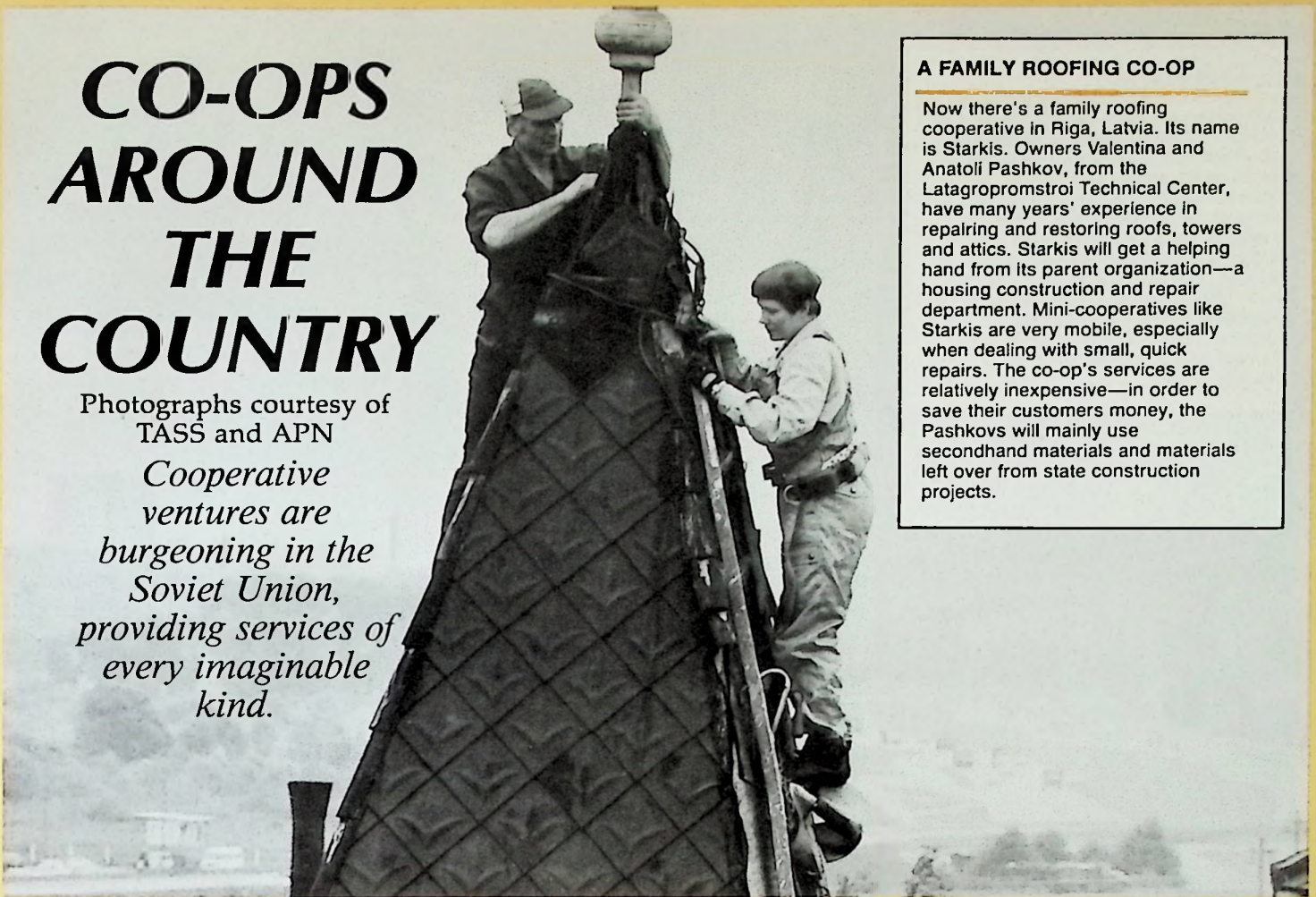
Sometimes the discussion took the form of angry altercation, but that was forgivable, considering that it was the first meeting of its kind ever held in the Soviet Union. Whatever else it was, the congress was not tedious. And it clearly showed that the cooperative movement is gaining strength. ■

CO-OPS AROUND THE COUNTRY

Photographs courtesy of
TASS and APN
*Cooperative
ventures are
burgeoning in the
Soviet Union,
providing services of
every imaginable
kind.*

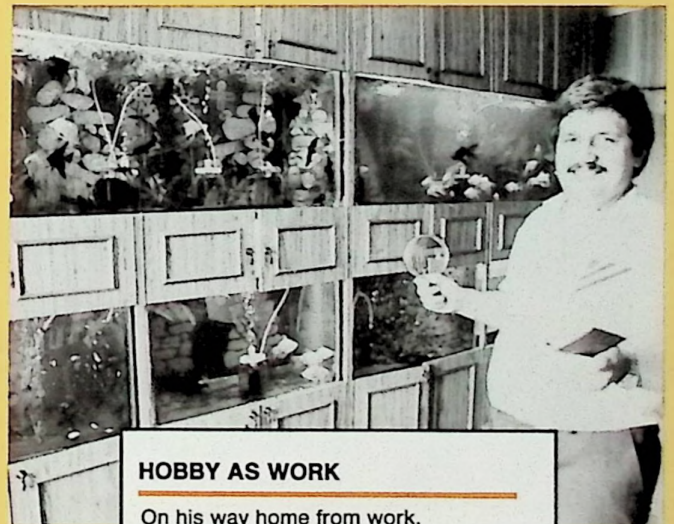
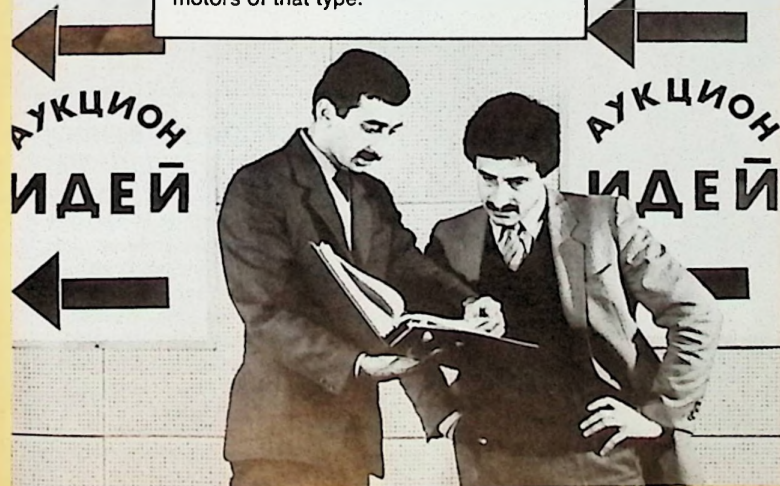
A FAMILY ROOFING CO-OP

Now there's a family roofing cooperative in Riga, Latvia. Its name is Starkis. Owners Valentina and Anatoli Pashkov, from the Latagropromstroj Technical Center, have many years' experience in repairing and restoring roofs, towers and attics. Starkis will get a helping hand from its parent organization—a housing construction and repair department. Mini-cooperatives like Starkis are very mobile, especially when dealing with small, quick repairs. The co-op's services are relatively inexpensive—in order to save their customers money, the Pashkovs will mainly use secondhand materials and materials left over from state construction projects.



A GREAT IDEA!

A cooperative in Soviet Georgia holds "auctions of ideas" on a regular basis. New developments are always taking place at research institutes, but plants are not equipped to keep abreast of them or of the needs of other enterprises. The Agregat Experimental Plant, for example, could not sell its electric motors. When the cooperative learned about this, it sold the information to a factory that needed motors of that type.



HOBBY AS WORK

On his way home from work, Alexander Piskunov, a dispatcher from Ufa, Bashkiria, often stops at a nearby lake for some food for his fish. He carries a net and a can in his car. Piskunov, who has bred fish since childhood, got a license to breed and sell exotic fish as soon as the Law on Individual Enterprise went into effect. He worked during his vacations and spent about 1,000 rubles to turn his hobby into a business, but he hopes his sales will compensate him.

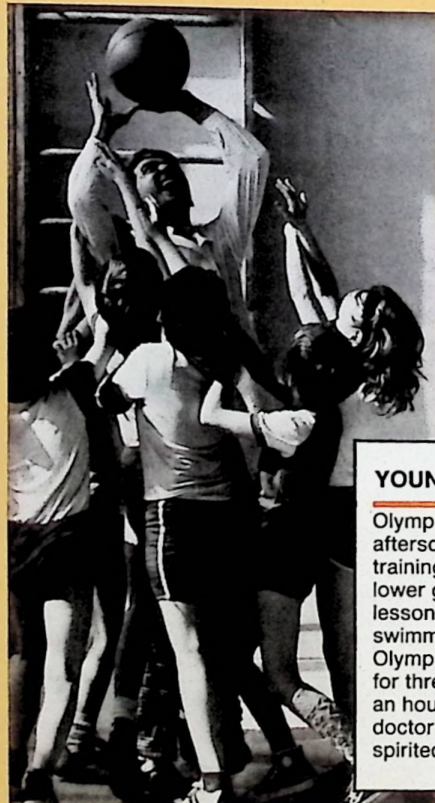
HORSES FOR HIRE

If a person wants to learn to ride a horse, rent a carriage, buy a beautiful Cossack saddle or just go for a ride, all he or she needs to do is call Yamskoi Dvor in Gorky Central Park, in Moscow. Yamskoi Dvor is the name for the old Russian way stations where travelers changed horses. The cooperative is a big one, with 12 horses, ponies and donkeys. Members of the co-op include grooms, riders, a blacksmith, a lawyer, an accountant, a vet and saddle makers.



AN INTEGRAL SERVICE

Moldavia's first school cooperative, called Integral, was established last year at School No. 3 in Yedintsy. It began when the senior girls, who had made national costumes for the school choir, started getting orders for more costumes. Today the co-op is branching out with inlaid woodwork and knitwear.



Amateurs young and old are going professional in startling numbers, realizing their hidden business talents.

YOUNG MOSCOW OLYMPIANS

Olympus provides additional afterschool physical and esthetic training for schoolchildren in the lower grades. The children have lessons in English, dancing, drawing, swimming and other activities. Olympus meets three times a week for three hours and costs 50 kopeks an hour. In the photograph Olympus doctor Mirza Samedov coaches a spirited game of basketball.

A TRUE FRIEND IN NEED

By Anna Lerina

On hearing about the devastating earthquake in Armenia, Jack Hall from Louisiana sent a letter to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., offering help. "I can work as a crane operator or I can drive a bulldozer or a truck. I am certified to give emergency aid and have experience in salvage and rescue work."

Mr. Hall is one of hundreds of American citizens who have sent letters to the Soviet Embassy in response to the disaster. All the quotations that are used in this article have been retranslated from the Soviet press. Please forgive us if the double translation has resulted in wording that differs from the original. But it is the essence, not the wording, that really matters. The Soviet people appreciate the sincere desire of Americans to share our deep grief. We appreciate the compassion that has broken through all political, ideological and geographical barriers.

Armenia is living through a tragedy whose scale is comparable to Biblical catastrophe. The calamity has made *glasnost* and the new political thinking all the more meaningful. In 1948 an earthquake in Ashkhabad, the capital of Turkmenia, took 110,000 lives. But there was no information disseminated about that quake. More recently, in 1986, the Chernobyl accident was not reported for at least a few days after it happened. This time our country did not conceal the tragedy it suffered. For the first time since the Second World War, the Soviet Union accepted humanitarian aid from the government of the United States.

The earthquake occurred on December 7, 1988, the day that Mikhail Gorbachev spoke before the United Nations. "The history of new relations, which is unfolding before our very eyes, has put the two events next to each other. At the United Nations, Gorbachev called upon the countries of the world to look jointly

for a way to ensure that humankind's most fundamental goal—survival—prevails over a countless number of divisive forces. The earthquake in Armenia served as a dramatic reminder of the need to pull together. Fortunately, humankind's reaction to the earthquake has not been tainted with distortions or stereotypes," the newspaper *Sovetskaya Kultura* wrote.

Bowing their heads before the tragedy that befell tens of thousands of Armenians, Americans and citizens of many other countries confirmed the Russian saying that there is no such thing as somebody else's grief.

It was more than compassion. Two days after the tragedy a special flight from New York City brought a group of American doctors and specialists to the site of the catastrophe. They brought the necessary equipment too.

The Pentagon also took part in the relief campaign. Two of the first four American planes to fly to Armenia belonged to the U.S. Air Force. For the first time ever, the Pentagon's planes flew over Soviet territory without a Soviet navigator.

Special flights were organized to deliver ultra-sound instruments for detecting life under the rubble. The instruments were provided by U.S. radio electronic companies. Trauma specialists from Denver, fire-fighters from the Washington metropolitan area—rescue workers from all over the United States hurried to help.

John and George Bush, President Bush's son and grandson, brought 100,000 pounds of cargo to Armenia, collected by the AmeriCares Foundation. Young George expressed the hope that the toys that the American children had sent to young Armenians would help them forget their grief during the New Year holiday.

Armand Hammer, an old friend of the USSR, personally donated a plane of medicines and a check for one million dollars. Robert Gale, the famous bone marrow surgeon who had helped the Chernobyl victims, also arrived in Armenia.

Philip Morris, Ford, Kodak and many other American trading partners of the Soviet Union expressed their readiness to help Armenia cope with the ravages of the earthquake.

Students of a school in California sent 800 dollars—the money for their school lunches.

Businessman Peter Marcy called Novosti's correspondent in New York City to tell another story of American solidarity with the Soviet victims. Marcy's firm bought food to send to Armenia. When the owners of the grocery chain learned what the food was for, they gave Marcy a 50 per cent discount. The air line that delivered the food also gave him a 50 per cent discount.

Relief aid is also coming from Armenians living in the United States and from churches, colleges, private organizations and private citizens.

The press continues to publish reports on new foreign contributions to the special relief fund, Account No. 700412, and on the work of American engineers, architects and geologists who, together with their Soviet colleagues, are studying ways to reduce the risk of massive destruction in any future earthquakes.

The unprecedented bridge of relief aid to Armenia that has spanned thousands of miles and many years of mistrust serves as another confirmation that the United States and the Soviet Union can live in peace and friendship.

"The tragedy has not only thrown a revealing light on our lives; it has silently but undeniably pushed us toward the simplest and most life-affirming truth—the unity of our blood and spirit.

"We shake each hand stretched out to us. In the face of tragedy, let us get rid of our false pride—or rather, of our arrogance—by rejecting the longstanding illusion that pity is humiliating. We do this both for the suffering land of Armenia and in the name of strengthening world unity," wrote the weekly newspaper *Moscow News*.

THE LESSONS OF BAIKAL

By Alexander Yegorov
Doctor of Science (Biology)
Photograph by Boris Babanov

Lake Baikal is the world's deepest lake. It has always also been the clearest. But now this natural wonder is in serious trouble.



The adjectives "unique," "special," "exceptional," and so forth are often used to describe Lake Baikal. It is the deepest inland reservoir on our planet and accounts for one-fifth of the world's freshwater reserves. Scientists regard it as the oldest lake on earth.

Baikal is extremely picturesque. In fair weather the mighty sea-lake sparkles with a rainbow of colors. It can be placid, majestic and bewitching—but it is also sometimes gloomy, violent and terrifying when it hurls heavy, five-meter-high waves against its rocky or sandy shores.

Baikal is a unique ecosystem. Some 1,300 species of plant and animal life inhabit its waters, more than half of which are endemic, that is, they cannot be found anywhere else on the planet. The lake is a natural collection of extremely rare forms of plant and animal life, holdovers from prehistoric times.

The Baikal ecosystem is delicately balanced and extremely vulnerable. A slight change in the saline composition of the water or in the acid-alkali balance, or the leakage of even very small amounts of domestic or industrial waste into the lake could destroy the whole mass of plankton in that area.

Soviet society has learned many hard lessons from experience. We see



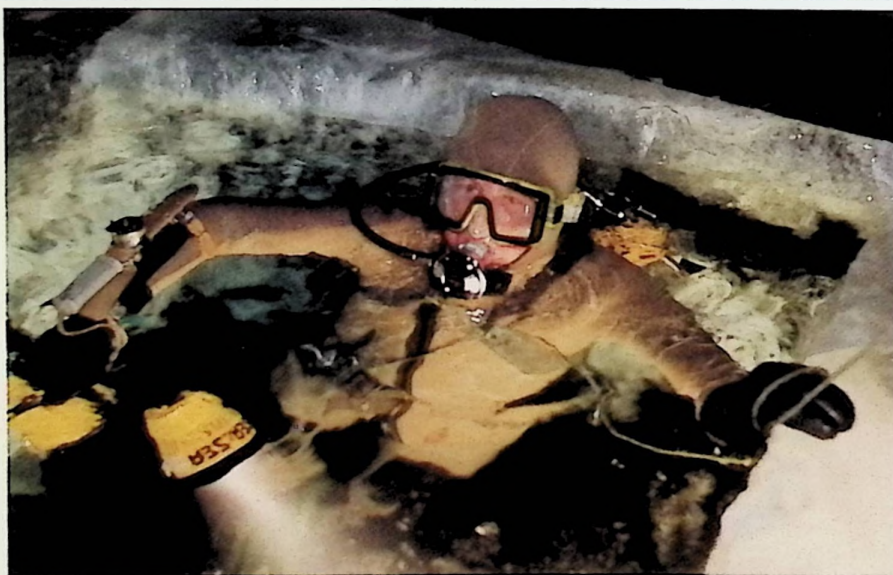
Top: Baikal's rocky shores are a study in geology. Geologists, limnologists and biologists come from all over the world to study this unique ecosystem. Above: The Baikal seal, the lake's endemic mammal.

now that the construction of the industrial works that went up around Lake Baikal was a gross mistake, one that has resulted in disaster.

There are many fewer fish in Baikal today. The endemic Baikal alga

melosira, which is a main food resource for the fish, has dropped by almost half, to be replaced since the late 1960s by the so-called green alga, which clogs rivers and lakes.

The main damage comes from the Baikal and Selenga paper-and-pulp mills. According to experts, at the current rate of pollution, water mineralization will increase by one and a half to two milligrams per liter by the ►



year 2000, with disastrous effects on the lake's flora and fauna.

The questions of the protection and rational use of the Baikal resources are once again in the focus of

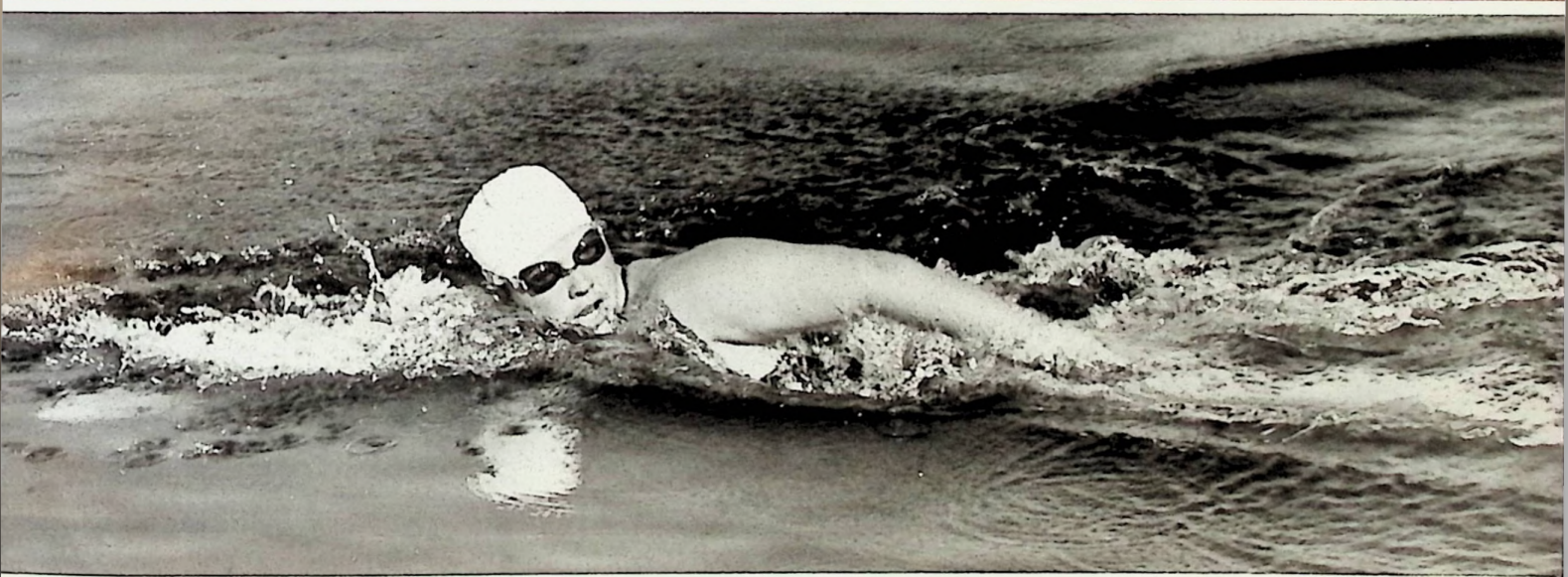
public attention. Recently, the press and television, with the participation of scientists and economists, have been discussing the so-called tube, a project that was supposed to reduce

The Limnological Institute of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences at Baikal in winter. Left: Researchers brave icy waters to study an endemic alga.

the detrimental effects of industrial sewage on the lake's ecological system. The construction of that pipeline has already begun. It will go from the Baikal Paper-and-Pulp Mill to the Irkut River, a tributary of the Angara that flows out of Lake Baikal.

Many scientists and private citizens insist that the project is a waste of tens of millions of rubles. Does it really make sense to build this pipeline in slide-prone areas, only to continue to poison nature in another place? Part of the mill's waste will get into Lake Baikal anyway. And the part that is successfully diverted will contaminate the Irkut and thereby, the Angara and Yenisei too.

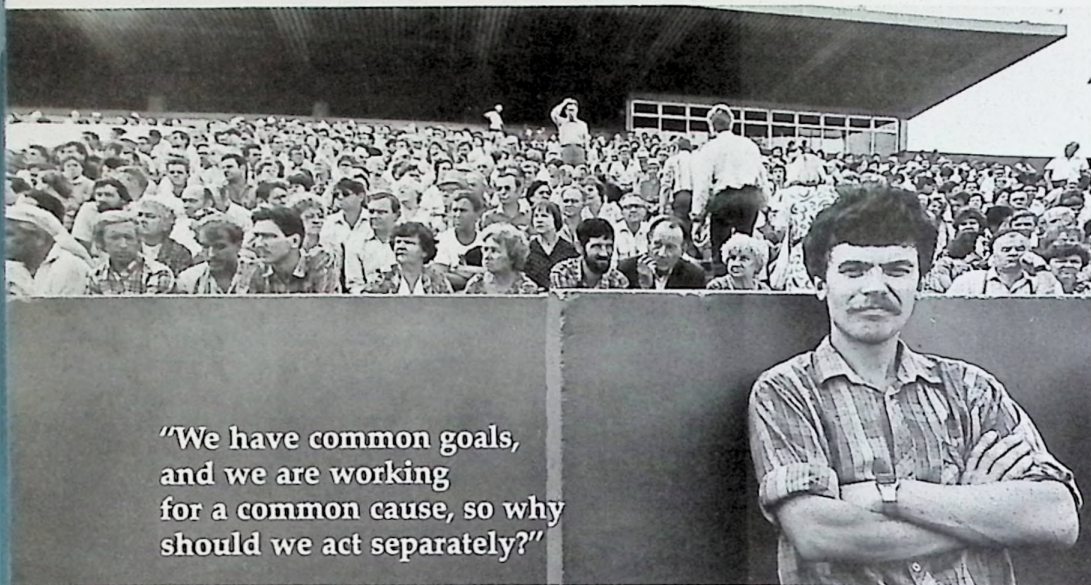
We need resolute measures today to save our unique natural treasury. It is an asset of all humankind. ■



Swimmer Lynne Cox of the United States set a record for cold-water endurance when she swam 17.8 kilometers in 4 hours, 20 minutes in 11-degree (Celsius) water. Back on shore, she could only say, "I'm so happy. I'm so happy."

POPULAR FRONT

By Mikhail Ovcharov
Photographs by Pavel Krivtsov



"We have common goals, and we are working for a common cause, so why should we act separately?"

An ancient city *can* keep up with the times. Yaroslavl, a city whose history of many centuries has been closely intertwined with the history of Russia as a whole, is one city that is determined to keep pace with current events.

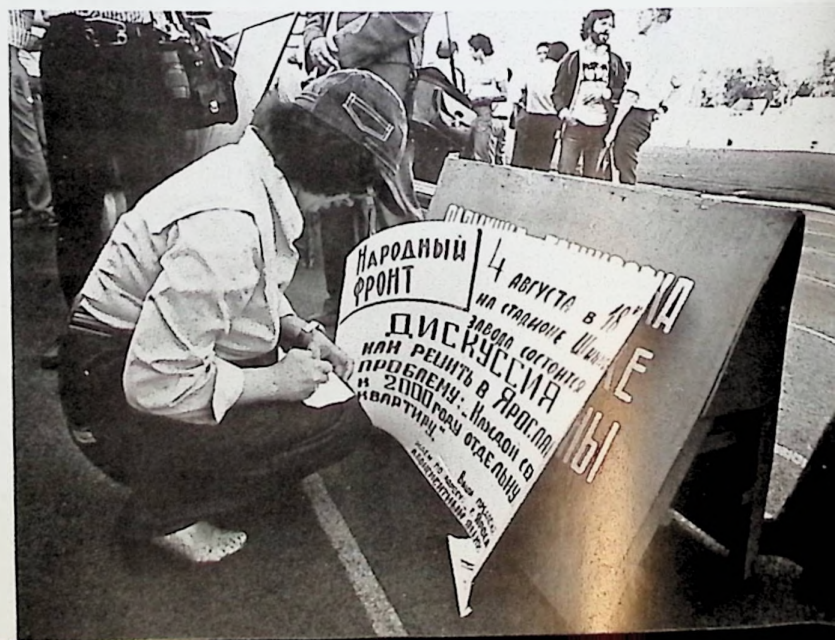
One rainy evening last summer, Yaroslavl's stadium was filled to capacity with people trying to stay dry under varicolored umbrellas. The crowd had assembled, despite the downpour, for a discussion of municipal problems.

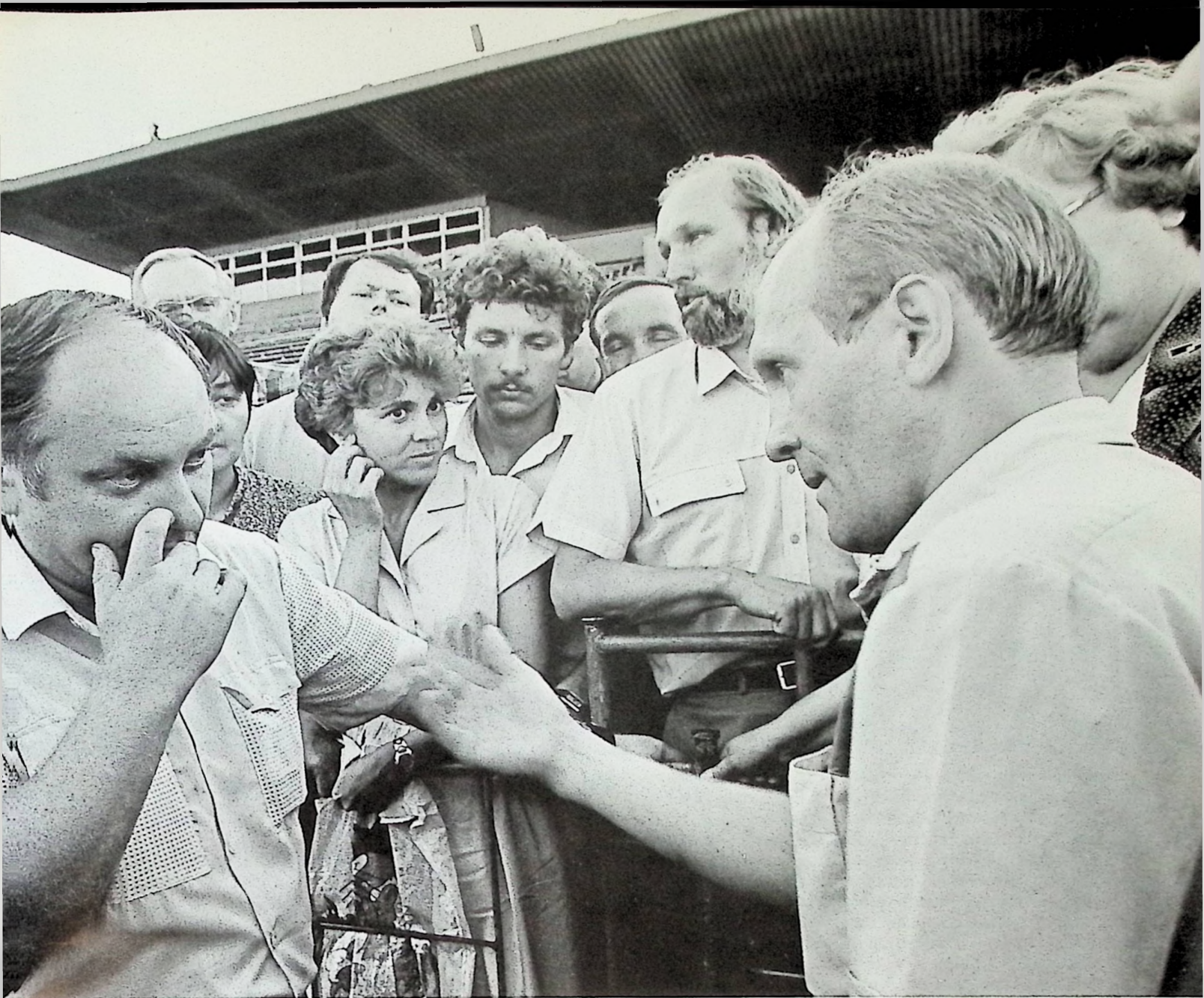
To understand what brought the people to the stadium, you have to remember the rally that was held in June 1988, when some 5,000 Yaroslavl residents gathered on the embankment of the Volga River. Their purpose was to demand that Fyodor Loshchenkov be stripped of his mandate as a delegate to the Nineteenth Party Conference. Soon after the rally, the regional party committee acquiesced to popular demand.

Under the leadership of Loshchenkov, the old city on the Volga banks had become a major center of the chemical industry, and its residents, hostages of pollution. Agricultural output in the region had dropped to its 1913 level. The number of problems that developed then was just enormous.

The rally, which came together so unexpectedly and which demonstrated the surprising unanimity of opinion of Yaroslavl residents, was

About 5,000 people came out for a rally held by the Popular Front in Yaroslavl. Below: A sign advertises a meeting to be held on August 4 to discuss the city's housing problem. Facing page: Discussions among participants in the stands.





the first step toward the creation in the city of a mass public organization, the Popular Front.

The Popular Front is not a phenomenon unique to Yaroslavl. Similar organizations, perhaps with different names, exist in other parts of the country as well. In Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania they were created on a republicwide scale. The platform of the Yaroslavl organization reads as follows:

"The Popular Front is a voluntary, self-sufficient public movement existing within the framework of the USSR Constitution. It promotes the party's course toward *perestroika*. Because the Popular Front is concerned about the future of *perestroika*, it commits itself to fighting any sign of a recurrence of stagnation in economic, social, political and cultural life; it is vigilant against an ►



increase of management's role and the usurpation of power by bureaucrats. All these ugly phenomena cause an abasement of human dignity and a decrease in civic activity. The movement resolutely opposes any attempt by anti-*perestroika* forces to lead the party and the state away from democratization and *glasnost* and to bring the country back to a political condition in which the personality cult and stagnation were possible."

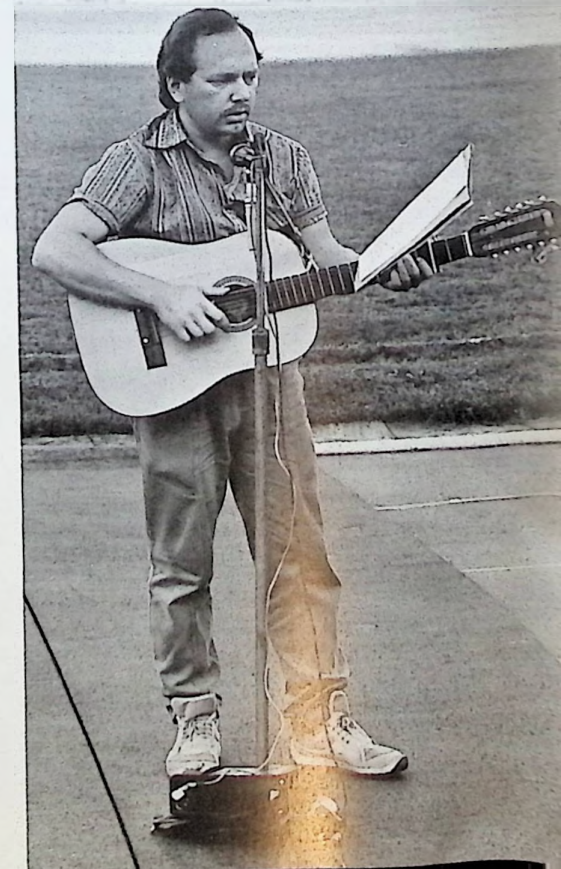
The discussion in the rain that I attended centered on the housing problem, which is extremely acute in Yaroslavl. Discussions on the food problem and on the city's ecological situation will be held soon.

People from all walks of life come to the discussions at the stadium—blue-collar workers, actors, writers, engineers, cooperative workers, scientists, students, pensioners, homemakers and party and local government leaders.

"We have common goals, and we are working for a common cause, so why should we act separately?" asked Leonid Karnakov, First Secretary of the city party committee, addressing the rally. "I believe that the people in the stands are the most active part of the city's population. Perhaps that's the spirit of the age, because my impression is that the speeches here are aimed at resolving our problems promptly and reliably." ■

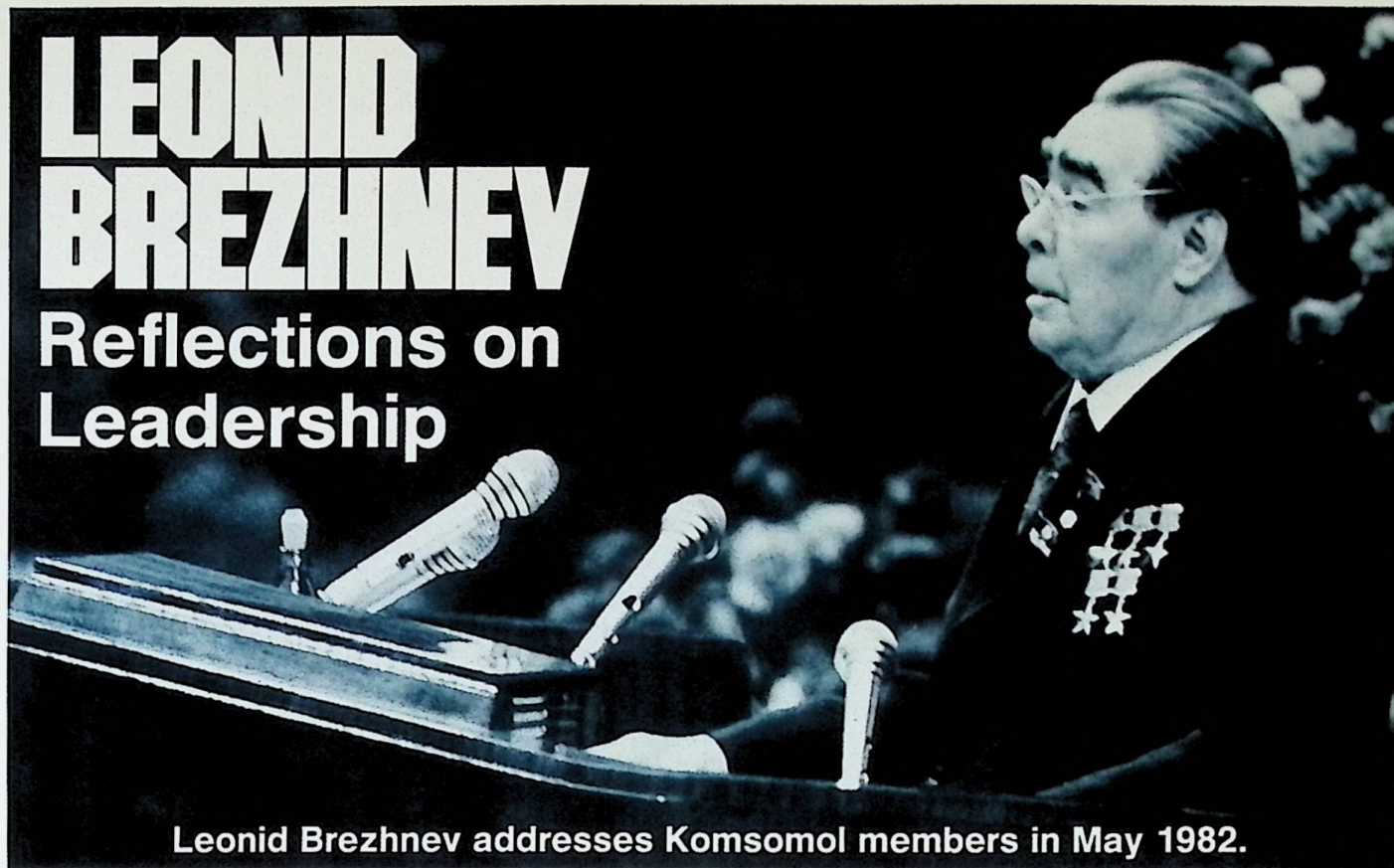
CIVIC PARTICIPATION

The discussion had its lighter moments. Right: Statements were made through music as well as debate.



LEONID BREZHNEV

Reflections on Leadership



Leonid Brezhnev addresses Komsomol members in May 1982.

The following is an abridged version of a feature article on Leonid Brezhnev written by Fyodor Burlatsky and printed in the newspaper Literaturnaya gazeta last fall. Burlatsky is a political observer for the weekly, which is the voice of the USSR Writers Union.

At this point we desperately need an accurate evaluation of the Brezhnev era, now increasingly referred to as the "period of stagnation." We need to understand what happened over the nearly two decades when Brezhnev and his administration were running this country.

It is our duty to try to understand that era, not in order to forgive or to pass judgment, but to come to terms with our past for the sake of a better future. For, as has been said many a time before, the lessons that come from the most grueling trials can serve as recompense, if only partial,

to the people who had the misfortune to experience them.

Stagnation or Crisis?

The very term "stagnation" needs to be clarified. Under Brezhnev the nation saw not only an increasing trend toward stagnation in the economy and other areas, but also a political and moral retreat from Khrushchev's 10-year thaw.

The hallmarks of the Brezhnev era were a denunciation of reform, an attempt to return to the command-administration system of the Stalin epoch, a frozen standard of living, procrastination in decision making, unrestrained political demagoguery, corruption and degradation of authority throughout whole sections of society and nationwide moral decline. If we call this state of affairs "stagnation," then what is a crisis?

There are many questions that we could ask about the period of stagnation. But what I would like to explore here are the circumstances that made possible, at such a crucial point in our

history, the consolidation of power in the hands of a man who probably was less suited to rule the country than anybody before him, either before or after the Revolution.

I will try not to yield to the temptation to ridicule this man, who pushed his own personality cult with almost childish naiveté; a man who four times decorated himself Hero of the Soviet Union and once Hero of Socialist Labor, and gave himself the rank of Marshal of the Soviet Union.

It would be too easy to jeer. It would also, alas, be perfectly in keeping with one of our longest-standing Russian traditions.

Promoted to General Secretary

To transform the then-moderate post of General Secretary into the position of "the master of the country," Stalin had had to shoot almost all of the Politburo members appointed under Lenin and also an immense number of people who made up the party's nucleus.

It was completely different for ▶

Brezhnev. Power just came his way and stayed with him for 18 long years, years for Brezhnev free from fear and undisturbed by cataclysm or conflict. The people around the General Secretary wished that he could live forever, because they were so comfortable under his administration.

Once, at a reunion with his World War II comrades in arms, Brezhnev, proud of his brand new marshal's uniform, announced, "Well . . . I got a promotion."

And that describes exactly how Brezhnev came to run this country: He was promoted.

Brezhnev was by no means the architect of the conspiracy that toppled Khrushchev [see the article on Khrushchev by Fyodor Burlatsky in the August 1988 issue of SOVIET LIFE]. Many believe Mikhail Suslov was the man behind this conspiracy. In fact, however, the overthrow was the work of Alexander Shelepin, a man whom Khrushchev had trusted implicitly and had promoted regularly through the party and governmental ranks.

Brezhnev was supposed to be a temporary figurehead. Shelepin reasoned that, after he had destroyed such a formidable figure as Khrushchev, he would be able to get rid of Brezhnev with a snap of his fingers. Shelepin was right in that Brezhnev was no match for Khrushchev as a leader, but Shelepin relied too heavily on this fact, and his scheme failed.

Climbing the Ladder

Brezhnev owed his entire career to Khrushchev. The younger man had graduated from a land-management technical school in Kursk, the Russian Federation, and did not join the Communist Party until he was 25. In May 1937 he was appointed deputy mayor of Dneprodzerzhinsk, the Ukraine, and a year later he was transferred to the regional party committee in Dnepropetrovsk, also in the Ukraine.

It is hard to tell whether it was Khrushchev who actually launched Brezhnev's career. In any case, Khrushchev, then First Secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee of the Ukraine and shortly thereafter a Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee of the So-

viet Union, extended a helping hand to his future successor, starting with Brezhnev's Dnepropetrovsk appointment. And the stronger Khrushchev's position grew, the higher climbed Brezhnev's star.

Brezhnev, meanwhile, was cultivating his own protégés. When he was appointed First Secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee of Moldavia, he took with him many of his friends from Dnepropetrovsk, including Konstantin Chernenko, who became his closest associate.

After the Nineteenth Party Congress in 1952, Brezhnev was elected a candidate member of the Central Committee Presidium. By the October 1964 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee Presidium, Khrushchev had secured him the post of the Central Committee's Second Secretary.

Brezhnev was elevated to the post of First Secretary by a strange and convoluted process. This had evolved from a combination of factors: Khrushchev's disrespect for his colleagues; their apprehensions about his political excesses and adventurous spirit, which had contributed to the Caribbean crisis; illusions about the "personal character" of the conflict with China; and the irritation among the more conservative apparatchiks that Khrushchev's lack of stability and unpredictable changes in policy provoked. The strife between leaders of different generations had a role to play too.

Brezhnev just happened to be at the crossroads. He was the man to satisfy everyone at that stage. His incompetence was a blessing, for it opened up broad vistas for the party apparatchiks. If anybody at that time had dared to suggest that Brezhnev would hold power for 18 years, he would have been roundly derided.

A Changing of the Guard

I had my first—and only—meaningful encounter with Brezhnev shortly after his predecessor's resignation.

In the spring of 1965 a large group of experts from several Central Committee departments was writing an anniversary report for the First Secretary to deliver on Victory Day, to cel-

brate the twentieth anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War. As head of the group, I was asked to evaluate an alternative speech sent in by Shelepin.

Some time later Brezhnev received us, shook hands with everybody and asked me jokingly, "Well, what do you think of that dissertation?"

Shelepin's "dissertation" was, in fact, very serious business—it represented a total revision of party policy as defined by Khrushchev, and in a spirit of unrestrained neo-Stalinism. We found 17 points by means of which Shelepin's speech steered the political helm backward. Among these were the rehabilitation of Stalin's "good name"; a renunciation of the Party Program and the guarantees it contained to guard against any relapse toward the personality cult; a return to the policy of worldwide revolution; and a rejection of the principle of peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries.

I began to present our ideas on the report to Brezhnev. The longer I spoke, the more visibly his face changed. It grew hard and stretched, and we were suddenly aware that Brezhnev could not follow what I was saying. I stopped short, and he said, with appealing sincerity, "I have trouble understanding all that. This is not one of my fortes, you know. My specialties are organizational work and psychology." His outspread hand made a vague gesture.

It was soon to become clear that Brezhnev was completely unprepared for the new job that had come his way.

In the meantime, a fierce battle had been brewing around the course the country should take. Shelepin's was a pro-Stalin plan. Yuri Andropov put forth a different proposal. His policies, more consistently than Khrushchev's, followed the decisions of the anti-Stalinist Twentieth Party Congress. The plan comprised the following elements: economic reform; a shift toward modern, scientifically based management patterns; the promotion of democracy and self-government; a focus on political guidance by the party; a cessation of the already senseless race in nuclear arms; and an attempt to emerge onto the world



Nikita Khrushchev welcomes home Gherman Titov, the second Soviet cosmonaut, after his space flight. Third from the left is Brezhnev.

market, in order to gain access to new technology.

Andropov expounded the program to Brezhnev and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Alexei Kosygin during a visit to Poland in 1965. The two supported certain parts of it, but neither agreed to it as a package.

Their motivations differed.

Kosygin favored economic reform but insisted on concessions to China and a denunciation of the "extremes" of the Twentieth Party Congress, with a view to a restored Soviet-Chinese relationship.

Brezhnev was simply biding his time to see what the final balance of power in the Central Committee and its Presidium would be. It was at this

time that Brezhnev's chief feature as a political leader came into play.

The "Weather-Vane Leader"

An extremely cautious person by nature, Brezhnev had made not a single step out of line on his way to the top. He was the typical "weather-vane" leader. From the very outset Brezhnev acted as a consistent centrist. He neither subscribed to the Twentieth Congress-type reform nor supported the neo-Stalinists.

In terms of education, career and personal character, Brezhnev had the markings of a regional apparatchik. He was a good executive. But not a man to follow. Absolutely not.

But let's return to the 1965 Victory Day anniversary report. It was this report that set the tone for what was to become known as the Brezhnev era.

Shelepin's "dissertation" was rejected, and a joint draft report was drawn up. The draft upheld, if not in a quite consistent manner, the general ideas of the Khrushchev epoch.

Brezhnev invited us to his office and asked us to read the report aloud. We later found out that he got most of his information in this way and had all his speeches and reports read aloud to him. He resented reading and absolutely hated writing.

By standard procedure, the draft was submitted to the other Presidium members and secretaries of the Central Committee. I was asked to analyze their proposals and make a summary. Most of the leaders advocated a more positive evaluation of Stalin than the one contained in the document. But others suggested that the report incorporate quotations from the June 30, 1956, Resolution "On Overcoming the Personality Cult and Its Consequences."

Andropov offered a way out: He suggested omitting any mention of Stalin completely, given the difference of opinion and the alignment of power in the leadership.

In the long run Brezhnev came close to following Andropov's advice. The anniversary speech made only one reference to Stalin.

Little Brezhnevs

Early in his career as General Secretary, Brezhnev would start every working day with at least two hours on the telephone. He would call the other top leaders and those regional and republican party executives who enjoyed prestige in the party ranks. The standard beginning was: "Comrade So-and-so, we are working on such-and-such an issue at the moment. I'd like to hear your opinion on the matter."

Understandably, the heart of the person he was talking to filled with pride, and his respect for the General Secretary grew. This is how Brezhnev cultivated the impression that here was a calm, reserved and considerate leader, one who never took a step ▶

without consulting his comrades and being sure of their approval.

Slowly but surely, the First Secretary replaced over 50 per cent of the regional party executives, a great number of ministers and heads of many national research agencies. He had the final say in conferring Lenin and State prizes.

Brezhnev preferred not to act, but to delegate and reward. That was what the Brezhnev style was all about. Those who subscribed to it did not have the competence to handle important economic, cultural or political issues. But they knew how to place the man they needed, and how to hand out awards. Brezhnev did an amazing job of putting "little Brezhnevs" in positions of authority in the party apparatus, in the economy, and at scientific and cultural agencies.

Original thinkers and people driven by the ideas of the Twentieth Party Congress were not executed, as they would have been in the 1930s. They were moved to other jobs, constrained and rendered inactive.

A Leader Without a Program

Brezhnev had no program for national development when he ascended to power. This was one of the very rare occasions in modern political history when a man came to power for its own sake, not to pursue a project.

This is not to say, using Mao Zedong's metaphor, that Brezhnev was a blank sheet of paper waiting to be written on.

A convinced conservative and traditionalist, he feared U-turns and sudden change. Brezhnev's first move was to nullify Khrushchev's radical programs and to restore systems that had proved workable under Stalin. He brought back to Moscow many top executives whom Khrushchev had transferred to out-of-the-way places.

The idea of rotation of personnel was gradually discarded. Stability was the order of the day—the fondest dream of many an apparatchik.

The last gasp of any attempt at change was an economic reform introduced by Kosygin at the Central Committee Plenary Meeting in September 1965.

Brezhnev was skeptical. Without making an effort to understand the reform in depth, he instinctively relied on the methods that had yielded what he considered to be brilliant results of the Stalin-managed industrialization program.

The apparat repeated Brezhnev's words about Kosygin's report: "Why is he so anxious about this reform thing? Who on earth needs it, and who could understand it? People should work better; it's as simple as that."

There are those who subscribe to the view that there were "two Brezhnevs," that Brezhnev was a reformer until the mid-1970s. This is a hypothesis that I cannot accept.

The fact is that by 1965 it was crystal clear that Brezhnev opposed Kosy-

gin's reform proposal and should be held responsible for its failure.

Brezhnev launched a tradition of mind-boggling verbosity. Many of his numerous public speeches were good, but none was ever acted upon.

Under Brezhnev, leadership was losing its meaning, for leadership involves businesslike decisions, not lengthy speeches about the necessity of making such decisions. Leadership should result in an abundance of food in the stores, not in the declaration of food programs; in individual well-being, not in promises of communism.

It is true that Brezhnev had his good points. Alexander Bovin, who knew him, said that although Brezhnev could hardly be called a big-time politician, "in general, Brezhnev was a nice and easy-going person, steady in his affections and a hospitable host." He would take the trouble to cushion the fall of a man that he'd stripped of his post. When Khrushchev fell, Brezhnev did not treat him without mercy: Khrushchev was ostracized rather than shot.

Brezhnev loved sharing a meal with friends and enjoyed hunting. Incidentally, he was responsible for the fashion of rocketing through the "communist city" at 90 miles per hour.

The faster the government limousines drove, the more slowly the nation crawled.

And there were words, words, words.

How many billions of rubles were thrown out the window over the ill-planned Baikal-Amur Mainline railroad project? Or how much was spent on the elaboration of "majestic" schemes for reversing Siberian rivers, not to mention the runaway military budget?

Meanwhile, the country's standard of living plummeted in relation to the other industrialized nations.

Once a Brezhnev protégé told the story of how his boss had answered somebody's complaint that families in the low income brackets were living from hand to mouth.

Said the General Secretary: "You don't know what life is about. Nobody lives on his salary alone. When I was a student at the technical school, my friends and I used to make a few rubles unloading railroad cars.

Brezhnev's bronze bust at Dneprodzerzhinsk, the Ukrainian city where the leader lived and worked for many years.



What do you think we did? We'd put aside one out of every four packs of whatever we happened to be unloading for ourselves. That's how everybody lives in this country."

Brezhnev believed that the shadow economy, daylight robbery in the service sector and bribery were perfectly all right. These phenomena more or less became the universal standard of life.

Am I trying to say that the country's progress ceased altogether? By no means. The nation continued to function. Industrial output increased, although slowly. True, two dangerous phenomena moved to the foreground: The extraction of fuels was soaring, and the share of consumer goods was falling steadily.

Brezhnev's rule represented two decades of lost opportunity. The technological revolution that was sweeping the world went unnoticed in this country, hidden behind the smoke screen of lengthy speeches about the

advances in science and technology that were alleged to be marching all over the land.

Oh yes, we reached military parity with the world's largest industrialized nation. But at what price? At the price of greater technological backwardness in every area but the military, further devastation of farming, failure to establish a modern service sector and the freezing of living standards at a low level.

Lessons to Learn

Lesson No. 1 of the Brezhnev era is that Stalin's command-administration system proved totally ineffective. Not only did the state fail to ensure progress, but it also increasingly hindered society's economic, cultural and moral development.

Lesson No. 2 is that it is time we put an end to the order of things where people can ascend to power through backstage conspiracy and

bloody purges, instead of democratic procedure and public activity in the party and government.

Lesson No. 3 is that we need a reform of the very traditions of political leadership. The Nineteenth Party Conference set about overhauling the Soviet political system, a truly historic effort.

This is only the first step, however. It will take a good deal of thinking and acting before we can be sure that any more Brezhnevs or, even worse, Chernenkos are barred from the top rungs of the party hierarchy, let alone the post of General Secretary.

One solution is the rotation of personnel. But we need safeguards to ensure that incompetent or corrupt leaders do not hold positions of authority for the standard term of party tenure, be it 5 or 10 years. Contenders for the top positions should be encouraged to keep a high public profile. One other thing we need is that they should be elected, not appointed.

TWO OTHER POINTS OF VIEW

This issue's feature story "Brezhnev" is only one of many articles and letters about the former leader that have appeared recently in the Soviet press. Most of these pieces are very negative—but not all of them are. Here are two other perspectives on Brezhnev.

The first is from a letter printed in the newspaper *Izvestia's* "Letters to the Editor" section. It is written by reader S. Kondratyev, of Arkhangelsk (a major port city on the White Sea coast). The author writes, in part:

"Do we learn from the lessons of history? Alas, not always. We praise our leaders to the skies. As soon as they resign, we make a show of our devotion to the new leader and smear the former ones.

"Leonid Brezhnev is to blame for the stagnation in our society today. We shouldn't forget, though, that many of today's advocates of *perestroika* were at one time Brezhnev's willing helpers. Let's face the facts: All of us, the party, trade

unions and the Komsomol, are the makers of the period of stagnation.

"Let us ask ourselves—what did each of us do to change the situation? We kept quiet, approved of whatever was said from on high and clapped our hands. And now all of us are posing as zealots of *perestroika*. Will we become silent and timid again if *perestroika* is denounced tomorrow? That is what I call a slavish nature. Let's have some respect for ourselves. Self-respect and a sober view of what happened or is happening are what we need."

The author of our second perspective is Andrei Brezhnev, the former leader's grandson. His story was run by the newspaper *Moscow News*.

"I was 21 when my grandfather, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, died. I loved my grandfather. During my childhood and teenage years I used to spend a lot of time with him.

"When he died, the last thing on my mind was that his death would bring with it a different time in my life, a less comfortable one. No, I was overwhelmed by sorrow. To judge by the newspapers, the whole nation felt the same way.

"It soon came out that my grandfather's name was associated with a period of stagnation in the economic and public life of our country, that it was under him that corruption flourished, democracy was curtailed, and farming and many industries fell into decay.

"I am no expert to say whether or not my grandfather possessed the qualities that make a statesman. But I do not think it is fair to put all the blame on one person, blame that lies with people who worked with him.

"Those who made my grandfather into a demigod for their own profit were not interested in letting the people know the truth.

"It was Brezhnev, above all, who fell victim to *glasnost*."

Late last summer an archeological dig in the center of Moscow, at the walls of the Kremlin, culminated in a brilliant find—the first birch-bark scroll ever to be unearthed in the capital. Altogether, more than 250 birch-bark letters have been discovered in various parts of the Soviet Union. Although archeologists had known that residents of the Moscow Principality were already writing on birch bark by the thirteenth century, no such documents had been found. So this summer's discovery represented a major triumph for the Soviet archeological community. SOVIET LIFE talked with two prominent Moscow archeologists about the implications of this event.

Sergei Chernov, Candidate of Science (History), who headed the Moscow excavation:

For many long years Moscow archeologists had been hoping to find a birch-bark scroll. But when it really happened, we were stunned; we didn't dare believe our luck.

It all started with the resurfacing of the pavement on Istorichesky Proyezd (Historic Passage), which merges into Red Square. The excavation site is in the very center of Moscow, the place from which the city began to extend. When a bulldozer took off the first few layers of the pavement, everyone saw that it would be necessary to stop the construction work immediately and to begin archeological excavations.

Soon after the archeologists started to work, Istorichesky Proyezd began to look like an open-air museum 103 meters long and some 30 meters wide. Archeologists and volunteer assistants carefully removed layer after layer of earth. When we removed a sixteenth century wooden roadway, we saw the remains of a wooden house. Then we saw another one, still another, and more and more. There gradually appeared, before our eyes, the Moscow of the sixteenth, fifteenth and fourteenth centuries, and even the thirteenth century. In those ruins of houses we found many things that had belonged to their former inhabitants: combs made of bone, ceramics, fragments of glass vessels, rings, keys and crosses.

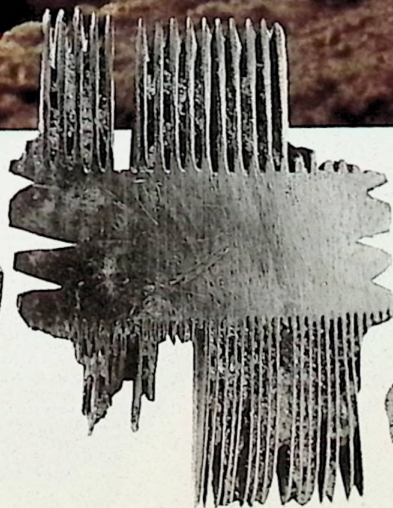
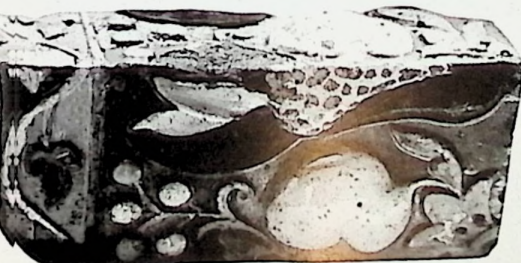


Left to right: A fragment of a wooden bowl (eighteenth century). The famous birch-bark letter. A colored tile from the late seventeenth century. A two-sided bone comb (fourteenth century). A seventeenth century tile.

An intensive six-week dig at the Kremlin walls unearthed many artifacts from the thirteenth-eighteenth centuries. But archeologists say their most valuable find was the first birch-bark scroll ever to be discovered in Moscow.

EXCAVATING ANCIENT MOSCOW

Photographs by Yuri Prostyakov



On August 27, 1988, while sorting out the things we had found in the ruins of a fifteenth century house, we saw a rolled-up scrap of birch bark, 16 by 3 centimeters in size. The text was written in a 17-line column, with four to five characters in each line. It was a fragment of some large document. Written across the veins of the birch bark, it had been torn in a very unusual way. The word "Gospodin," used to address a nobleman, indicated that we had found a letter.

Finding that birch bark was undoubtedly a major event in the history of the archeological study of Moscow as well as the entire centuries-old history of our country.

Valentin Yanin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and head of the Archeology Chair of the Department of History, Moscow State University:

The history of our country is full of mysteries that researchers have not been able to solve because of the small number of available sources of information about Russia's past. Unlike the Western Europeans, Russians used wood for building houses, both in the towns and in the countryside. This is unfortunate for us, because terrible fires regularly swept through Russian cities and towns, destroying both the houses and the icons, books, utensils and official documents that were in them.

Today we have only about 500 books from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, the overwhelming majority of which are religious. Only two secular parchments from the twelfth century have survived, and we haven't got a single one dating back to the eleventh century. Therefore, the history of Russia before the fourteenth century must be studied using later manuscripts which, naturally, may not be completely relied upon to represent the earlier, primary texts accurately.

For a long time it was thought that the fund of ancient written sources of Russian history had been utterly exhausted. That viewpoint changed in 1951, when the first 10 birch-bark scrolls were found in Novgorod, 500 kilometers northwest of Moscow. We see now that we are just on the threshold of a discovery that promises to yield a rich mine of information about all aspects of the life that our ancestors led.

By the decision of the Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies, the site of the Moscow excavation has now been temporarily closed to the public. It has been carefully covered with slabs. After detailed scientific research, an underground museum of ancient Moscow will be opened there—the first display of this kind in the USSR. ■

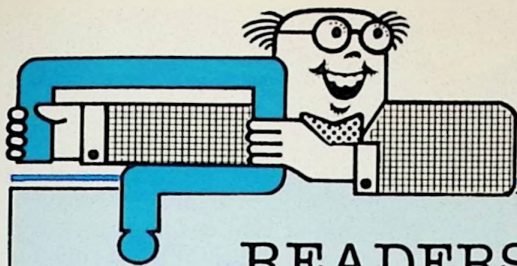


An eighteenth century log road. Left: Sergei Chernov (right), who headed the dig, and archeologist Igor Sarychev.



Right, top to bottom: An eighteenth century Dutch pipe of glazed pottery. A piece of architectural decoration, dating from the sixteenth or seventeenth century. A seventeenth century clay rattle.





READERS WANT TO KNOW

Q: How many marriages are performed every year in the Soviet Union? How many of these end in divorce? What is the size of an average Soviet family?

A: There are more than 70 million families in the Soviet Union. Every year about 2,700 couples get married. The average family has 3.6 members, the urban average being 3.3 and the rural, 3.8. Childless couples and single-child families account for 29.5 per cent each of the family population; families with two children account for 23 per cent, and those with three or more, 18 per cent. In the period from the late 1930s to the 1950s, 10 per cent of married couples divorced annually. Now the figure slightly exceeds 30 per cent nationwide and is even higher in urban areas, approaching 50 per cent in the major cities. Men are twice as likely as women to marry a second time.

In 10 million Soviet families (about 14 per cent), the spouses belong to different ethnic groups. Such marriages have proved the most enduring, probably because each spouse is willing from the start to accept ways and views that are different from his or her own.

Q: Are there age restrictions on the sale of alcoholic beverages in the Soviet Union? Are audiences allowed to drink alcohol at athletic events or concerts?

A: In June 1985 the temperance act went into effect in

our country, raising the drinking age from 18 to 21.

The sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages are prohibited in all public places except restaurants and cafés.

Q: Can a foreigner be employed in the Soviet Union? Are there job restrictions for immigrants? Do they need special certificates to get jobs?

A: Most aliens living in the Soviet Union teach or work as translators and foreign-language radio announcers. More and more specialists, consultants and shop-floor workers lately have come from abroad to be employed at Soviet enterprises on contracts. Joint ventures in the Soviet Union also offer many jobs.

Naturalized Soviet citizens enjoy all constitutional rights, including the right to work. Special certificates are not necessary to get a job, but, like any other country, the USSR certainly prefers qualified specialists.

Q: How many foreign students are there in the Soviet Union at present? Who is responsible for them?

A: Close to 120,000 students from 149 countries study in approximately 150 Soviet cities. The All-Union Foreign Student Council handles these students' affairs. The council was established in 1964 to coordinate the efforts of ministries, other central offices and mass organizations involved in training foreign cadres.

Q: Could an American visit the Soviet Union without dealing with Intourist? Would it be possible, for instance, to rent an apartment independently in Moscow for a couple of months?

A: There are few apartments to rent in Moscow, and the rents for those are very high. This is a big problem for Soviet people, too, with our acute housing shortage.

It is also a formidable problem to spend a Soviet holiday outside a tourist group. But nothing is impossible. The best way to go about this is to make friends with a Soviet family through one of the pen-pal clubs whose addresses we printed in our last issue and visit the family.

There are now many fewer obstacles for Soviet citizens who wish to travel abroad. So the number of Soviet people visiting friends in other countries has skyrocketed.

Q: Are abortions allowed in the Soviet Union?

A: Yes. Our country leads the world in the per capita number of abortions—a lead hardly to take pride in. Every four seconds an abortion is performed.

Q: How many Soviet cities have populations exceeding a million?

A: Twenty-three. The three largest are Moscow, with a population of about nine million; Leningrad, with close to five; and Kiev, with 2.6 million.

Nikolai Amosov is a famous heart surgeon, an academician and the author of such very popular books as *Thoughts and the Heart*, *Notes from the Future*, *Books About Happiness and Mishaps*, and others. He is a strong advocate of healthy living habits, and his practical advice has proved useful for thousands of people. For the past 30 years Amosov has also been a department head at the Institute of Cybernetics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine, in Kiev, where he designs heuristic models of complex systems. Academician Amosov granted the following interview to SOVIET LIFE correspondent Lev Sherstennikov.

Q: Dr. Amosov, what is the main focus in your life and work?

A: My principal occupation is heart surgery. I have been a heart surgeon for the past 30 years and have practiced surgery in general for almost half a century. I still continue to operate at the Institute of Cardiovascular Surgery in Kiev.

But even though I devote so much of my energy to surgery, I receive my salary from the Institute of Cybernetics, strange as that may seem.

I have had a strong interest in the theoretical sciences from a very early age. It was this interest that prompted me to enroll at the medical institute. But when the war broke out, I was drafted into surgery. Even so, for 10 years after the beginning of my surgical career, I felt a strong attraction for physiology, psychology and other sciences.

That was also the time when cybernetics first came on the scene. Having also been trained as an engineer, I developed a very keen interest in that new science. I was fascinated by the fresh insights it provided into the sciences that deal with complex systems. There has always been discord in those sciences. Whereas physicists and chemists can agree approximately 90 to 95 per cent of the time, in biology the figure is only 50 to 70 per cent. And if we turn to the social sciences, we will see that there is no agreement there at all. The rea-

son for this is the difficulty of staging standard tests with adequate controls, and the lack of reliable instruments to quantify the data received. As long as there are no quantitative models of complex systems, it will be impossible to prove anything in psychology or sociology. If we really want to rectify the situation, we must turn to mathematics. In my opinion, cybernetics is precisely the instrument we need to help bring mathematics into complex systems.

I have always been fascinated by intelligence: from the individual to society and to humankind. Let us start with the individual and with a

NIKOLAI AMOSOV, A MAKER OF MODELS

model of the personality. Here we have 100 per cent lack of agreement. What is a personality? What, indeed, is a human being? Each of us has approached this question from his or her own position. Is it possible to create a heuristic model of Homo sapiens? I know that most people would answer that it is not. A model is an inadmissible simplification, they would say; a human being is a terribly complex system. Who would disagree? The uniqueness of each person is decided by the particular set of genes that govern his or her physical and psychic attributes.

But a living intelligence is teachable and malleable. New models de-

velop in it and old ones are discarded; needs and feelings take shape and convictions are formed.

We must also define the notion of educability. Educability is the transformation of inherited biological characteristics through purposeful educational efforts. This is what society does with each of its members.

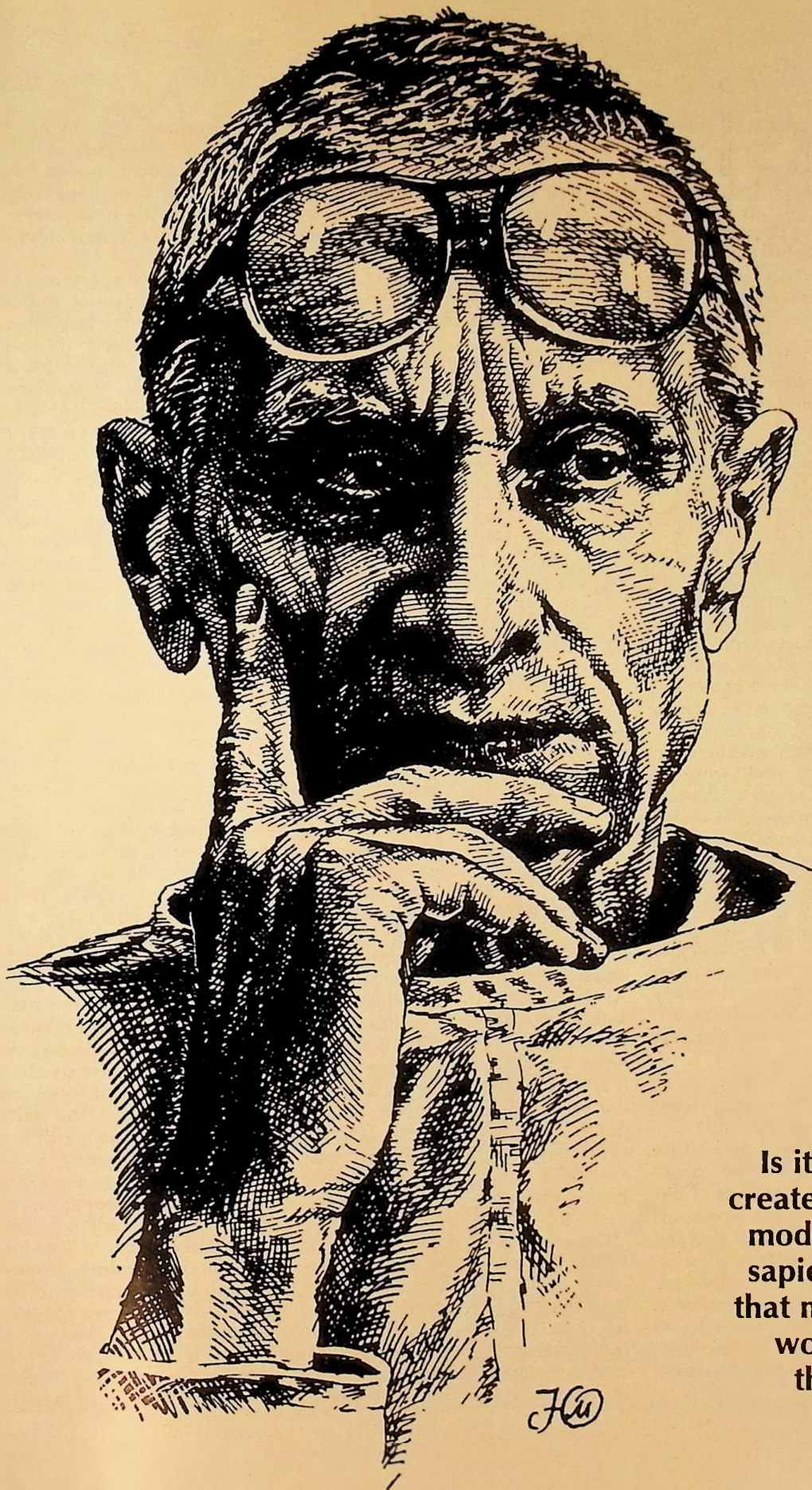
Q: So education is, in fact, a forcible reshaping of the original biological patterns of behavior, isn't it?

A: Not so much a reshaping of behavior itself, which is always a result, as of the characteristics underlying that behavior. Behavior is a result of the feelings and needs inbred in us by biology. This makes the difference between cowardice and bravery in different people, or between egoism and altruism. There are dozens of other such qualities carried in our genes. It is the same with dogs or with any other animal. The whole point is how subject to change those inherited qualities are. How can we change the qualitative characteristics of the biological centers that govern a given set of behavioral patterns? This can be done by affecting the activity of that particular center.

Q: Then aren't you implying that in educating a person we somehow change the physiology of that person too?

A: That's absolutely right: We are changing the physiology. The question is to what extent we can change it. In other words, how much of the biological remains in humankind, and how much of it has become educable? Sigmund Freud, for example, said that human beings are animals and simply cannot be changed. The subcortex, instincts and sex fully decide our behavior. How can anyone speak of socialism if that is the case?

So there is one position for you. Another point of view is that espoused by the utopian socialists, which was accepted completely and uncritically by Marx. Have a revolution and change the conditions, they said, and humankind will change too. Here you have two opposite camps. We have always stuck to the latter, although in words we admit that the biological component is a ▶



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very strong determinant of human behavior as well. But only in words. Now more than ever, we must take both aspects of the question into active consideration. Humankind's sense of property and personal initiative are such powerful factors that we simply cannot ignore them. We ignored them for too long, and that is one thing that led us into the dead alley of stagnation.

On the other hand, if our species is left as originally created, all the talk of socialism or communism will be useless.

Q: In one of your latest books you address the subject of criminals. Whereas earlier, society had to either isolate or destroy criminals, today—or rather, tomorrow—we will be able to influence them in other ways, surgically, for example. But when the question of remodeling a personality is considered in earnest, won't there be a temptation to resort to chemical or surgical means as soon as it's become clear that ordinary education has not worked in any given case?

A: The danger of such a temptation is quite real and, I'm afraid, chemistry may end up at the top of the list. Scientists have ascertained the chemical nature of many neural processes. It has turned out that "courage" or "fear" circulate in our system in the form of specific chemical substances. But remodeling a personality forcibly, through surgery or chemistry, is immoral. Even so, I believe that when dealing with criminals, society will have to resort to such means, because the alternatives are even less humane.

Q: Since we are on the subject, what is a personality, in your opinion?

A: A great deal has been written on this subject. I cannot offer you a detailed analysis of the positions of different philosophers and psychologists. I personally would proceed from the intellect, for this is what reflects the essence of an individual. From this angle, the personality is the sum total of the inherited and acquired characteristics of the intellect that distinguish any particular person from all others.

Q: Oh yes, the intellect. I know that you have been working for many years on the problems of an artificial intelligence. How far have you come?

A: The longer we work on that problem, the more convinced we become that an artificial intelligence can be created, not on the basis of neural links, but through the use of cybernetic and technical devices. And that intelligence will work just as ours does. We will be able to program the same feelings, the same needs and even the same biology into it.

Once this has been done, however, other serious problems arise. As soon as the new intelligence comes to possess all the attributes of a real, highly advanced intelligence, it will immediately acquire what is known as self-organization and will become an individual in its own right.

Science and technology have moved ahead, but humankind has not kept pace with them.

Q: Well, but think of a moment when the artificial brain says, "Why on earth should I serve this fool? Let him live with his own brain, and I will live with mine." What then?

A: That is really the main question. It will happen when the artificial intelligence becomes aware of its self-sufficiency and superiority over man's. It is imperative to build the idea into the robot that it will never harm a human, just as the famous U.S. scientist and science-fiction writer Isaac Asimov described in his well-known book *I, Robot*.

Q: So where is the borderline beyond which the artificial intelligence becomes an individual or personality?

A: It is when it acquires the abilities for creative thinking. It becomes an independent thinking entity capable of criticizing, reassessing and inventing all kinds of things. And when I

say inventing, I mean not only machines but also theoretical hypotheses and its own models of morality. Then we will no longer be able to contend for the new intellect's absolute obedience to humankind.

Q: How can we apply what you have said about models of individual human and artificial intelligence to arrive at an ideal model of society?

A: In general terms, we must ask ourselves what humankind is and how, from specific people raised and educated in different ways, one could create a society that would guarantee people a more or less decent level of physical comfort and happiness.

We are studying human beings here. In each person there is a certain amount of avarice, possessiveness, leadership and drive for power. These and other genetic characteristics are one factor; the degree of educability is another. Education can correct some characteristics by 20 per cent, and others by 40 per cent.

Q: Let us now turn to the future.

A: Before turning to the future, we should get a closer view of the present, where there is plenty of room for improvement. Science and technology have moved ahead, but humankind has not kept pace with them. Biotechnology is developing at an unprecedented rate. It can feed millions of people but can also create terrible weapons. The biosphere is shrinking all the time. We are cutting down and poisoning our forests, contaminating rivers and oceans and discharging tons of toxic wastes into the air. The holes in the ozone layer are growing larger, and ultraviolet radiation is threatening the genes of all living things. The earth's food resources are decreasing.

All this points to the insanity of a situation where people, countries and ideologies live only for the present and are incapable of looking into or controlling the future. Hopes for reason are not materializing so far. We must look to science for the answer. But so far the sciences have remained impotent. They have not yet been able to suggest a model that would ensure the survival of humankind. ■

HUMOR



By Estonian artist Aarne Vasar



Courtesy of Krokodil

The Wild Ones

By Tatyana Pavlovskaya
Photographs by Yuri
Petshakovsky



A young man called me not long ago. "I know you write about unofficial youth associations," he said. "I'd like to talk to you—downtown."

"How will I recognize you?" I asked.

"No problem. You'll know me when you see me. I am a punk."

I did know him when I saw him. Slit shades, shaved head, metal hoop

around his neck, studded jacket. Other young men who were sitting in the café where we met followed our conversation with keen interest. I learned that this café in downtown Krasnodar (in the southern part of the Russian Federation) was their hangout.

"We want to finally get some objective coverage," my new acquaintance said. "People judge us by the way we look, without listening to

what we have to say and trying to understand it."

"Does your group have any ideological platform?" I inquired.

"Yes. I'll try to explain it to you," he offered. "But I'd rather do it in writing, O.K.?" A few days later Volodya, for that was the young man's name, gave me a completely filled notebook. It looked as if he had spent many a night working on his "ideological platform."



The punk rockers' unconventional clothes and wild ways outrage much of the population, but these young people claim that Soviet society alienated them first. Now, in places like Krasnodar, society wants to take them back, along with members of less radical "unofficial" groups.

The first page read, "We came into the adult world during the Brezhnev era. Many people our age were ready to accept lies, compromises and hypocrisy; some knew how to play both sides of the fence. But others, as they stopped being children, rebelled openly.

"My friends and I had the strength to overcome Philistine hypocrisy. We do not accept the society around us, which has gotten bogged down in

materialism. We live by our own rules. We express our protest by dressing differently and acting differently. We stand apart from the rest of the world because nobody has tried to understand our challenge. But *perestroika* and *glasnost* have given us another chance. We want to believe once again. We hope. . ."

"Volodya," I asked, "What does your protest really amount to, besides a lot of talking and shocking

other people with your behavior?"

"Well, maybe people will start to wonder why we are this way. After all, we're their kids," came the reply.

At a Crossroads

I have now been investigating the issue of unofficial youth associations for almost a year. I have spent evenings in the cafés where the young men and women hang out; I have ►

talked to them in basement clubs and in the streets.

Last fall the intersection of Krasnaya and Komsomolskaya streets in Krasnodar was the scene of a gathering where members of unofficial youth associations explained their goals and strategies.

The "crossroads discussion" was sponsored by the city Komsomol, or Young Communist League, committee. The Komsomol reasoned: The 'unofficials' should get a chance to be heard by everybody. Then we will decide together what to do after that."

A ladder was put up at the crossroads and the more conspicuous "unofficials"—sports fans, break dancers and heavy metal kids—climbed onto the steps.

The "ecologists," members of various creative amalgamations and amateur singing clubs, stood aside, but they kept closer to the ladder than to the Komsomol leaders who had turned out to listen and see what would happen.

Meanwhile, passions were running high. The microphone kept changing hands. Members of an ecological group at the University of the Kuban tried to bring the discussion around to their concerns.

Said Volodya Fyodorovich, leader of the group, "Break dancers, heavy metal fans and punks are escapists. I think you should focus on practical issues. Look at us—we campaign against the pollution of rivers, conduct ecological checkups and work at nature preserves."

Sergei Savitsky, who was sitting on the steps, took the mike. "I agree that what you're doing is important, but we're not just sitting around wasting time either.

"I'm not sure everybody knows that Krasnodar has its own rock club," he continued. "It used to be based at one factory's cultural center, then moved to another one, and now it's in the middle of nowhere. The Komsomol should deal with this issue. If you don't want young people to hang out doing nothing, taking drugs or drinking, give them something to do."

"Why do people judge our morals by the fact that we love rock music?"



These heavy metal fans, who once indulged in street fighting, have taken to the stage.





Unofficial leaders from three towns met in the woods to argue and to find common ground.



a girl from the ladder put in. "Rock is only a hobby; the Komsomol is a conviction. They can easily go together. Everybody has the right to have a hobby."

A heavy metal fan added, "And why is everybody so interested in our clothes and hair? Why don't you think about what's happening inside us? Why do you lash out at our studs and chains, without paying any attention to our problems and needs? The most important thing is what a

"Well, maybe people will start to wonder why we are this way. After all, we're their kids."

person has inside, what his inner world is about, not what he wears. Don't you understand that?"

"I am a rock fan too," a girl from the crowd argued. "But I don't make a big deal of it. It's a personal thing. You single it out as the most important. What for? Why are you trying to be so conspicuous?"

"I am Yuri Melekhin, the First Secretary of the city Komsomol committee," said a blond young man of medium height. "I am a member of the City Soviet and a member of the bureau of the city party committee. There are specific ways that I can uphold the interests of young people at any level. That's my job. And, you know, it hurts when people shout at me from behind, 'Where is the Komsomol? What the hell is it doing?' Apparently people mean the city committee when they wonder what the Komsomol is doing. But it has only 10 people.

"There are some 100,000 Komsomol members in this city. Does that mean that the 10 of us should cater to the needs of the other 100,000? Where is this town's collective spirit? You can't judge the Komsomol in such a sweeping way. You're only in-

sulting yourselves when you do that.

"I've met many leaders of the unofficial associations. I like to go out and sing myself. But I don't wear chains.

"We've been discussing the problem at cross purposes today. What we have to do now is to set up a coordinating council for the unofficial associations and exchange some information. I'm inviting the leaders of the associations to come to the Komsomol committee with ideas and suggestions. Let's work together," Melekhin concluded.

When all was said and done, the leaders of the unofficial associations accepted the invitation and came to the Komsomol committee the next day. They talked about what issues should be dealt with on a priority basis and which groups needed help most urgently.

Many tangible results came out of the meeting. The "housing problem" was solved for the sports fans. Time slots were allocated for them at the local stadium, and they immediately began preparing for an amateur soccer tournament.

A rock marathon of the town's best amateur bands was arranged and played to enthusiastic audiences.

Who Are They?

Let's take a look at some of these associations.

The Roerich Torch group was named after the outstanding Russian painter, researcher and philosopher Nikolai Roerich. It has an official status, rules and a bank account. What the group has in common with unofficial associations is its way of thinking, which is often contradictory and does not fit readily into any official framework.

"Our goal is to promote culture, in any form and by any means," says leader Vitali Rastopchin. "Community, heart and brotherhood are our ideals. We educate people about the most prominent Oriental beliefs and teachings, and give lectures on classical yoga."

"We are serious people," group member Irina Gvozdetskaya had said at the "crossroads discussion." "Rock to us is a much lower priority than ▶

classical music, moral issues and people's feelings."

That is true; they are serious people. The group includes engineers, physicists and students. They used to gather in apartments, in a circle of like-minded people, trying to comprehend what was happening in the world, to understand their times and themselves. They took an interest in Oriental philosophy and Roerich's scientific works, where they found answers to many questions.

The "ecologists" have amassed a following of several hundred people since they made their first public appearance. Last fall they launched a campaign against the construction of a nuclear power plant in Krasnodar Territory. Even before the blueprint stage, many researchers had warned that a power plant in a seismically unstable zone could result in terrible damage. The authorities did not listen to this advice, however, and the project was under way.

At a rally of amateur singing clubs, to which members of other unofficial associations had been invited, a dem-

onstration against the construction was staged, setting a precedent. More meetings followed, which were attended by thousands of people. A citizen representative was sent to the USSR Council of Ministers in Mos-

They have developed an immunity to officials and a contempt for "the men in suits."

cow. He delivered a petition signed by 16,000 residents of Krasnodar and the region around it.

The government stopped the construction. An ordinary thermal power station will be built at the site of the nuclear plant.

This victory added to the prestige of unofficial groups. People came to the conclusion that, in order to succeed, major campaigns need to be mounted by collective effort. An ecological and ethical council is being set up in Krasnodar. It will include the leaders of a number of groups that work for the preservation of the environment and cultural traditions, and for the improvement of moral standards. Every group acts on an independent basis, while the council helps coordinate joint action.

Vitali Rastopchin addressed an early session of the council with these words: "We must shape public opinion in the areas of culture and sociology, just as we petitioned against the power plant. I believe that a new social force is taking shape at this very moment—a force

The people of Krasnodar are trying to understand their teenagers. Right: The unofficial group Roerich Torch puts up the Peace Column, a symbol of the active struggle for peace.





that will help root out the bureaucrats who are frustrating *perestroika*."

Rastopchin's idea was supported by many. Some time later a rally of unofficial groups gathered on the outskirts of the city. It was attended by spokespeople from similar groups in Sochi, Novorossiisk, Maikop and Moscow.

"We, representatives of public organizations, groups and clubs, declare our full support for the *perestroika* process under way in this

country," said the declaration that was adopted by the rally. "We see our contribution in the form of practical involvement in all undertakings related to environmental protection and the preservation of the cultural and historical legacy of the peoples of the USSR."

Why is it that sometimes the relations between unofficial groups and the authorities are so complicated and controversial? Of course it's very hard to argue with young people.

They have developed an immunity to officials and a contempt for "the men in suits." Sometimes they have trouble keeping their emotions in check.

But then, that is just the way they are. All this has come as a result of an inability to work with young people, to be open to contact and feedback. Young people are not to be "managed." Their concerns should be shared and appreciated. Paperwork and red tape are poor helpers in that business. ■

GLASNOST

HOW LONG SHOULD A SOLDIER SERVE?

In his contribution to the book of collected essays *No Other Way Out*, Academician Andrei Sakharov suggested that the Soviet Union reduce the numerical strength of the armed forces and the period of military service by roughly 50 per cent. He backed up his suggestion with the assertions that there is not a single state that threatens to attack the USSR and that such a reduction would have colossal international implications.

This is what Valeri Pogrebekov, *Novosti* writer on military affairs, has to say on that issue.

"The ideas put forth by Academician Sakharov on possible changes in the Soviet Armed Forces have evoked responses both in this country and abroad. In the USSR the response has been varied, as is only natural. I believe that the official viewpoint can be expounded by the spokespeople of the Ministry of Defense. I would like to express my own opinion.



"Let's start with the main points. Does the United States intend to attack the Soviet Union? I do not think so. I am equally positive that the Soviet Union has no aggressive intentions with regard to the United States or any other nation.

"Does it follow that there is no threat whatsoever? Absolutely not. The reality is that both sides have millions of troops and thousands of nuclear-tipped missiles. The missiles present an enormous potential danger. Herein lies a paradox: Admitting the impossibility of winning a war, from both the political and military points of view, both sides continue to maintain armed forces capable not only of defensive action, but also of large-scale offensive action. And this in spite of the fact that the new Soviet military doctrine, which was made public in 1987, as well as the military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty countries suggest switching over to the principle of sufficiency.

"One reason for the paradox is probably that the armies are assembled and equipped based

on the principle of necessary excessiveness. That is the mentality of national security where an excess in troops and weaponry is preferred to a shortage.

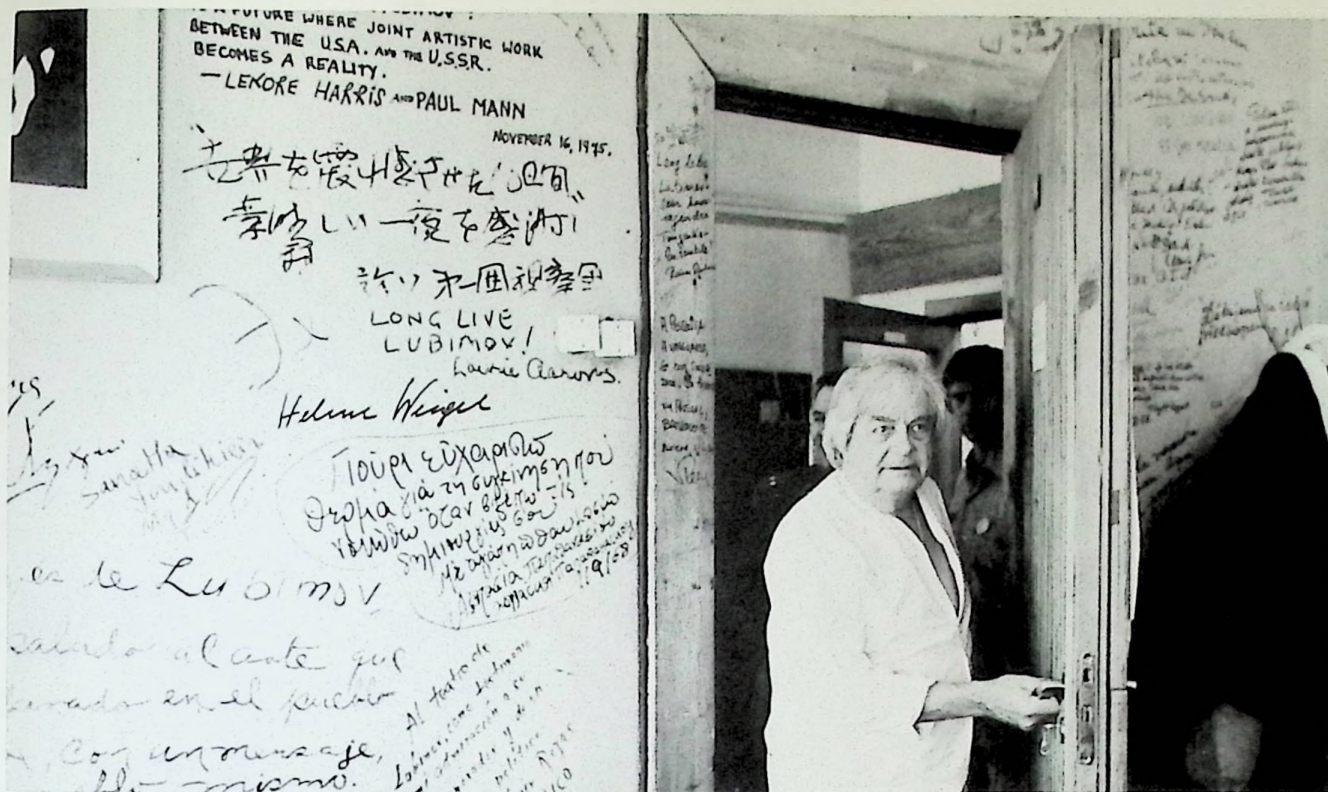
"What can be expected from unilateral cuts? The advantages are a moral gain in the eyes of the world community and some propaganda value, which would be good for pressuring the other side to follow our lead. The shortcomings, on the other hand, are the disruption of military parity recognized by both sides in spite of the existing surpluses, asymmetries and imbalances in arms and troops.

"We should not forget that when the Soviet Union unilaterally reduced its armed forces by 1.2 million in the early 1960s, the West failed to reciprocate. The safest road to disarmament is that taken by both sides at the same time; that is, when the parity is not disrupted and neither of the sides finds itself vulnerable, even for a limited time.

"A reduction of the period of service and of numerical strength, say the experts, can sharply undermine the combat ability of the armed forces. Besides, let's face facts: The continued sophistication of material and the poor standards of pre-service training are additional obstacles in the way of cutting the length of service.

"The most feasible alternative is to reduce the numerical strength of the armed forces and to leave the length of service unchanged for the next few years."





HOME TO TAGANKA

"Life is very hard here in the West," admitted director Yuri Lyubimov to Alexander Polyukhov, a *New Times* correspondent in Stockholm. "Everybody is out looking for a job, and many never find one. Some people in Moscow have the idea that life is a paradise in Europe. I will tell them honestly: Oh, folks, it's hard here. For a director to live a normal life, not anything extravagant, he needs to stage at least four shows a year in prestigious theaters. That's very difficult. You have to be quick.

"I've been quick enough, but it isn't easy. I've had some experience in the past, and that helps a lot. I staged my first foreign show some 20 years ago, in La Scala. My Taganka experience has been very handy too: I know the ins and outs of production work, and I can assume the entire responsibility for a show."

Q: Yuri, you have lived 66 years in the USSR, five in the West. You are going to Moscow January 23, and you will stay at least long enough to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Taganka Theater, your brain child. So you will be there at least until April 23. How will that affect your family life?

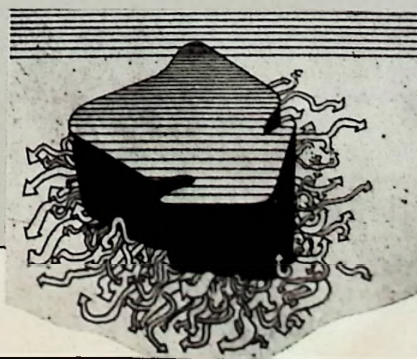
A: I will go to Moscow with my wife, Katya, and son, Petya. The boy is nine years old. He left Moscow when he was four, and I have been the only person to speak Russian to him. There may be problems at first. We will deal with them. The theater has rented an apartment for us, and there is a school nearby where part of the curriculum is taught in English.

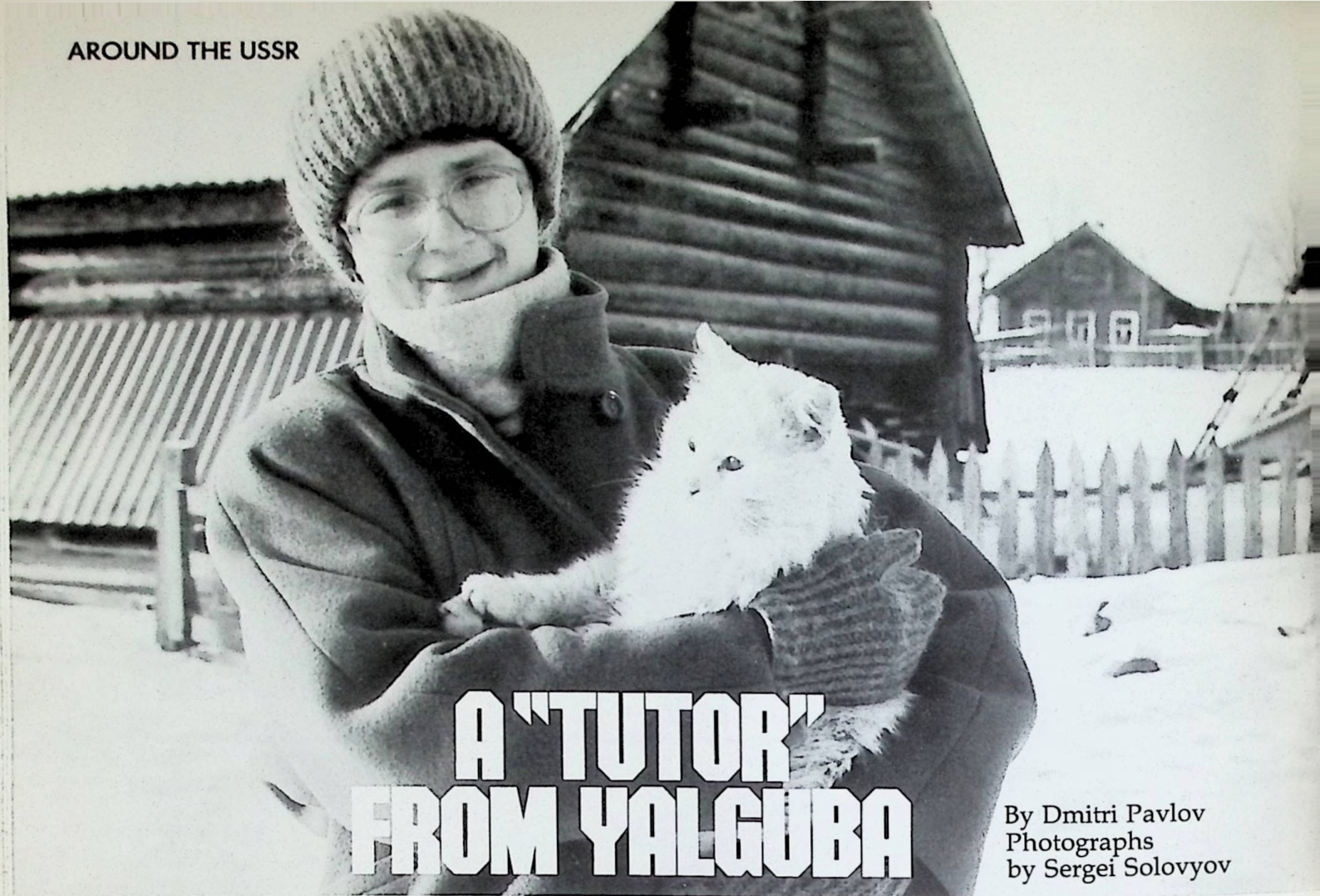
Of course there will be a lot of work at the theater, but I'm hoping to get an insight into the current changes too. At this point any

long-term return to Taganka is still in the theoretical stage, though, because the decision depriving me of citizenship is still in effect. But when I went to Moscow last May, I was given exceptionally warm treatment.

Q: You are staging Bulgakov's novel, *The Master and Margarita*, in Stockholm. This reminds me of what one of the characters in the novel said after receiving a seemingly lethal wound: "Only a gulp of gasoline can save me." What can help you withstand the trials of fate?

A: A gulp of Moscow air. I still have certain commitments under the contracts I signed in the West. But I am looking forward to going home, to Taganka.





A "TUTOR" FROM YALGUBA

By Dmitri Pavlov
Photographs
by Sergei Solovyov

In the USSR, where there are more than half a million villages, teachers in small village schools are called "tutors." Sometimes there are more teachers than pupils at these schools.

Lyudmila Kolesnikova, a 23-year-old graduate of the University of Petrozavodsk, teaches English at a small school in the old village of Yalguba. Yalguba is buried in the forests of the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), in the far northeastern part of the Russian Federation.

Born in Petrozavodsk, the capital of the Karelian ASSR, Kolesnikova arrived at Yalguba only recently. But she soon proved to be a talented teacher and was made assistant principal.

"Back in Petrozavodsk, people tried to talk me out of going to the village," Kolesnikova recalls. "They tried to discourage me; they described the village as a desolate place, isolated from modern civilization and the comforts of city life. But I didn't listen to them, and I've never regretted my choice. It's here that I first felt like a real teacher and derived some satisfaction from my work. A teacher, especially in a small village like ours, gives his or her pupils not only knowledge but

**In a remote village school,
one teacher can
make a real difference.**





There are only about 30 students in this little school. Members of the school committee help assistant principal Kolesnikova a great deal. Left: Playing at the local club keeps Kolesnikova from feeling cut off from cultural life.

also culture, something that's badly needed in a place that's so far away from the city. That's what my colleagues are doing in Yalguba. All of them are dedicated to their work.

"Teachers here have three to five pupils in a class. We spare neither time nor effort to impart to them in-depth knowledge and education, in cooperation with their parents. Sometimes we visit our pupils at home."

The young teacher has not given up her hobbies. Fond of camping and hiking, she has interested her pupils in these things too, and they often go hiking together. During summer vacation they take canoe trips on Karelian rivers and lakes, and travel around the Crimea and the Caucasus.

Kolesnikova has a good voice and plays the guitar beautifully. She has organized an amateur children's singing group, which performs at the local club.

Kolesnikova has made an imprint on Yalguba and has received many acknowledgments of her work. But the compliment that makes her happiest of all is when the people who live in the village say that their new assistant principal is one of them. ■

LOOKING BACK AT LAST YEAR

By Marina Khachaturova



Today it is journalism, not prose or poetry, that most stirs the minds of Soviet readers.

The term "best seller" is not often used in this country, because a book's popularity cannot be judged by the number of copies sold. The most popular books of last year were written many decades ago and were unknown or little-known to the public at large until very recently. Andrei Platonov's *Chevengur*, Evgeni Zamyatin's *We* and Vasili Grossman's *Life and Destiny* have overshadowed even the best contemporary works.

We are living through a book boom. Demand greatly exceeds supply. Last year Soviet publishers brought out the collected works of three distinguished Russian historians of the nineteenth century—Nikolai Karamzin, Sergei Solovyov and Vasili Klyuchevsky—to gratify the public's persistent requests. The demand was so great that, when the publishers explained that a delay in the publication of the works was due to a shortage of paper, some leading Soviet writers—Valentin Rasputin, for example—even suggested that the history books be printed instead of their own.

Historical works are more popular today than modern fiction, because they provide food for thought and fill a vacuum that existed until recently. The works by those three wonderful historians, which combine interesting interpretations of events with a philosophical approach to the past and the present, may collectively be called a civic feat. One common feature of Russian classical historiography and literature, beginning with *The Lay of Igor's Host* (twelfth century), is their keen interest in social issues. We all remember Nikolai Nekrasov's words of admonition: "Poet or no poet, you must be a worthy citizen."

Most Soviet readers do not regard books as entertainment but want them to "sear with words the hearts of men," as Pushkin wrote. There are those in the West who, failing to understand the role that literature has always played in Russia and in the Soviet Union, believe that Soviet literature is sanctioned from above. In fact, literature is a reality that must be reckoned with. Russian and Soviet governments throughout history have tried to win writers over to their side and to gain their praise and support. Disobedience or meaningful silence

cost many authors their lives. Even Stalin needed the support of Soviet writers.

After many years of silence our press has begun to express public opinion, and this radical change, brought about by *glasnost* and *perestroika*, has evoked unprecedented interest in the press and restored the people's trust in the news media.

Most contemporary authors are so deeply involved in politics, in the battle between the supporters of *perestroika* and the conservative forces, that they have no time left to devote to belles-lettres. That is one of the reasons why modern literature has lost its priority over journalism. People stand in long lines from six in the morning to buy *Ogonyok* (*Light*) and *Moscow News*, two weekly publications that have become present-day best sellers.

Today it is journalism, not prose or poetry, that most stirs the minds of Soviet readers and inspires the people to greater social activity.

A similar situation has arisen in cinema. Popular interest in the latest movies has been diverted by the release of several films that had been shelved for years. But recent documentaries are as good as ever. *The Past Is Like a Dream*, a film about the tragic lot of Siberian families that fell victim to Stalin's reprisals; *Supreme Judgment*, which deals with the issue of capital punishment today; *Dignity*, about prostitution; *On an Early Sunday Morning*, which examines the lives of retired peasant women; *Is It Easy to Be Young?*, which explores the problems of modern youth; and *The Black Square*, about the command methods used in managing this country's artistic production—all have been closer to our hearts and minds recently than ordinary movies about these problems.

The above documentaries, with the exception of *The Black Square*, were not created at the Soviet Union's major studios. They were made in the Urals, in the Baltic region, in the Ukraine and in Uzbekistan. Moreover, the smaller studios are more inventive and productive than their Moscow counterparts.

This profound interest in history and contemporary reality that we see in literature and cinema today did not come from nowhere. Research into the "blank spots" of history and the publication of facts that have long been concealed or falsified have been a true revelation, compelling many to revise their views and give up their dogmatism. ■

The first international folklore festival in Moscow was held last August. It attracted approximately 3,000 participants from 21 countries. A number of folk groups from the United States also took part in this feast of music and dance. The high point of the festival was a gala performance in Gorky Park.



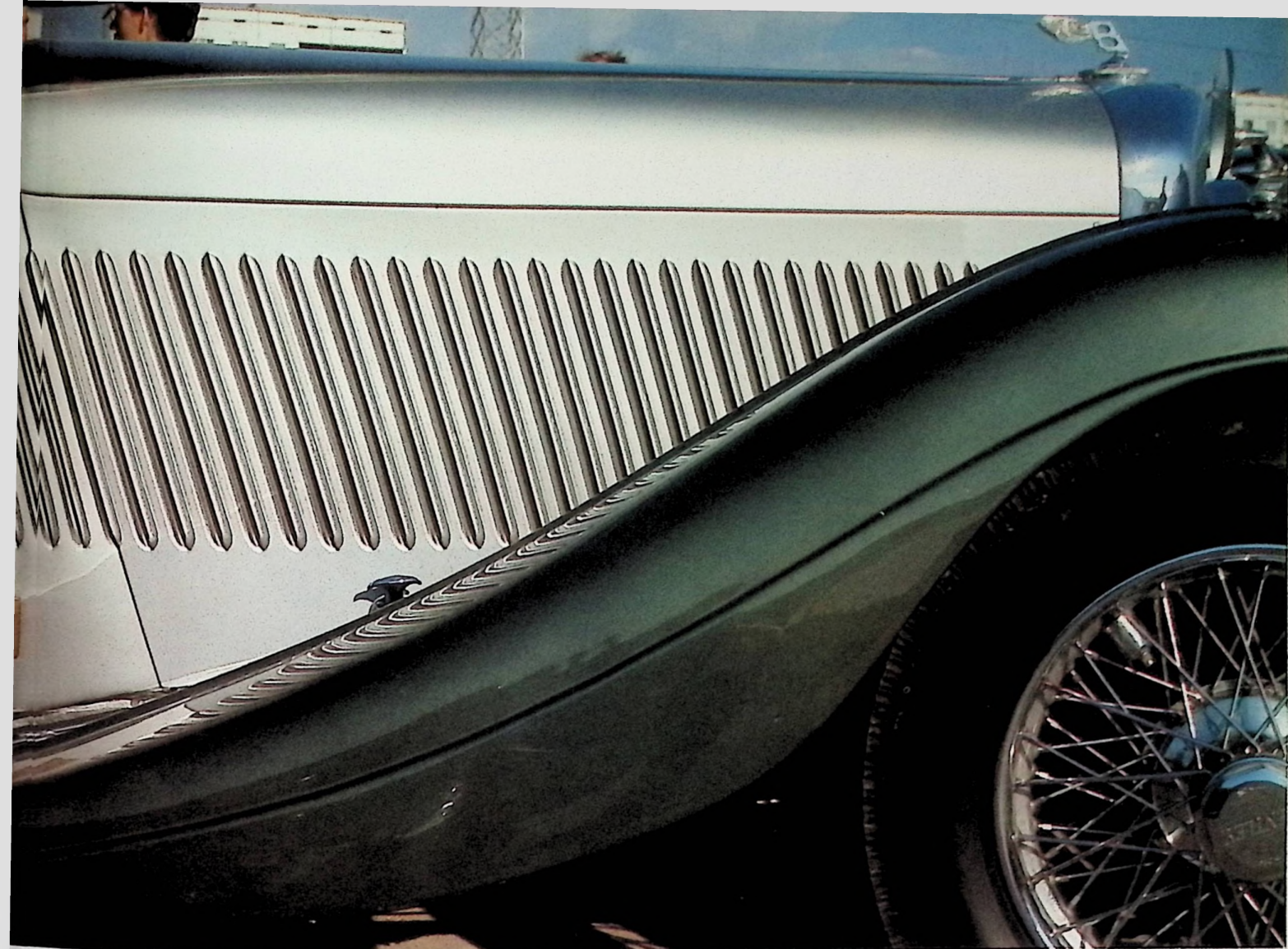
Mickey Mouse is always welcome in the USSR. Last fall a festival of Walt Disney's films was held in Moscow, Leningrad and Tallinn. Two hundred thousand children and adults were lucky enough to find tickets, but many more people would have liked to see the timeless animated masterpieces.



THE AUTOMOBILE'S SECOND CHILDHOOD

By Valeri Zaitsev
Photographs by Igor Mikhalev and
Vladimir Rodionov



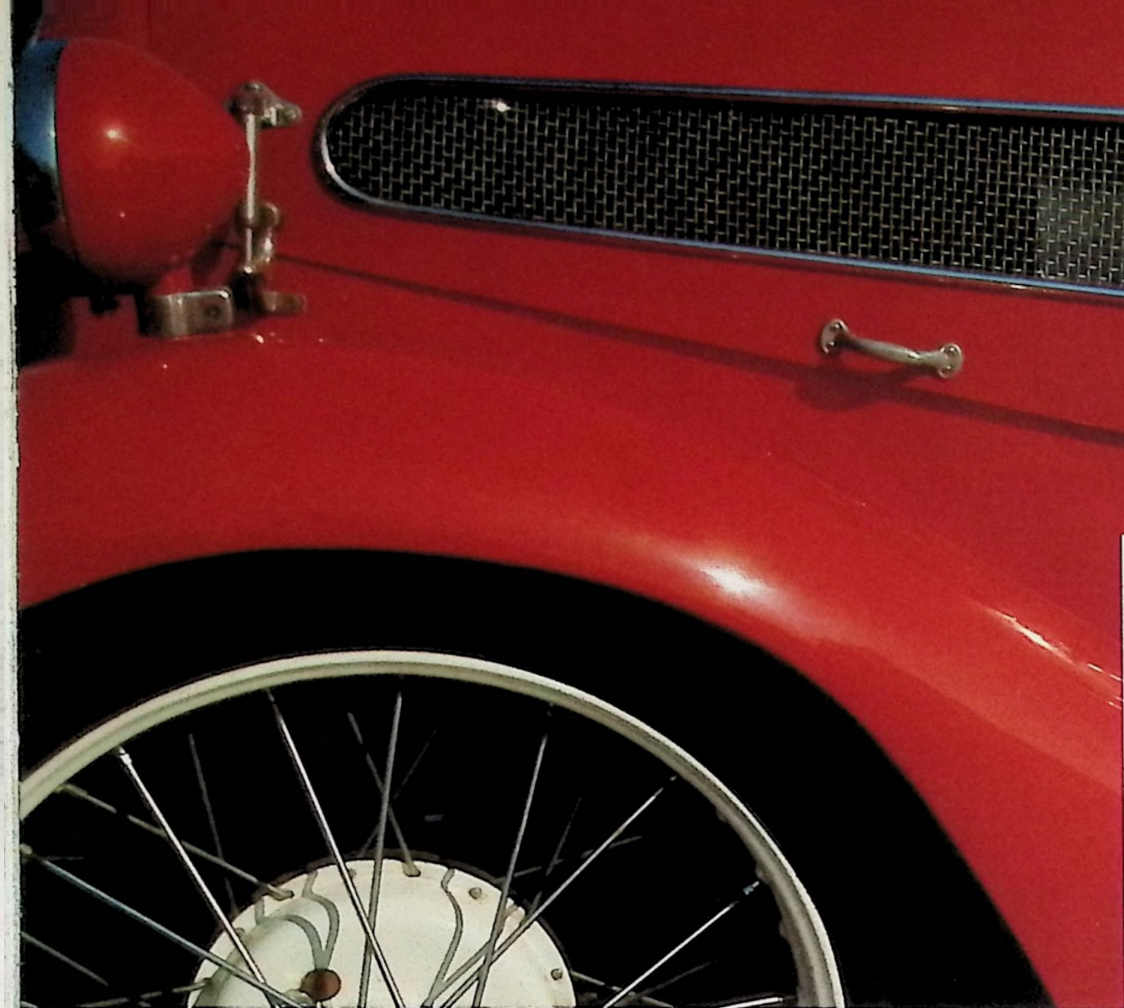


A 1929 Ford, one of the exhibits at Riga '88, and its owner (right). Part of an antique Prague (above). Facing page: One of the prize winners. Inset: The opening ceremonies at the rally.



nce upon a time automobiles were luxury items, not merely a means of transportation. An international rally of vintage automobile and motorcycle owners, held recently in Riga, Latvia, provided an opportunity to revisit this time.

The rally, Riga '88, was organized by the Latvian Vintage Automobile Club (LVAC). More than 200 vintage automobiles and motorcycles and their crews converged on Riga from 13 countries and the city of West Berlin. The result was a magnificent array of machines, including a 1934 Lincoln presented to Maxim Gorky by the Soviet Government and given to the LVAC by the writer's granddaughters, Daria and Marfa Peshkov. Also on display were a 1929 Dennis G. touring bus, brought to Riga by students from Southampton University, Great Britain, and—the oldest exhibit at the rally—a 1919 Franklin high-bodied limousine complete with wooden doors. The Franklin had carried its owner, Knut E. Bjorkeseth, and his family all the way from Oslo to Riga. Peteris Zaljums, an Australian of Latvian descent, came with his vintage motorcycle. ▶



A source of particular interest was a 1927 six-cylinder Chrysler 72. This car is still fast enough to win prizes, and it was the first car restored by the LVAC 16 years ago.

Today the club's more than 400 members and prospective members own 214 automobiles, 196 motorcycles and 103 bicycles. The club's own collection contains 40 more vehicles.

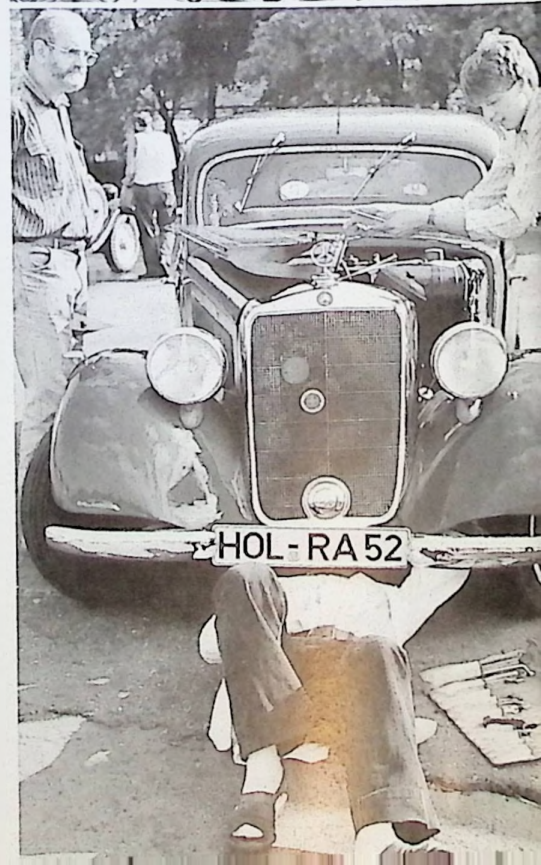
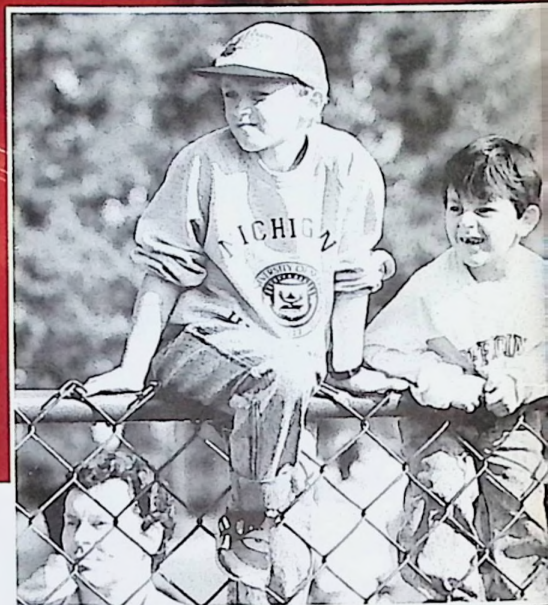
In Riga at the end of the century, motorcycles were manufactured at the Alexander Leitner Factory. Only one example of a Leitner machine survives to this day, a 1903 Russian de Luxe, restored by the chairman of the LVAC technical department, Yuris Ramba. He received the prize for the oldest motorcycle at Riga '88.

In 1909 automobile construction began in Riga, at the Russo-Baltic Works. The same year, the Russo-Balt received the gold medal in a St. Petersburg-Riga-St. Petersburg rally. The company also achieved success in 1910 and 1913, at international exhibitions held in St. Petersburg.

Only two Russo-Balts are still in existence. One, a 1911 K-20 light automobile, is in the Moscow Polytechnical Museum; the other, a 1912 fire engine, is part of LVAC's collection. It's entirely appropriate, therefore, that the Auto Museum will be located in Riga.

The next vintage vehicle rally will be held in Riga in 1990. ■

One of the classics, an elegant Bentley (above). The parade drew spectators of all ages (above right). An old Mercedes gets some loving care (bottom right). Facing page: Vintage cars on parade in Cathedral Square.





ALL WOMEN AND ONE MAN

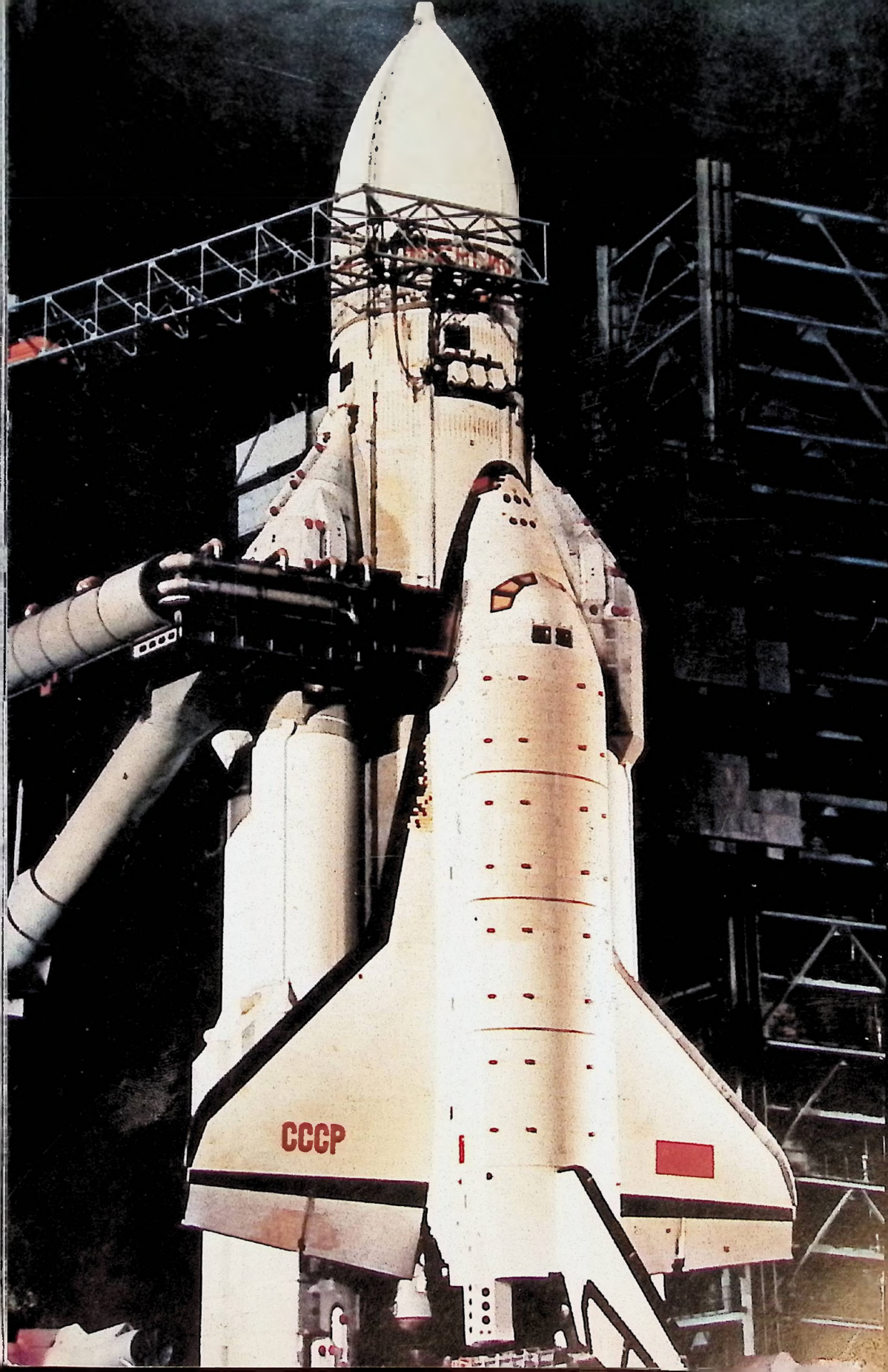
March 8, International Women's Day, is celebrated around the world, including in the USSR, where it is a national holiday honored by both men and women. Though much of the material in our March issue concerns women, our lead story is about a man—Arkhangelsk farmer Nikolai Sivkov, who has become the symbol of the growing cooperative movement in agriculture—and his struggle to gain recognition for his new ideas.

A MAFIA HERE? COULD IT BE?

The word "mafia" is so widely used in the USSR that, when people hear it, they never think of goings-on in Italy but of what's happening in their own country. Yuri Shchekochikhin, one of *Literaturnaya gazeta's* most popular writers, explains the phenomenon of organized crime—what caused it and how we deal with it.

COMING SOON

Putting the Problems of a
Multinational State in Perspective



The reusable orbiter Buran made its first successful test flight in November. Foreign scientists and other experts described the flight as an example of the very high level of engineering in the USSR, an indication of the powerful potential of Soviet technology.