

# Soviet Life

Special Issue

## Russia and the Russians

October 1990 • \$2.25

What lies ahead for the  
younger generation?





## JITOR'S NOTES

September is the usual time for subscribing to newspapers and magazines in the Soviet Union. This year subscription time will be a little different.

The transition to market relations has caused prices on all printed matter to go up sharply, and now anyone can run his own press. Another change is that people can subscribe to a number of American and Soviet-American publications.

First of all, I would mention the weekly *We/Mi* (the name means we in both languages), published jointly by *Izvestia* and Hearst newspapers. The Soviet and American partners fill this weekly with original, uncensored articles, written and edited in Moscow and Washington and sold in the Soviet Union in Russian and in the United States in English.

"At first our plans were to publish our weekly with a print run of 10,000 copies," one of the magazine's Soviet editors told me. "During the talks, we settled on 15,000. But our partners were eager to test the yet unknown Soviet market, so we agreed to print 150,000 copies."

The trial issue was instantly sold out, despite a rather high price—one ruble—so apparently the print run suits both the copublishers and the readers.

*Business Week* is another instance of joint venturing. McGraw-Hill publishes its weekly in the Russian language jointly with Moscow's *Kniga* publishers.

The print run of the magazine *AMERICA*, circulated in the Soviet Union in exchange for the magazine *SOVIET LIFE*, will also increase.

That's one of the ways of destroying the rigid propaganda stereotypes of the past. The Soviet people want to have firsthand information about the United States. The same can be said about our readers. And this is the shortest and most reliable way to mutual trust.

Robert Tsfasman

## Miraculous Icon A Muscovite's Gift to Ronald Reagan

Leonid Yeliseyev, a 63-year old Muscovite, wants to make a gift to former U.S. President Ronald Reagan of a miracle-working icon of the Annunciation, which has been in Yeliseyev's family for generations. He is grateful to Reagan for his contribution to the change in relations between our two countries.





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APN, Zubovskiy Boulevard 4  
Moscow, USSR  
Editor in Chief—Robert Tsfasman  
Layout by Valeri Belyakov

Washington Editorial Board  
1706 18th St., N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20009  
Editor—Sergei S. Ivanko  
Managing Editor—Victor L. Karasin

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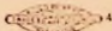
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**Front Cover:** A youngster from Tolma, a town in Vologda Region of the Russian Federation. Story begins on page 10. Photograph by Vladimir Cheishvili.



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# Russia's Road to Independence

By Dmitri Marchenkov

## Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

**Area:** 17,075,000 square kilometers  
**Population:** 147.3 million (83 per cent Russian)  
 74 per cent urban; 26 per cent rural  
**Capital:** Moscow (population 8,900,000)  
**Towns and cities:** 1,030  
**Administrative divisions:**  
 Autonomous Republics: 16  
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Supplying other republics with raw materials for almost nothing, the RSFSR receives in return finished goods that are often poor in quality by world standards. Furthermore, until recently a considerable proportion of the industrial profits of the RSFSR was invested in other republics. Russia was supporting the other regions of the USSR. The total volume of the RSFSR's industrial production for January and February 1990 came to 83.3 billion rubles, of which only 24.1 billion was budgeted to Russia.

As a result of this practice, Russia, the largest of the republics, is the most exploited. Wanton squandering of natural resources has seriously damaged the economy of the RSFSR. In the first half of 1990 the republic's income was down 1.3 per cent from the same period of last year, and profits were down by 2.3 billion rubles.

The trade deficit reached a new high as shops and warehouses withheld goods to drive up prices on the black market. And this in a republic already starving for goods, where, naturally, passions run high among a population yet to receive as much as 2.7 billion rubles' worth of food and manufactured goods for the first half of 1990. Not only shops, but also farmers markets have begun to empty, and, as a result, prices have shot up. The level of inflation in the consumer sphere was, for the same period, 107 per cent, while incomes rose just 12.7 per cent.

This situation caused a chain reac-

**M**any people in the West still confuse Russia, the largest of the 15 republics that compose the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with the Soviet Union as a whole—in the same way that we often confuse England with Great Britain as a whole.

Russia, or the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), is huge, both in geographical size and in population. More than 150 million people live in the RSFSR, of whom 120 million are Russian (the population of the USSR is 289 million). The Russian Federation includes 31 autonomous regions (republics, provinces, and districts), inhabited not only by Russians, but by dozens of other peoples as well: Tatars, Ukrainians, Jews, Chuvashes, and many more.

The center of European Russia—that is to say, the provinces surround-

ing Moscow—developed earlier than most other parts of the Soviet Union. Here an infrastructure began to take shape a long time ago. Manufacturing arose, and with it a more or less skilled labor force. As a result of the republic's size and the valuable natural resources of, especially, the Urals and Siberia, the RSFSR provides the Soviet Union with its natural resource and industrial bases. The RSFSR produces two-thirds of the gross national product of the USSR and is responsible for 80 per cent of the revenue of the Soviet state. Russia supplies most of the needs of the other Soviet republics for gas and electricity, petroleum products, ferrous and nonferrous metals, chemicals and petrochemicals, mechanical-engineering equipment, and timber. For decades, however, the forced "brotherhood," which in principle "united" the republics, actually found expression in a centralized system for the redistribution of goods that made it impossible for Russia to command its own natural resources.



tion of strikes and panic in the market. In May and June, when the government announced that prices would be going up, consumers created a small run on private bank accounts as they tried to buy as much as possible at the old prices. This further destabilized the economy and set off another string of strikes. On top of this, ethnic conflicts made it necessary for the RSFSR to find room for hundreds of thousands of refugees from other republics.

In June 1990 in the RSFSR roughly one in five enterprises failed to meet its contractual obligations. Russia was eleventh of the 15 republics in personal consumption. The supply of housing fell by 10 per cent, and, partly as a result of this, 16 million people are still living in barracks, in tumble-down, ramshackle houses, and ill-equipped, uncomfortable apartments. In 43 cities and towns, with a total population of 20 million, air pollution greatly exceeds the allowable levels. Crime and social tension have increased sharply.

Russia began its First Congress of People's Deputies, which took place in May and June of this year, with these problems in the background. Russians placed great hope in the ability of the Congress to come to grips with the problems.

The Congress agreed, after hearing the report "On the Social and Economic State of the RSFSR," that the republic had serious crises in its economy, in its social structure, and in the environment.

On May 29, after a tense struggle between radicals and conservatives that was intensified by pressure from the central state apparatus, the Congress elected Boris Yeltsin, a supporter of Russian independence, as chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

Then the national deputies elected a new parliament—the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR.

On June 12 the Congress passed its declaration on the state sovereignty of the RSFSR, claiming for the Russian Federation the exclusive right to dispose of its own natural resources and its economic, technical, and agricultural potential independently, to determine its own future, and to set a way

to establish relations, on an equal basis, with the USSR as a whole and with other republics and foreign governments.

On June 18 the Congress upheld the new parliament's decision and confirmed the appointment of Ivan Silayev as head of the republic's government, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR. In announcing his program, the new prime minister came out in favor of a change to private property for many enterprises in the service, consumer goods, building materials and food-processing industries, and he supported the idea of opening the domestic market to foreign firms.

The main conclusion of the Congress, expressed by the majority of the people's deputies, was that the only solution to the crisis was to change to a free market system as soon as possible. This was the theme of the session of the Supreme Soviet devoted to formulating the social and economic foundations of the sovereignty of the Russian Federation under conditions of change to a regulated market.

The main requirements for such a change are: abolition of the administrative command system, full economic independence in the field of economic production, equality among various forms of property—including private property—independent capital markets, reform of the credit and banking systems, and decentralization of government decision making.

Silayev informed parliament that in the new government the number of ministries, committees, and departments would be reduced from 51 to 28, of which eight were connected with the change to a market economic system; the number of workers in the central apparatus would be cut in half, from 20,000 to 10,000; and for the first time the ministries would be limited to 20 advisers instead of the customary huge staff apparatus.

The ministers in the new government are much younger: Two of them are 32, and the age of the others ranges from 45 to 55. Russia's new ministers are supporters of market economics, but the question arises, How will they work out a plan for a market economy?



### **Autonomous Republics:**

Buryat  
Tatar  
Bashkir  
Daghestan  
Chechen-Ingush  
Kabardin-Balkar  
Kalmuk  
Karelian  
Komi  
Mari  
Mordovian  
North Ossetian  
Tuva  
Udmurt  
Chuvash  
Yakut

"The change to a market system will require a revolution in psychology," according to the RSFSR's minister of trade, Pyotr Kurenkov. "We have worked out a strategy for retraining our employees, and in 20 regions of Russia specialists are already conducting seminars for trade ministry staff members on all levels, from ministers in autonomous republics to directors of shops. The next step is to denationalize trade and food service enterprises. Jewelers, liquor and foreign currency shops, wholesale outlets and cold storage depots, and catering services for schools and higher educational establishments of all



food service concerns are rented from the state, and in agriculture 70 per cent of all state and collective farms—17,800 of them—are also rented from the state. On July 1, 900 farms and about 100,000 cooperatives were registered; they employ two and a half million people.

On July 13 the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR passed a resolution "On the State Bank of the RSFSR and Other Banks on the Territory of the Republic." The resolution declared all banks and financial institutions operating in the republic to be the property of Russia, established the State Bank (GOSBANK) of the RSFSR, and provided for the introduction of a chain of commercial banks.

This resolution also effectively set limits to the authority of the State Bank of the USSR, which until recently monopolized the finances of the Soviet Union. A decree of the president of the USSR on banks essentially blocked the Russian initiative, however.

Current relations between the institutions of the RSFSR and the USSR are far from friendly. This is hardly surprising: The Soviet bureaucracy, realizing that its largest republic is beginning to slip away, has decided not to let it go without a fight. That fight above all concerns new ways of organizing the economy.

Thus the State Bank of the USSR imposed a 60 per cent tax on the profits of commercial banks, which is enough to ruin any young financial institution. And that is not all. The USSR has passed a tax law imposing a progressive tax on profits that exceed 50 per cent—and this when there is a chronic shortage of goods and services.

Yeltsin suggested lowering the tax rate to 35 per cent. But for the time being, no change has been made in a law that discourages initiative throughout the USSR.

The main cause of disagreement between the RSFSR and the USSR, however, is Russia's natural resources, claimed as Russia's property in "The Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the RSFSR." Aposop of this, on August 9 the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR declared unlawful any use of natural resources on Russian territory

without the sanction of the government of the RSFSR and declared invalid all agreements for their export concluded after June 12, the day the declaration was approved.

The central government was quick to reply. On August 23 the president of the USSR abolished by decree the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR on the pretext that, under the present—hopelessly antiquated—Constitution of the USSR, all natural resources are under the jurisdiction of the Soviet Union and will continue to be until a new agreement is reached between the member republics of the Soviet Union. The Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR made a number of suggestions on the terms of such an agreement, the essence of which was to retain the union of republics only on a voluntary and mutually advantageous basis rather than on a coerced basis. But the central government's legal right to Russia's natural resources would undermine the union.

Any economic change will destabilize unless it is supported by progress in the political sphere. Allowing a multiparty system and free elections are only the first steps in a long process. And the RSFSR, aware of this, is not waiting for a new all-union agreement, but proceeding with attempts to work out an agreement for the member regions of the RSFSR.

Two alternative agreements are possible. One envisions complete equality between all the autonomous and other territorial formations within the Russian Federation, but this may turn Russia into a collection of appanage principalities, as it was in the Middle Ages. The other alternative is to bring all the autonomous nations into Russia to make one Russian state. People from the autonomous regions would be guaranteed equal economic rights and freedom within the federation, but sovereignty would remain the preserve of the Russian state, which would, in effect, be granting the people of the autonomous regions a share in its rights. We have no idea yet which of these alternatives will be adopted.

But for the time being, despite the obstacles raised by the central government, the RSFSR is moving in the direction of independence. ■



### **Autonomous Regions:**

Adygel  
Jewish  
Gorno-Altai  
Khakass  
Karachai-Circassian

### **Autonomous Areas:**

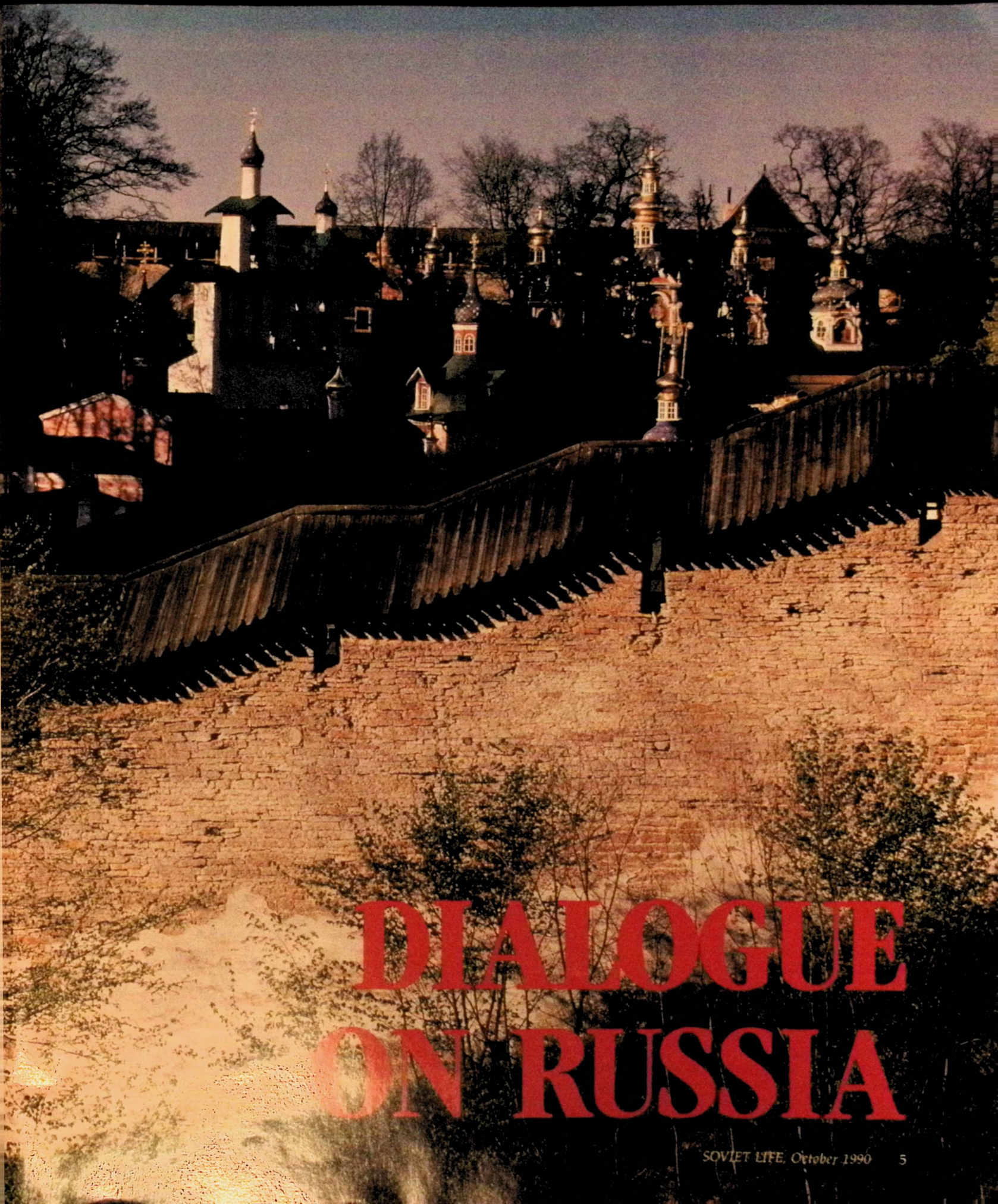
Koryak  
Chukot  
Talmyr  
Evenki  
Khanty-Mansi  
Agin Buryat  
Yamalo-Nenets  
Komi-Permyak  
Nenets  
Ust-Ordyn Buryat

kinds will still belong to the state."

The population is concerned that the privatization of trade and services will lead to a sharp increase in prices. For this reason there is talk of dividing goods into three categories: basic necessities, produced by order of the state and sold at fixed state prices; goods sold at regulated prices with a finite ceiling; and goods sold at prices set by the vender.

The revolution in psychology will take place: The Russian people are thinking more and more favorably about the prospect of a market economy. In Russia today 1,300 industrial enterprises, about 100 construction enterprises, and 12,000 trade and





# DIALOGUE ON RUSSIA



What can be more difficult to describe than Russia? To try to grapple with this monumental task, we resorted to the now trendy "pluralism": We asked two noted Russian writers to answer the same questions. Russian writers have traditionally been labeled either Westernizers or Slavophiles. Anatoli Pristavkin, a confirmed Westernizer and chairman of an association promoting perestroika, is interviewed by Yelena Zonina. Vladimir Krupin, a Slavophile who recently became editor in chief of an authoritative literary journal, *Moskva*, is interviewed by Valeri Dyomin.

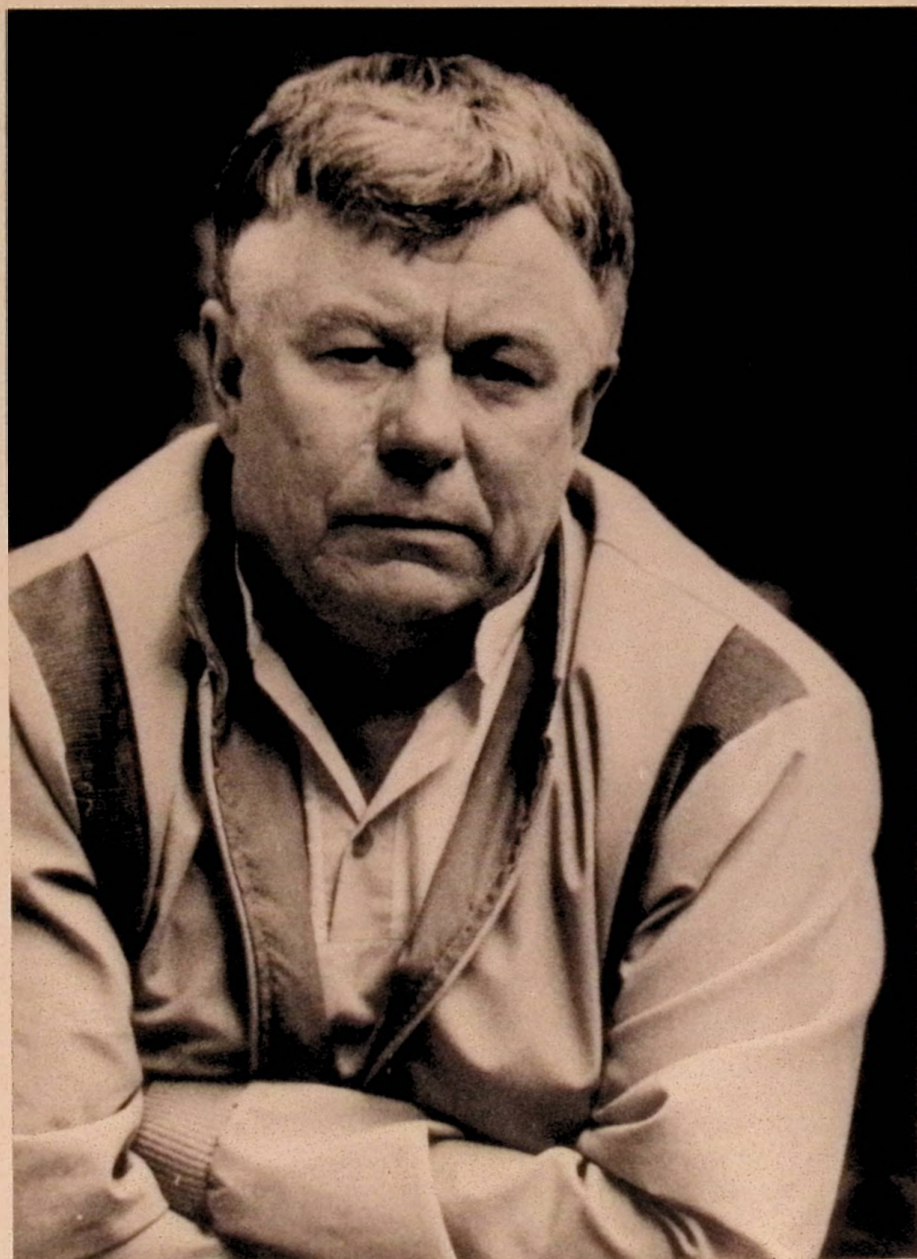
## RUSSIA HAS REARED

**A**natoli Pristavkin: I was born in 1931 in Lyubertsy, a workers settlement near Moscow. My parents were peasant folk. Ours was not an easy life. The seven of us huddled in a room measuring seven square meters, and we slept all in a row. Father went to the front immediately after the war broke out, and Mother died in August 1941. My sister and I went from a children's home, to a colony, to a boarding school in Siberia, to the Caucasus, and to Moscow Region. In 1946 our father found us and tried to make a family of us, but he did not succeed—the terrible years of war stood between us, and we couldn't find a common language.

I'm telling you all this so you'll understand that there was nothing in my life to presage a future as a writer. I was what we called a first generation urbanite, and there were practically no books in the house. Yet I loved literature, wrote poems, took part in amateur theatricals, and to everyone's surprise enrolled in the Institute of Literature. I read a great deal, studied poetry and painting, and even managed to graduate from the institute with honors.

In general, I must say that fate was good to me in the beginning: Much of what I wrote got published, and I was admitted to membership by the Writers Union at age 30. But the Khrushchev "thaw" was gradually ending, and the Brezhnev "freeze" was setting in. Then at a readers conference I frankly spoke of my attitude toward Solzhenitsyn and the persecution of dissidents. I was "excommunicated" from literature for 10 years as a result of my statement.

I had not been a prominent figure



in literature, and the public never noticed my personal tragedy. I have no doubt it was a tragedy. I can't imagine how I lived without losing my sanity. I wrote for my desk drawer, so to speak, with no hope of ever being

published. I had no money and lived by doing odd jobs: mending an iron here, a television or a radio there—it was a good thing I was clever with my hands.

My social standing was largely



shaped by Lev Kopelev and his wife, Raisa Orlova, celebrated literary critics and human rights monitors who were persecuted by the authorities during the stagnation period. Solzhenitsyn's works also influenced me greatly.

I knew a lot of dissident writers, including Victor Nekrasov, Vladimir Voinovich, and Georgi Vladimov. These people made me, a Communist Party member and an ardent proponent of the socialist idea itching to build communism, refocus my fuzzy gaze beyond the official campaigns and see life in a different light.

When at the close of the seventies my works slowly began to appear in print again—thanks to my friends—my positions, both political and civic, gained finished form.

But I have always been a Russian to the marrow of my bones. My heart aches for the fate of Russia and its long-suffering people.

**Q:** What does "Russia" mean to you?

**A:** There's an island on Lake Seliger in the Valdai Hills. I pitch a tent there and live in complete solitude. The fact that it's no one's land is an advantage because no one cares that you're there, and you can live like Robinson Crusoe. The inconspicuous, modest beauty of Central Russia is for me the personification of Russia. I collect icons, which have helped me understand the Bible and led me to the philosophy of Nikolai Berdyayev and Pavel Florensky. They introduced me to the Faith. The cross I wear was blessed in an Orthodox monastery. The Faith is also Russia.

I have often been asked if I would ever go abroad. On a visit—yes; for life—never. My soul will never feel free outside of Russia—unfortunate, deprived of rights, plundered and looted, but still my Russia!

**Q:** Do you think the Russian people have features that have remained unchanged through the ages?

**A:** These features are for the most part embodied in the women. Nature has arranged things so that men are the vehicles of change, while women are the custodians of the heritage.

People talk a great deal about the mysterious Russian soul. I agree with Vasili Grossman, who believed, as he

says in his story *Forever Flowing*, that the key lies in the meekness of the Russians, which at times turns into slavishness. Remember that Chekhov wrote: "We have to squeeze the slave out of our system bit by bit." I, for one, never managed to do that completely: I'm still afraid of the word "chief"; I walk timidly into high offices, though I know that the person in there may be a complete nonentity.

I said once—and journalists took it up—that our society has created a special type of "Homo Sovieticus," a "sleeping homo," a "prone homo." Now I think that we have reached a crisis and even gone beyond it. Hence, following the theory of heredity, we should be incapable of anything any more. But look how Russia is awakening now! It turns out that we still have—I really don't know where we get it—a store of strength in us.

To be honest, however, there are not too many who have awakened. Russia is still dozing. But never has the significance of anything been measured by its quantity. Pushkin alone was enough to make Russia an outstanding nation. Andrei Sakharov's quiet voice and Dmitri Likhachev's speeches are enough to make us stop feeling deprived and to understand what moral heights we have to aspire to. Sakharov's death brought us so much closer to understanding the meaning of freedom than all the freedom-loving appeals of the past few years.

**Q:** Some people condescendingly called Sakharov an idealist, a denizen of heaven.

**A:** They were not far from the truth. He was as naive as a child. Naiveté is a very Russian trait. It helped my father, who believed in "a bright future" to the day he died, to survive. After his funeral I found a crumpled piece of paper with a prayer written on it among his papers—he had cherished it throughout the war. An unbending Communist, cherishing a prayer! What is that if not a naive faith?

Russian character is spontaneous. We should not idealize the patriarchal village life and say everyone in the rural areas lived in harmony. As a

man who came from the country, I can testify that people in the villages also wrote denunciations of their neighbors. That was the reason my grandfather was jailed.

**Q:** What in your opinion is the national awareness of a people?

**A:** I will answer by quoting from a work by Pyotr Chaadayev, a great philosopher of the nineteenth century. This is what he said, and I agree with him: "In a way we are an exceptional people. We belong to those nations which... exist merely for the purpose of teaching the world some important lesson. The exhortation... will not be lost, but who can tell when we shall find our place among humankind and how many misfortunes we are doomed to experience before our predestination will come true." Bitter words but true.

**Q:** Why do many people today speak of the erosion of the people's national awareness?

**A:** It has been eroded because it has lost its counting-off point. The nation was shamelessly deceived for more than 70 years. We were made to live without a past, without history. What do we know about the 1917 Revolution? About Lenin? About the collectivization? Everything has been distorted. Even geographical maps, as *Izvestia* has informed us recently, were deliberately distorted. Everything is a lie, from our ABC's to the national economy. In the past few years we have lifted only a corner of the veil of secrecy, and the result has been an avalanche of information. But that is only the beginning.

**Q:** What is the role of fiction in the glasnost era?

**A:** I believe that literature has always occupied a very special place in Russia. That place is not empty in our times, either. Remember the words: "A poet in Russia is more than just a poet"? In this country, a writer is like a father confessor.

In Russia literature has a messianic role. That is a tradition that developed historically: Whenever the government ceases to function effectively and loses the confidence of the peo-

*Continued on page 30*



## THE STRANGE SOUL OF RUSSIA

**Vladimir Krupin:** Russia is my homeland, just as Georgia is for a Georgian, Armenia for an Armenian, and Mongolia for a Mongolian. Fate decreed that I be born in Russia. For me this is the important thing in life. As a matter of fact, all of my books are about my homeland. When my books were derided for speaking the truth, when publishers refused to print them, and then when they were praised for speaking the truth, I tried to maintain the same reaction to all of this as a son of my country, published or not, accepted or not.

**Q:** How do you understand Pushkin's statement, "Here is the Russian soul! Here it smells of Rus!" What does he mean by soul?

**A:** I would say the Russian spirit is a spirit that is, above all, ashamed of profit and of self-advertising.

Now times are difficult for Russia. It's difficult for all the republics, but maybe twice as hard for Russia. Russia gets blamed for everything. We are at the same time "slaves," "oppressors," and "chauvinists." Somehow it doesn't add up—the "oppressors" live worse than the "oppressed." After all, the Russian Republic is the poorest in the Soviet Union, not in natural resources, not in the work of the people, but in the quality of life. It gives 70 billion rubles every year to the budgets of other republics, which are prepared today to be up in arms against the Russians, denouncing them as "occupiers!" Can people who pay such a sum every year to the conquered be considered conquerors?

**Q:** Do you think that Russia is truly unworldly?

**A:** Yes, its soul is unworldly. The expression *make money* doesn't exist in the Russian language—it is a borrowed expression. Only the most extreme Russian cynic would seriously use it: "I do this and that and make money." Russia's guiding principle, although not always a recognized goal, is not material profit. But "to each according to his need" was attached to it, and see what happened. It will be still worse if they add "a consumer society." The paradox is





that we hate ourselves for the sins of the totalitarian regime under which we ourselves experienced genocide.

**Q:** But to this day the German people blame themselves for supporting Hitler. Aren't we Russians in some way responsible for Stalin's rise to power?

**A:** And maybe we were to blame for the Tatar invasions too? Hitler was elected by a democratic process, which can't be said for Stalin. Truly, there is an enormous moral difference between the willing choice of a leader who summons his people to universal sovereignty over the rest of humankind and the painful imprisonment under a ruler who promised a reign of justice for all people without exception. *Deceived by your own judgment* and *deceived* are not the same thing—in their consciences, people know the difference. Yes, there is a sin in Russia—the sin of godlessness. But there is also *coercion*.

**Q:** Do you believe that Russia was coerced into adopting a government system of militant godlessness?

**A:** Yes, and it experienced and bore and fused this militancy to its heart, which is the real miracle and mystery! Recently I witnessed a funeral service in a country church. "Who is the deceased?" I asked. "We are burying a Communist," an old woman explained to me. "He fought with us for 50 years and completely wore himself out; may he at least rest in that other world." How can you argue with such logic?

**Q:** Alexei Khomyakov, a Russian philosopher of the nineteenth century, had this thought: Having taken Christ deep into its heart, Russia also took upon itself not lukewarm beneficence but the burden of the cross.

**A:** The burden of the cross is our common destiny. Everyone suffers, but some are able to separate themselves from personal and foreign suffering by a screen of pleasure, entertainment, and so forth. What is behind that screen? More suffering—loneliness, hate, sickness, and death. There is a parable about the man with the cross: If you shorten the cross, you're carrying off a part of it. If you lengthen it, you can't carry it, but then what?

chasm, there is nothing to span it with. Your cross was given to you to be a bridge.

**Q:** Some are certain that, because of Russian forbearance, Russia will become a support for reactionism.

**A:** Forbearance does not necessarily mean slavery. Take, for example, the last world war. How did it get to be known as our Great Patriotic War? What hadn't the people already suffered? They had already been starved, allowed to rot in penal servitude, and driven to the kolkhozes, and their churches had been destroyed. Today almost every family has its sufferers and martyrs. My family is no exception: One of my grandfathers was imprisoned for refusing to work on Easter—he was a local ferryman—another was forced off his land and sent to Siberia.

And so the "red wheel" rolled across the entire country, yet it is this country that the people selflessly defended. The first thing to return to the people was not the lost government, but the Church, which the government had ruthlessly destroyed. Is this slavery or the mark of amazing spiritual freedom?

**Q:** But many people today talk about the "vital tiredness" of Russians.

**A:** A soul ruined by evil can become frigid, fall into a depression. Truly, we are a morally depressed and physically wretched people. For the first time in our history following a trauma, we are witnessing not an increase in the birth rate, but a decline. Because of this we can understand the success of the absurd extrasensory experts, the mind readers, the economic "experts." But the passions of today's meetings neither calm nor arouse the popular soul. The people are tired of duplicitous politicians and their eternal lies. The extent of deception increased during glasnost, changing form and becoming highly refined.

**Q:** But is there still hope that politicians who will act on their beliefs will appear?

**A:** Politics is almost always as Talleyrand said: "Promises, promises, promises!" Lying, in other words. On all levels. With the rarest exceptions. No.

I don't expect anything from politics. We should cure ourselves of this political mania; it makes our thoughts wretched, and for writers it would be a crime to sit by and allow this to corrupt people's souls. After all, the authority of literature in the eyes of the reader has always been exceptional in Russia.

**Q:** Maybe this conception of literature as a popular belief also makes people expect the writers to exert a beneficial effect on politics and the politicians to seek bonds with the writers?

**A:** Valentin Rasputin told me that when Gorbachev convinced him to join the Presidential Council, brushing aside his objection that writers make lousy politicians, he said the people's conscience has always been behind literature in Russia, and this is especially necessary right now. But here is the worry: Will this "people's conscience" be used merely as a screen for purely political ends? No, let our hopes in Russia remain in those places where old women pray for forgiveness for the Communists' sins.

One more thing prevents us from despairing—our history. Here is a question: What would I emphasize if I wrote a book about it? I would concentrate on researching its mysteries. The mystery of the Slavic soul seems to me to spring from the fact that there is nothing mysterious about it.

Our history, however, is full of actual mysteries. For example, Tamerlane invaded Russia in the fourteenth century. He had an enormous, well-supplied army, forged with iron discipline, sweeping over the globe—and what happened? He invaded a Russia that was already bloodied by the Tatar-Mongol horde, he approached Yelets, and then for no apparent reason he retreated.

**Q:** There is a legend that Tamerlane saw the Virgin Mary in his sleep and then recognized her on a Russian icon.

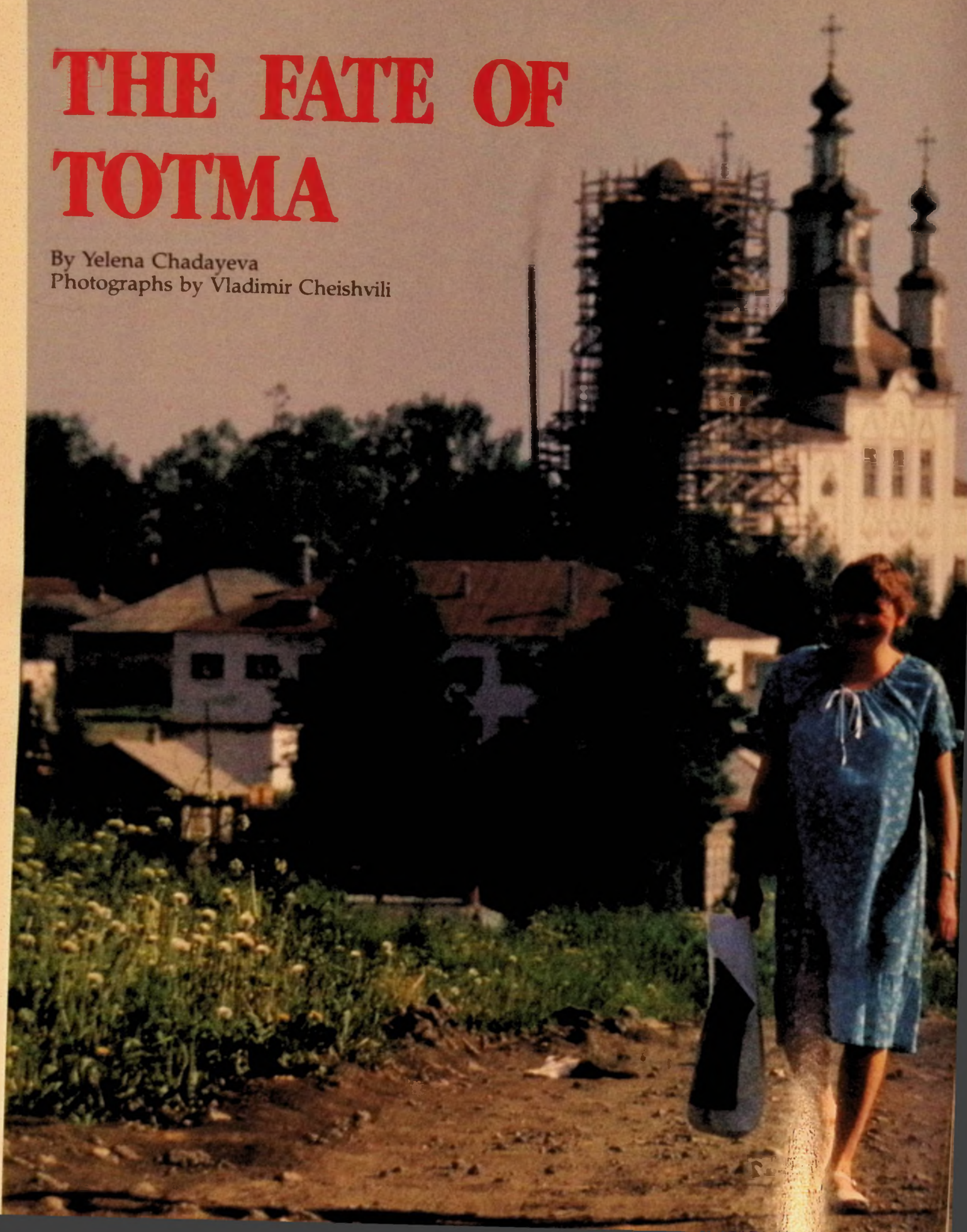
**A:** It is a mystery. And the unexpected cruel frost that immobilized the German tanks commanded by General Heinz Guderian outside Mos-

*Continued on page 30*



# THE FATE OF TOTMA

By Yelena Chadayeva  
Photographs by Vladimir Cheishvili





**W**hen Czar Peter I passed through a northern Russian town near Vologda in 1693, he said scornfully, "To tma" ("This is darkness," meaning back country). But the local residents are offended each time they hear this legend about the name of their town because they know very well that by the time Peter visited, the town not only had a name of its own but had a developed industry and commerce.

The fate of things and places once held sacred determines the fate of a nation. That was always so in ancient Rus. Our ancestors relied more on the spiritual, invisible bulwarks than on

the tangible thickness of fortress walls. Isn't that why, having rejected these bulwarks, the Totmanians, like all other Russians, are now reaping the sad harvest of moral desolation?

It is true that the forces of charity are maturing in the town, ready to save churches and also the souls of the people from utter ruin. But they are drastically limited as to funds: 80,000 rubles a year for restoration is very little. But I have seen how concerned the townspeople are over the calamities that have befallen them. This awakening of the soul and the sincere compassion for the desecrated relics speak of a pledge to revive the life of our ancestors and not merely

to reanimate monuments of culture.

Stanislav Zaitsev, a local historian, has a dream. He wants to see Totma restored to its past glory, proud of its old coat of arms, with a black fox on a gold shield.

This coat of arms has a remarkable history. Black foxes don't live in this part of the country. The animal appeared on the coat of arms toward the end of the eighteenth century, when sea voyages to America were routine. Totma merchants sent one fur expedition after another to Alaska. Sailors from Totma were the first Russian settlers in North America.

Archival materials on people from Totma in Russian America are very



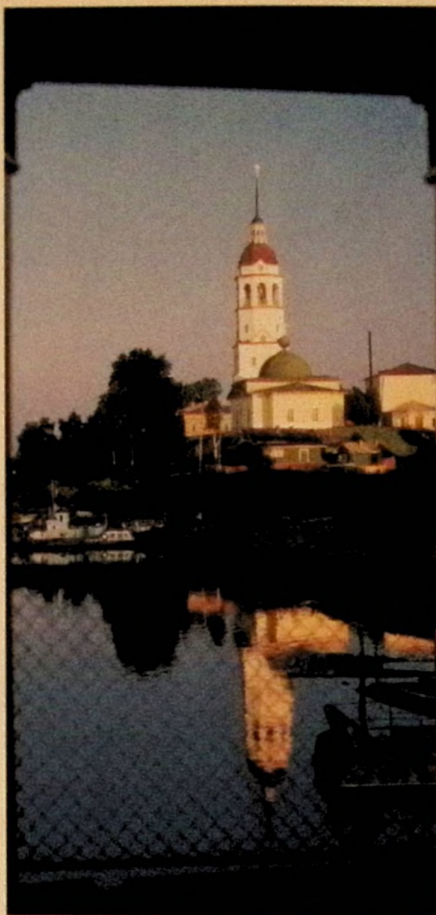


scanty; we have more information about Ivan Kuskov than anybody else. In 1812 Kuskov, prominent in the Russian American Company, founded Fort Ross, California, the southernmost Russian settlement in the New World.

Friendly contacts, begun two centuries ago, survive to this day with the territories formerly known as Russian America. The Russian Imperial Government sold the land to the United States in 1867. Now Fort Ross is a U.S. national park. A Friends of Fort Ross Society is active in California.

As ethnic and historical awareness revives, the atmosphere in Totma is improving. Many people's eyes have been opened to eternal values and to the beauty of local architecture. Old monuments are emerging from oblivion. Among them is Kuskov's house, now in a fine state of repair. Soon it will accommodate the town museum.

People and ideas are returning to Totma. One of these people, Vladimir Zamarayev, a prosperous construction engineer who was about to be promoted to project manager in Leningrad, gave up his career and a fine apartment to return to remote Totma, where he had spent his childhood.



The idea of homecoming first struck him 10 years ago, when he read an interview with Zaitsev.

"It was like a thunderbolt. It struck me that I knew nothing about my home town. From then on I had a new goal in life: To help Totma's revival and to make it an architectural and ethnological preserve."

Zamarayev's goal is to revive the handicraft school in Totma, which was nationally renowned until the late 1920s.

Russia today is like a ship with a lot of leaks—you simply don't know which one to fix first. The first breach is our agriculture. The main forces in Totma have grouped themselves under the slogan: "To produce sufficient food means to survive." The original meaning of the word peasant is being restored—and not on the initiative of the "higher-ups," which is always expressed in the form of an order, but on the wish of the Russian tillers of the soil themselves.

One of the new people is Vladimir Neklyudov, an intelligent and enterprising farmer with a keen sense of independence. He became a leaseholder and used his own money to buy cattle and machinery. He tried to

**Church domes and bell towers pop up everywhere above the roofs of the old houses in Totma. Below: Rural leisure.**





*In the environs of Totma.*





cooperate with the Sever Collective Farm but found it unprofitable because the calves he was supposed to fatten up for Sever were so emaciated they could hardly stand up. As a result, he is going to buy calves from private owners. He will cooperate with the collective on the basis of an agreement that will treat the collective as an equal partner and not as a "benefactor" and will provide meat in exchange for mixed feed.

Is Neklyudov working so hard just to provide enough food? For Neklyudov, producing sufficient food is tantamount to helping the nation survive. He maintains that the essence, the meaning of our life is to cultivate the land properly, as it should be cultivated. "A farmer should live on the land and know that it is his; he should see and feel it every day."

A long and painstaking process of moral and economic revival has started. People like Zamarayev and Neklyudov are its harbingers.

Even at present, with no agricultural improvements of significance made yet, the Totma district can produce enough foodstuffs not only for its population but for the entire region—good farms are no rarity here, despite all the adversity. The farmers have no incentives to make them work better: State requisitions devour

the lion's share of their produce. The better they work and the richer their harvests, the more they have to give up—in return for nothing.

The construction of standard three- and four-story buildings of brick and concrete, under the guise of fulfillment of the housing plan, has led to problems of architectural preservation. In Totma local officials have demolished several streets in a conservation zone that was allegedly under state protection. So in the course of several decades, one of the most beautiful towns of the Russian North, full of unique old wooden houses, gradually lost the image it had acquired over the past centuries.

Certainly old Totma has its champions, and they are not always alone. A Production Group for the Protection of Cultural Relics within the Vologda Regional Executive Committee (Totma is in Vologda Region) has long fought the "from baroque to barracks" movement, and with some success. The group is finding increasing support among Totmanians today.

Sergei Simonov, chairman of the executive committee of Totma's Town Soviet, seems to agree with the objections of the town's residents, but at the same time he raises his arms helplessly and asks: "If we don't pull down those old houses, how are we

going to build new ones—or should we stop housing construction in Totma altogether?"

Simonov's stand does not jibe with his role as town father.

The Totma authorities must have adopted this peculiar viewpoint on their town simply because they have no real power. They are only the flunkies of bigger bosses. The whole town is a slave of the central offices. The central offices are the real masters of our airport, flax-treating plant, electric power grid, heating system, timber-processing plant—everything.

In Totma, like everywhere else, the local Soviets have no power—like Hans Christian Andersen's emperor, they have nothing on at all—while the central and regional offices have all the real power. Their harebrained schemes doomed the precious wooden houses: The sidewalks had to be razed to build the gloomy standard three-story structures, and the older neighborhoods now look a little like rice paddies, flooded in the warm seasons. The elaborately carved wood of the traditional houses is rotting—and the central officials couldn't care less.

The central offices hold the purse strings, so they tell the town authorities what to build, where, and how. The best anyone can hope for is a compromise between the monument







**Boats on the Sukhona River near Totma. Many town residents have boats. Facing page: Residents share a potluck meal.**

protection law and the whims of the powerful central authorities. Here is an example: The Agro-Industrial Office started to build an apartment with 36 units for its local employees—a posh building, which will cost 280,000 rubles. The office doesn't care that the site it has chosen lies in a protected district of historical value, close to old warehouses. In compensation, the office promised to install branch pipes from the central heating network for the old houses.

"What does the town need most?" That was the question I asked each of the town leaders, and they all answered in chorus: "Money!" It goes without saying that any law passed by the state requires material support. That includes the Law on the Protection of Relics of History and Culture, especially in towns like Totma, which have been recognized as the 115 "gems" of the Russian Federation because of their historical significance.





We understand the discomfort experienced by people living in these architectural monuments and their readiness to move into any new three-story building. They are no longer capable of appreciating the cultural and historical value of the old structures, and the essential comforts of a modern apartment building, even an ugly box, are preferable to a leaky roof. Simonov cleverly directs these people's despair against the Production Group, which is working to preserve the old-time image of the town, and in the long run against the historical buildings themselves. The local papers feature caustic headlines: "Unlivable? Still It's a Monument" and "Sheds or Housing?" That is how the powers-that-be create a semblance of a referendum, very democratic and quite in keeping with the spirit of the times. And things will proceed in accordance with the scenario that's been perfected in the course of more than 70 years: The authorities will tear down anything they want, all for the "benefit of the people," and build anything they want and turn over the apartments to whomever they want, with the waiting list remaining just as long as it was before they began.

Armed with a law adopted in 1978, the Production Group for the Protection of Cultural Relics is working to preserve the Slavic outlook that has been immortalized in architecture—the textbook of Russian history and morality and notions of the beautiful. At long last the old towns, and recently the villages of Vologda Region, are getting some protection. That does not mean, however, that the group is against all modern construction in the conservation zones. They do not oppose new building, but they insist that it should not turn the town into a faceless mask of reinforced concrete structures.

The group has tangible results to show for its work. The town recently drafted a new master plan for development, which declares that new housing will be developed only on the outskirts of the old town.

Noticeable changes have taken place in the work of the Town Soviet, where many recently elected progressive deputies sit. I think democratic forces will gain the upper hand. ■

***The younger generation of  
Tofmanians.***





# Russia's Search for a Balance of Interests

By Andrei Kortunov

**T**he foreign policy problems of Russia's newly developing statehood mainly boil down to a search for a balance of interests with other members of the future confederation. We may assume that, one way or another, these problems will be solved in the new USSR treaty. But sovereign Russia will inevitably have to outline its specific place in world politics, even taking into account the fact that the republic of Russia will be a part of a renewed union.

We must find solutions to three difficult problems. First, how to speed up the republic's integration into European and world civilization without giving up its national and historical individuality. Second, how to reduce foreign policy shortcomings by raising the republic's status in international affairs without at the same time provoking nationalism and antagonistic feelings that are self-defeating. Finally, how to ensure a smooth succession of foreign policy given the increasing pluralism in domestic policy.

The new Russian version of the new thinking rhetoric will hardly help find answers to these questions. This is not only because over the past five years the striking formulas have become thoroughly outdated. The new thinking was mainly given destructive tasks, such as the elimination of old approaches and the old system of alliances. Today these tasks have mainly been fulfilled. Now constructive aims are assuming great importance for the republics—to find their partners and allies, to find their place in the balance of forces, to seek international recognition, and to ensure the

these aims, the republics must limit their urge to gain global stature, and their leaders must resort to less moralizing, more prudence, and more diplomatic maneuvering.

Over the past few years Soviet diplomacy has contributed to the elimination of the East European empire. But no firm basis has been created for future relations with Eastern Europe. Moreover, our leaders made no attempts to initiate a controlled breakup of the domestic empire; they preserved on the territory of the old USSR a new community relying on economic interests. These two conditions, not fulfilled by Soviet diplomacy, will be inherited by the Russian republic's diplomacy. In some respects the new republic will have a harder time of it because it has already missed the favorable opportunities for a planned transformation. But in some ways it will be easier because the new Russia doesn't have as many historical resentments and undesirable ideological associations as did the old union.

Any consideration of Russia's foreign policy strategy for the next decade would do well to look to the experience of France in the 1960s. Specifically, President Charles de Gaulle made use of the ancient advantage of the weakening state—the possibility of balancing between more powerful centers of strength.

This lesson could be rather useful for Russia's diplomacy also. I don't mean that our leaders should cynically play on contradictions. The main problem they will have to address is Russia's participation in a new political game, the main figures in which will be the United States, a united Eu-

rope, and the Asian-Pacific community. Russia will not quickly be able to play on an equal footing with these giants, but precisely its temporary weakness increases its freedom for diplomatic maneuvering. The strategic task of the 1990s is to start cooperation with all the centers of strength without becoming an economic and political appendage of any of them.

Even if Russia strives for a cheap and reliable defense, there is still no alternative to nuclear weapons. But France's experience shows that you don't necessarily need to be a nuclear superpower. The military reform and the transition to a compact professional army do not rule out reducing Russia's nuclear arsenal (in cooperation with the United States or even without such cooperation) and at the same time modernizing and increasing the reliability of this arsenal.

Russia's future policy probably won't be able to manage without its share of enlightened nationalism. In many practical solutions Russian society will accept and support pragmatism and compromise on the condition that they supplement rather than replace Russia's mission. In some cases nationalism will probably be manifested in foreign policy, assuming, perhaps, pan-Slavist forms.

For France, Gaullism was a transition from a period in which France had a colonial empire to a time in which France was to become a participant in an integrated Western Europe.

For Russia, if such a foreign policy is realized, the period that is like Gaullism must become a transition from a neo-Stalinist empire to a Russia that is an integral part of a united Europe.



# BANK FOR INNOVATIONS

## The First Year

By Dmitri Marchenkov

*The new bank's success surpassed all expectations.*

**F**or a long time before the Soviet Government decided to allow commercial and cooperative (not state-controlled) credit institutions, bank employees had been discussing the idea. The state monopoly on banking and the extremely poor condition of the financial and credit system constituted a great constraint on the reform process and prompted rumblings of discontent from many producers and other establishments.

After the government passed the banking resolution, many financiers, economists, and lawyers left the GOSBANK (state bank) system to work in new types of credit institutions, of which there are now about 300, with more than 50 in Moscow.

Vladimir Vinogradov was one such person. He became president of the board of the Moscow Commercial Bank for Innovations (Mosinkombank). It was one of the first ventures of its kind when it was set up on November 11, 1988.

The shareholders in Mosinkombank include the Znaniye National Society, the USSR Ministry of the Fuel Industry, Soviet publishing houses, research establishments, and amalgamated manufacturing enterprises. Their contribution to the authorized capital is limited to prevent any one or several of the contributors from developing a monopoly. The bank now has about 70 shareholders, who received dividends last year of 6 per cent, said Kirill Legkobytov, who runs the bank's external operations section.

Vinogradov, in addition to being the bank

president, is a member of the Presidium of the National Association of Commercial Banks and head of the Moscow banking union, which comprises about 40 commercial banks in the Soviet capital.

The new bank's success surpassed all expectations. Since its inception the stated capital has grown from 10 million to 100 million rubles, as of March 1990, and the bank's assets have increased from 14.4 million to 662 million rubles as of January 1990. The bank has opened branches in Siberia, the Soviet Far East, in Soviet Central Asia, and in the Caucasus.

Its clients include the Kuibyshev TV Factory in Moscow; the Leningrad Optics Enterprises, the largest of its kind in the Soviet Union, with its products in demand abroad and at home; and Leningrad's Kirov Plant.

The absence of bureaucratic delays in putting together deals and the opportunity to invest in innovative projects prompted many state-owned enterprises, joint ventures, and cooperatives to deposit their money in Mosinkombank. This January the value of deposits exceeded 36 million rubles.

Mosinkombank benefits from other financial sources as well. The total sum of loans borrowed from other banks amounts to 146 million rubles (22.1 per cent of the assets), including 30 million from GOSBANK and 116 million from commercial financial institutions.

From the very beginning finances for commercial banks were rather expensive because, unlike the state banks, they had to "buy" resources on



the market. Early last year a 4-5 per cent interest rate on interbank credits was considered beneficial, and within a year it had risen to 6-6.5 per cent. Because of higher interest rates since August 1989, Mosinkombank has been lending to state enterprises at the rate of 10 to 12 per cent annual interest. Commercial bank loans to the free sector of the economy are even higher, now averaging 14 per cent.

Nevertheless, the number of credit agreements is on the increase—39 in the first quarter of 1989 and as many as 107 in the fourth quarter. Credits last year totaled 700 million rubles—85 extended to state enterprises and joint ventures and 15 to cooperatives.

The terms are less rigorous than at GOSBANK, Legkobytov explains. Among other things, Mosinkombank guarantees early money remittance. The borrower is free to decide how to use loans, in contrast to the common practice of, say, Promstroibank (the industrial construction bank), which controls loans by opening special "credit" subaccounts.

Furthermore, Mosinkombank finances research and development projects endorsed by its experts council, thereby becoming a co-owner of what may result from them. Last year the council discussed 380 innovative proposals and allowed financing for 155 of them, including, for example, the creation of a small medical device that functions as an artificial kidney.

The bank also participates in film making and book publishing and sponsors various activities.

The establishment of commercial and cooperative lending institutions is the first step toward banking reform in the Soviet Union. A further step must be legislation on joint-stock ownership, which is now in the making, and permission for commercial banks to do business abroad, now under consideration at the State Foreign Economic Commission of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Mosinkombank has something to offer Western partners. Mosinkombank's address is 115612, Moscow, Kashirskoye Prospekt, House 57, Block 5, Currency Exchange No. 115612 at the Vnesheconbank of the USSR, 01009.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

*Prior to perestroika, I recall reading in SOVIET LIFE about the many diverse ethnic groups that make up the vast USSR. Further, the articles indicated how the various ethnic groups, while holding on to their traditions, were very loyal to the USSR and subjugated parochial feelings and differences to their strong support for federalism. It was indicated that the genius of the system since the Revolution depended upon the unwavering support for the USSR by the diverse groups in the different republics.*

*Imagine my shock and trauma in recent months in light of the strong secessionist movements and anti-USSR feelings in the republics. Has the depiction in the past of the USSR being strongly supported by its constituent republics been grossly overstated?*

*As one who believes that mankind can best be served by a socialistic government, you can imagine my shock and sadness over recent events in the USSR. The capitalistic press is having a field day over the problems in the USSR and is arguing that events in the USSR prove the superiority of capitalism over socialism.*

*I would like to see more articles in SOVIET LIFE analyzing why the recent events in the USSR occurred and who is to blame.*

**Morgan Stanford  
Atlanta, Georgia**

*I read with disgust the letter your staff received from a fellow American, Mr. William H. Pelton. He referred to the April 1990 article, "Psychic Plays Detective," in SOVIET LIFE as having "low editorial standards," and as having "trashy contents," and so forth.*

*How can he be so narrow-minded? His seemingly immature remark, "What is next?—UFO landings? Abominable Snowmen? Half-human babies? etc.," shows the lack of a truly cultivated mind.*

*He questions the "fact-checking and editorial standards" as if he were expecting an issue of Popular Science! A reporter must have the freedom to write the story as he or she sees it—even if it is about a murder apparently being solved in an "albeit" unusual manner (a matter of opinion).*

*Part of becoming a mature, educated, and well-rounded adult is to use one's mind in determining what one views as "factual" information; yet not trashing an entire magazine and its esteemed reporters in a lowly manner unbecoming of a true gentleman. (One can disagree without being a complete "ass" in print.)*

**Robin Kincaid  
Woodinville, Washington**

*I am prompted by your July issue, page 57, in which William Pelton complains. I, too, have often objected to this tendency of SOVIET LIFE to let absurd, trashy, sensationalist elements between its covers, except that I have seen fit to skip such unfortunate items. Since Mr. Pelton has broken the ice, however, I should like to echo his complaint.*

*I, too, am of a scientific orientation, and, in addition, I identify with Marxism and scientific socialism. I have subscribed for many years and have also subscribed for my local library (in Grass Valley). While I have been distressed by the tripe that occasionally is to be found in SOVIET LIFE, I have chosen to skip it. (I am even distressed to see you waste paper on Sculptor Alla Pologova, in this month's issue.) Please, in the future, tell us more about your country, your life, your victories and problems (such as the equality that we should envy that is part of socialism, as well as the problems of bureaucracy and corruption—which might well be equated to our HUD and S&L scandals as well as the evil goings-on on Wall Street).*

*Many in this world and in this country (the U.S.) will be looking to the way in which you run your lives, since the many contradictions that we live with will, soon, cause our economy to collapse, and thereafter we will need a new pattern. It is my feeling that you have it. Please let us know more about it.*

**Syd Hall  
Nevada City, California**





WELCOME TO PEACE TREE FE  
PARTICIPANTS





USA

# Peace Tree Takes Root

By Marina Mamatsashvili

Photographs by Georgi Tsagareli

**A** child of perestroika, the Children's Fund of Soviet Georgia has become the authorized representative of an American charitable project, Peace Tree. Peace Tree, located in Atlanta, Georgia, will likewise represent its Soviet brothers and sisters in a noble mission in the United States.

The charter envisions that both sides will promote the goal that all children, regardless of place of birth, social, religious, or racial status, have equal rights to medical care, food, housing, and education.

How did this American "tree" stretch

friendly relations at this school. I brought 5,000 letters from Atlanta students to their Soviet counterparts."

The Georgian students later visited their sister city, Atlanta. When Schulten learned about the social fund that had been started in Soviet Georgia, she got the idea of uniting the children of both countries to try to improve the lot of children around the world.

"We understand," she said, "what a task we have undertaken in trying to defend the rights of these small citizens. On both continents people have admitted that the time of discord and isolation has passed. I believe that if we

*A memento for the photo album (above left). One of the events at the festival (below left). Gela Charkviani, playing the piano, hosted Tyler Blanton (second from right).*



its roots all the way to distant Soviet Georgia? Leslie Schulten, the head of the organization, said: "I was in [Soviet] Georgia for the first time two years ago as a member of a delegation representing the administration of the state of Georgia. Our welcome in Tbilisi, and especially at School No. 53, was very warm. We established the basis of our

can take even one step a day toward kindness and friendship, the world will become a better place."

Schulten, who has three children, says of herself: "My profession is being a mother and a champion for peace." A true friend and helper in this charitable endeavor has been her husband, lawyer Scott Schulten.

STIVAL







**Everyone joined in the activities at the Peace Tree Festival (above). Calvin Kitten, Tyler Blanton, and Anne Coley, visiting the Tbilisi Ballet School.**



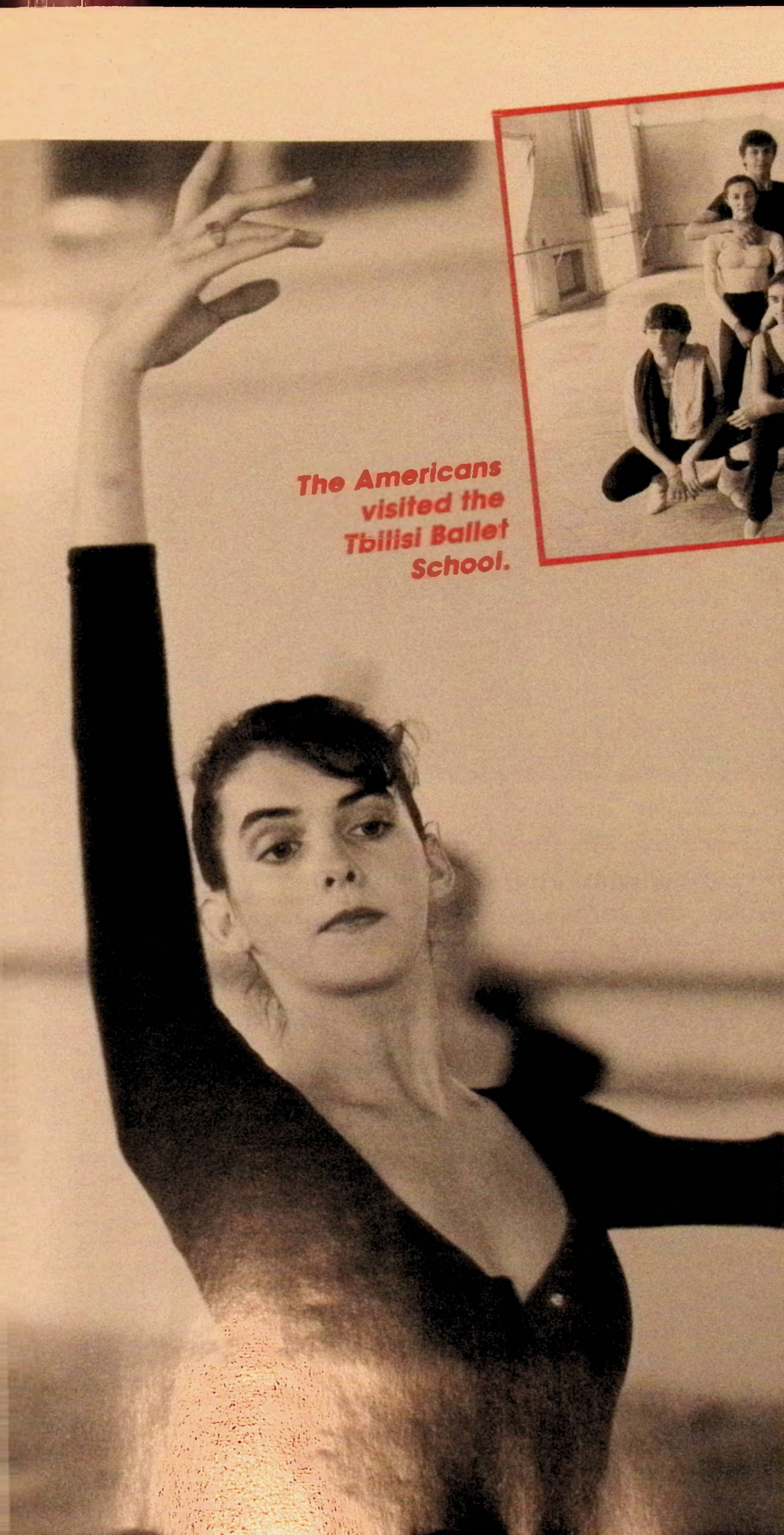
Accompanied by their three children and some 30 Americans of different ages and professions, including schoolchildren, the Schultens became participants in the Peace Tree Festival that took place in Tbilisi. During the festival the American guests announced that they would present their sister city with equipment for a children's stomatological clinic. In two years American stomatologists will be working in Tbilisi.

The young people's resort of Shavnabada, on the outskirts of Tbilisi, was the site of the Peace Tree Festival.

In the enormous exhibition hall where the festival took place, everyone got so caught up in the excitement that it was hard to tell the adults from the children! One group of children sat patiently at a long table—they were having their faces cast in plaster. All the masks were different—different eyes, noses, cheeks. The only thing they all had in common was a smile! The Georgian children will send these smiling "faces" to their American friends as gifts.

The language barrier seemed to cause no problems. James E. Washburn of Atlanta is 16 years old. With a serious manner he helped Dzhuna





**The Americans  
visited the  
Tbilisi Ballet  
School.**



**Vakhtang Chabukiani  
(center), formerly a  
famous dancer, now  
teaches at the ballet  
school. Left: Tyler  
Blanton rehearsed with  
the dancers.**

Dzhaliashvili remove the mask from her face. When the mask came off, Dzhuna still had some plaster stuck in her hair. James carefully removed the white clumps from the strands of her wavy black hair. "You're pretty," he told her in parting, and Dzhuna knew exactly what he'd said.

"I liked Tbilisi," James told us. "It's such a friendly city. Bakuri Bakuradze, the Georgian whose family I lived with, told me that Georgians have a saying: 'A tree is supported by its roots, but a person is supported by his friends.' I'm taking this saying with me to America as a motto, along with all of my impressions, addresses, and wonderful memories."

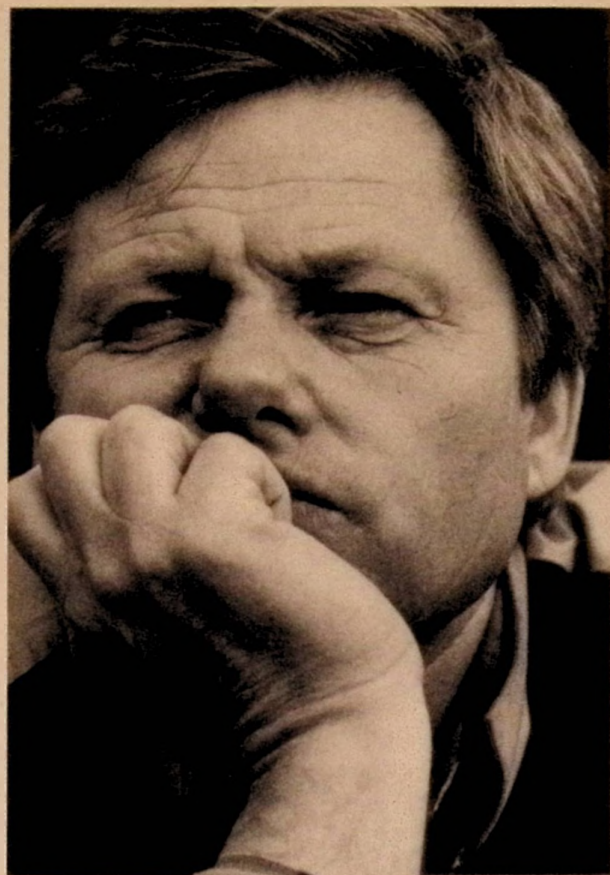
And 14-year-old Robert Holbrook told Khatuna Chanukvadze what surprised him the most about Tbilisi: "You have a lot of statues to poets. Your city is a city of poetry." And when Khatuna asked him to tell her about Atlanta, he answered: "You have to be sure to come and see it all for yourself, O.K.?"

And so they parted, with the assurance that they would see each other many times in the future. This assurance is the credo of Peace Tree and of all of its members, who believe that "Only friendship will hold the world together." ■



# Prospects For the Family Farm

By Valeri Grigoryev  
Photographs by  
Victor Chernov



**Alexei  
Anisimov.**

**M**uch has been said and written about the utter failure of collective and state farms. But the Dzerzhinsky Collective Farm, in Belgorod Region in the central European part of the Russian Federation, is prosperous by today's standards, producing seven million rubles in net profit every year.

Though his farm was quite impressive, collective farm chairman Alexei Anisimov did not look particularly satisfied.

"The collective farm chairman's lot has not changed much," he told me. "It is an illusion that I am free to use the funds and the land as I see fit. In reality, I'm bound hand and foot by

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**"I know what kind of  
collective farm I want."**

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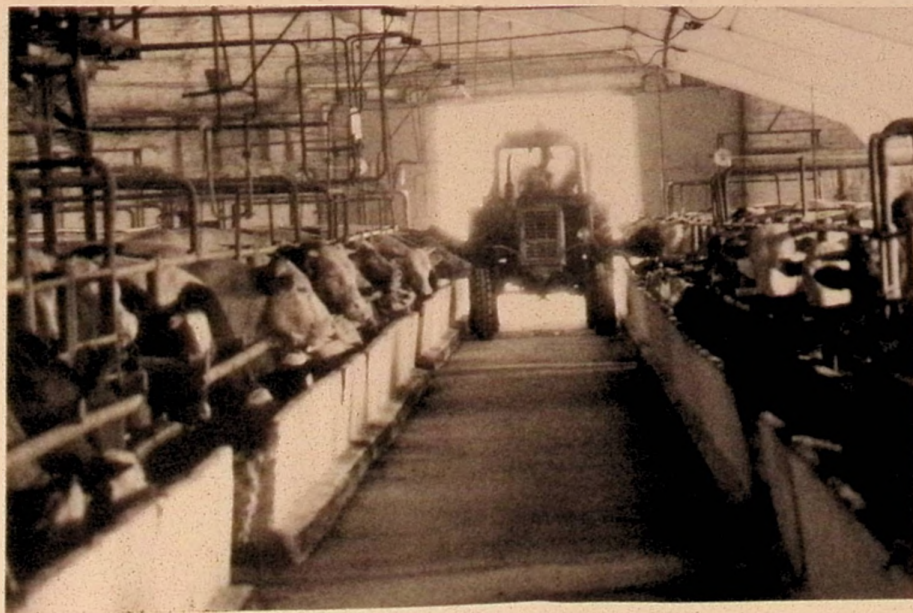
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all kinds of regulations. The farm may look like a rock, but actually it is a sand hill, and the winds blowing from the bosses' offices can reshape it at any moment, destroying what has been accomplished through painstaking effort."

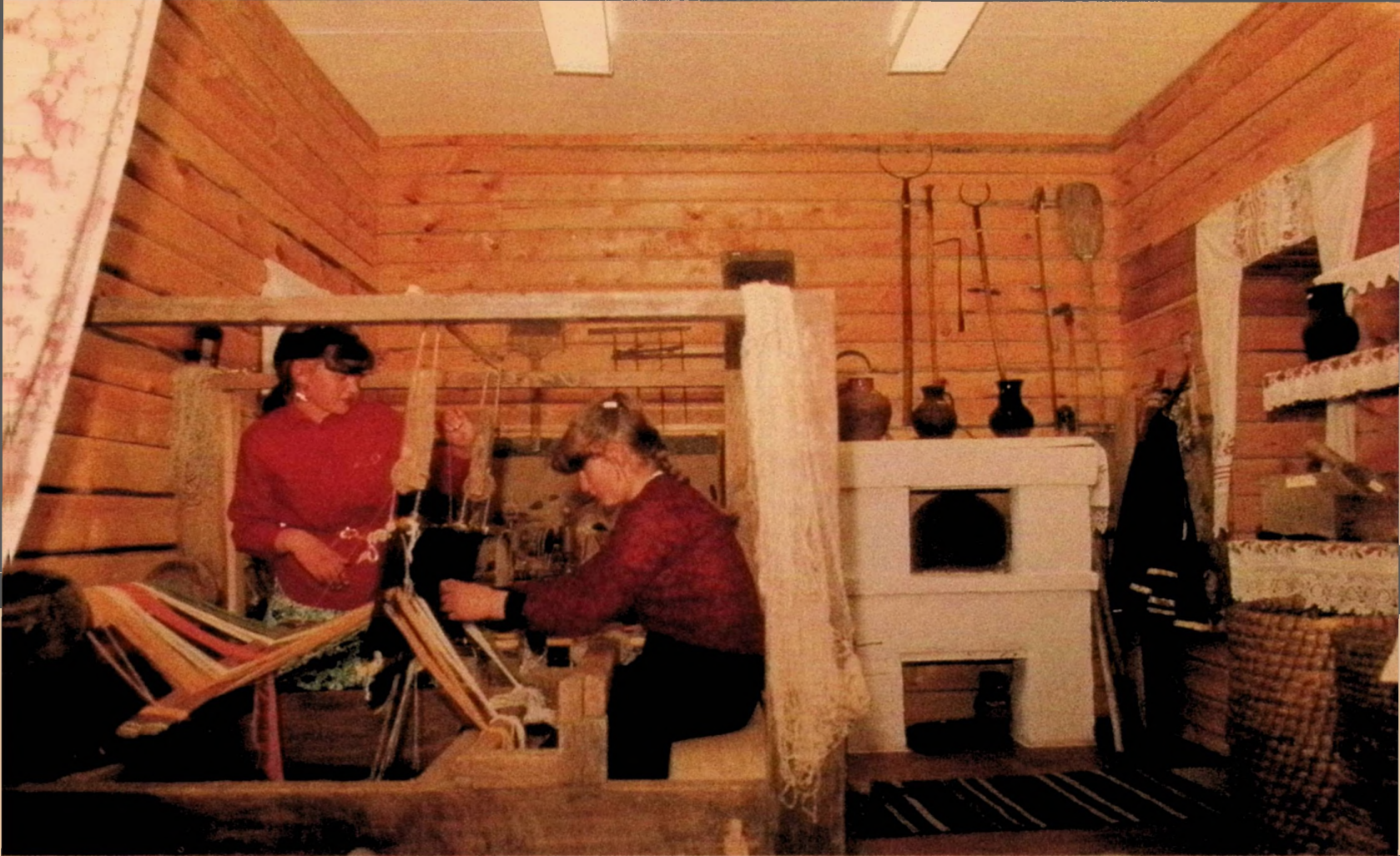
It was a half hour's ride from Anisimov's great "beef factory" to the first family farm in that region. The farmer, 30-year-old Valeri Ponik, leased the land and facilities from the Pobeda State Farm, managed by Ivan Golovkin.

Golovkin recalled: "I didn't believe in Ponik, but I didn't want to let him go because there aren't many young people in our village. So I gave him a neglected farm, some fodder, and suckling pigs, and I kept my eye on them. If anything had gone wrong, I'd have taken them back and given him the sack. But everything turned out well this time. The feeling of being his own boss was like a breath of fresh air for him."

**The livestock-breeding  
barn.**







Anisimov and Ponik represent two fundamentally different patterns in agriculture—collective farming and private farming. Collective farming is six decades old and is supported by the state machine and official ideology. Private farming is just coming into being.

Anisimov and Ponik have one

thing in common: Both lack confidence in the future, but more about that later.

The day I arrived at the farm, Ponik had gone to Belgorod. He had signed a contract with the public-catering department, which supplied its waste to him. The pigs were due to receive their fodder by midday, so I was sure

*Examples of traditional crafts are on display in the farm's museum.*

*Below: Music is an important leisure-time activity.*





*Ponik's son, Zhenya, in the garden. Insets, clockwise from top left: At home in the new house. Ponik's wife, Lillya. Ponik working on his tractor. Ponik buys fodder for his pigs from a local food supplier.*





that Ponik would be back by then. I did not find in him the usual farmer's reticence, behind which village folk seek to conceal their inability to speak "smoothly." Ponik would eagerly discuss any topic, be it the economy, politics, or everyday matters. He was wearing blue jeans and a jacket to match, and his hair was long and tousled.

"I don't have to take orders now about what I should do or when," he said, "and that is freedom. Yet it's not the kind of freedom I'd like to have, not full freedom, so to speak. I have to deliver a certain amount of pork to the state farm and pay for fodder and the lease of the land and barns. Only then can I think of how to support my family and buy discarded machin-





ery from the state farm at a bargain price. I need this equipment if I'm to expand my business.

"In my view, I'm in bondage, but this bondage is tolerable. The collective farm manager shows good will. Including the loan, my wife and I made 23,000 rubles last year. So we managed to pay off our debts and buy some machinery. The state farm sold me a tractor and a van, both used and no longer needed. I've repaired and painted them, and now they're in good working order and extremely useful. I'm building new barns and a house: We can't live with my parents forever, can we? I've laid out a kitchen garden and an orchard. And I've bought a Newfoundland: He looks fierce, but he's as sweet as Santa Claus.

"The possibility of bankruptcy is always a worry. Our livelihood depends on the good will of the state farm managers, I'm afraid. They may refuse to supply fodder, or price my pork as second-rate, or use any other

of the tried-and-true methods of suppressing initiative. And yet I hope that even before my relations with them worsen, economists will manage to persuade the government that family-run farms will die without a free market, that the peasantry as it was before the forced collectivization cannot be revived if farmland is not sold and bought freely."

In the view of *perestroika* supporters, family-run farms will compete with collective and state farms, promote a new enterprising spirit, and reclaim the potential that has remained dormant throughout the decades of agricultural monopoly.

Has it begun to work? The answer is No. The few private farmers that have appeared depend on the selfsame collective and the state farms, and, hence, cannot play the role of Archimedes' lever. On the contrary, the private farmers' industriousness and their resulting high yields, much higher than most collective and state farms can achieve, have been greeted

with irritation by those who are used to working halfheartedly and earning a fixed salary.

A typical argument used by opponents of private farming is: "Permitting private property means replacing socialism with something else." They also say that what we need to tap the potential of collective and state farms is not a market economy, competition, private farmers, or cooperatives, but generous investment in the social infrastructure in the countryside, plus help in the form of belt tightening in the cities. In addition, the collective and state farms have to be equipped with modern machinery and technology. Then there would be more than enough food for everyone.

I asked the two people I interviewed what they thought about this.

Ponik said: "I've heard it before. Huge sums of money were allocated for agricultural programs. And what has been the result? Thirty to forty million tons of grain are imported annually, and there are shortages of

**Everyone turns out for a wedding in the village.**





meat and dairy products; many foods are polluted with nitrogen fertilizer and pesticides; vast acres of farmland have been taken out of agricultural use as a result of faulty irrigation work; and more and more young people are abandoning the countryside in favor of the towns.

"Were the state as considerate a patron to us as it has been to collective and state farms for decades, in three or four years the government would be paying us for not increasing production rather than the opposite."

Anisimov said: "It would be unwise to scrap collective and state farms. But their structure cannot remain unaltered, and those who think that pouring more money into them will do the trick are wrong. Ponik is right in saying that we've heard this one before, but in general what he has said reveals that his wish is to see only private farming. I cannot agree.

"Collective and state farms do need the market and competition, but they must join these in a fundamentally

changed condition. I do know what kind of collective farm I want. The main thing is to make every member of a collective farm the real, rather than pretend master of the means of production and the results of work. Yes, your guess is quite correct; I do think that a collective farm should be a joint-stock company, so that everyone can know what stake they have in the shared business and be sure they can take it away if they decide to leave.

"And the most important point is that collective and state farms have practically turned into an appendage of the Communist Party and state apparatus. It is not the farmer or an agronomist but an official who determines what must be sown, where and when, to whom and at what prices the produce must be sold, and where the profit must be channeled.

"While we may have millions of rubles in the bank, I cannot use that money the way I see fit, for instance, to buy some machinery, because I'm

not the one who sets the quota—the state distribution organizations do. The same is true of fodder, fertilizer, fuel, and building materials. The lack of a market turns us into beggars and the state apparatus into a 'benefactor,' or rather, into a monopoly imposing its will upon everyone.

"The same is true of our produce. This collective farm, for instance, produces a lot of meat and milk, which we sell at prices set by the apparatus to a single customer, the state. One hundred per cent state order means bondage, of course, but we have to put up with it because there can be no customers if there is no market.

"If we are really to bring our agriculture into line with the experience accumulated in other countries, the state should give up the habit of imposing ready-made solutions on farmers and give them an opportunity to handle their problems themselves and work freely on their land. The market will regulate our effort better than any inspector would." ■

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# RUSSIA HAS REARED

*Continued from page 7*

ple, men who have command of the written word take over the functions of the cabinet of ministers. The natural counteraction is a ruthless struggle against the free, the truthful, and the sincere.

Not a single creative union is under such rigid state control as the writers' union. We were the ones who had KGB generals in the role of board secretaries; we were the ones to harass Boris Pasternak, to banish Alexander Soizhenitsyn, and to divest of their citizenship Joseph Brodsky, Naum Korzhavin, and Vasili Aksyonov.

**Q:** And yet we do not hear the voice of fiction writers as loudly today as we did before because journalism has leaped boldly into the foreground.

**A:** You are quite right. We are now engaged far more in social and political problems than purely artistic.

**Q:** The Jewish question seems to have acquired an acute dimension. Why?

**A:** Regrettably, we've made an old tradition of looking for a scapegoat, no matter what. Without tracing the roots of anti-Semitism, I want to set the record straight: Russians harbor no intrinsic hatred toward Jews. Ethnic conflicts have always been triggered by the authorities, and this applies to our time too.

**Q:** We are, however, witnessing a more intense interest in Jewish culture, with Israeli theaters touring in Moscow, a recent Jewish film festival, and Jewish centers popping up here and there.

**A:** Russians have always been interested in Jewish culture because Jews mean the Bible, the history of Judea, which was crucial for human civilization, the lot. Unfortunately, until recently this interest was largely abstract. But when the Berlin Wall of disinformation went crumbling down, we had more opportunities to learn about these amazingly gifted people.

I have been officially invited to Israel, and I expect a lot from my trip. I want to see Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulcher, and other sacred places with my own eyes. I want to see the desert that was made a blossoming garden

in 30 years, as Lyubimov put it.

As for us, we turned the blossoming Russia into a desert in 70 years.

**Q:** What is your forecast for the next 10 years?

**A:** Forecasting is a thankless business. Who can tell what awaits us? It seems to me that the Soviet Union as we know it today will cease to exist. Only a number of republics united by federal government will remain.

Today we are all under the impact of the euphoria of democracy and glasnost. But history has shown that night follows day, and reaction follows progress. That is the tragic dialectic: It is just about possible to pass from dusk into darkness, but quite unbearable to pass from light into darkness.

Yet I hope for the best.

The poet Pyotr Vyazemsky, who lived in the nineteenth century, wrote: "Peter I did not lead Russia forward; he only made it rear." It will be disastrous if Gorbachev only makes the country rear up and does not move it forward. But if he is able to pull it at least a millimeter away from the abyss, then maybe there are better times ahead for Russia. ■

## SOUL OF RUSSIA

*Continued from page 9*

cow in 1941. Didn't this godsend of a Russian frost reinforce the heated Russian faith? The prayers in church were continuous in those days.

Or the Time of Troubles at the turn of the seventeenth century. Waves of anarchy, treachery, appalling forgery, the domination by heretics—portending the final and irreversible collapse of power. Suddenly, at the last minute, a powerful instinct for self-preservation awoke in the people, and the power not only was reborn but gained new energy.

**Q:** Where did the Jewish question spring from?

**A:** It would be a gross simplification to boil down everything to a search for "the enemy," and we've had enough of this! The tragedy is that many Jews moved away from their culture but did not adapt to the for-

eign one—maybe with their minds they did, but not with their hearts. They did not become its humble devotees, and on the strength of this became the most vulnerable for the antinational mass culture and for every sort of mechanical experiments in art—avant-garde and so on. Yes, and not only in art and literature, but also for every kind of risky experiment in social life.

**Q:** Your prognosis?

**A:** A wise old woman once said: "Don't plan anything yourself, my son; everything is already planned without you." Let it be planned. People always will have a free choice, nevertheless. For some reason we are embroiled in the debate between Westernizers and Slavophiles for the hundredth time. We will continue to go around in this vicious circle, experiencing continuous revolutions and perestroikas until we finally decide to be ourselves.

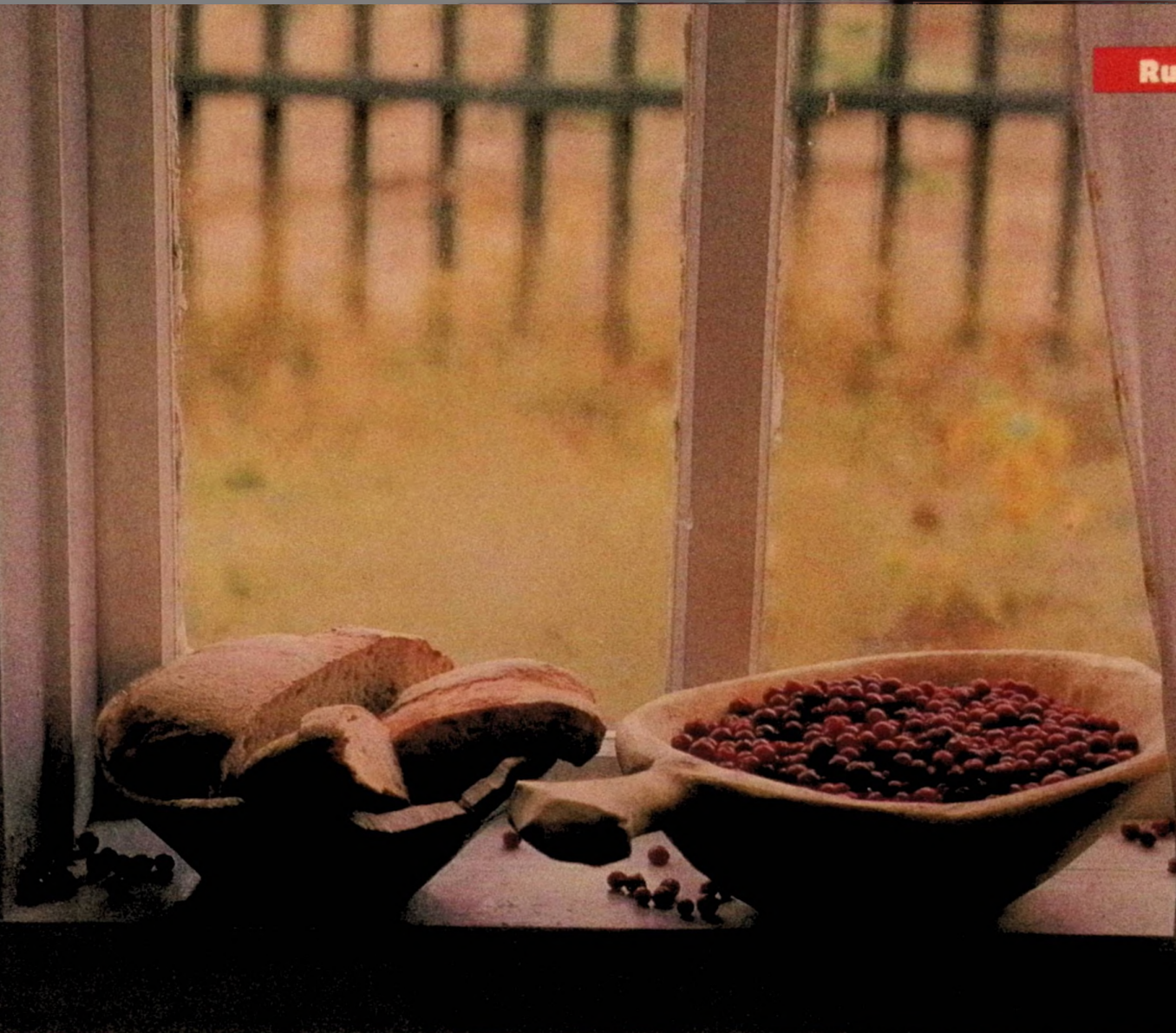
**Q:** I heard someone say, "Fine, let Peter the Great, let Gorbachev carve out a window onto Europe or America. Why do they carve it so deep, down to where there is only stagnant water?"

**A:** And that person was probably instantly branded an isolationist. This happens quickly! A false choice is forced upon us—either the iron curtain or a wide window down on the level of stagnant water.

**Q:** Who is doing the forcing? Some say the Jews.

**A:** But in essence it is not Jewish culture that is being forced upon us! It would be good if it were. The culture that is doing the forcing is nothing, it possesses no national identity, it is mechanistic, dead, and faceless. How is it possible not to respect the Jewish culture? Without the foundation provided by the Old Testament the New Testament, and therefore Russian culture, would not have been possible. ■





Photographs by Anatoli Goryainov



*Anatoli Goryainov's photographs capture the spirit of Old Russia. Above: Autumn Village (Verkola village).*

## Folktale Country

Seven stormy decades have passed since the October 1917 Revolution, but the Russia of yore is still alive in the photography of Anatoli Goryainov, whose works hang in the Russian Museum and in the Tretyakov Gallery.

Goryainov has traveled through the heartland of the country, where no foreigner has ever been, where people have no idea about current events, where there are no expensive modern cafés to pass the time of day—even places with no electricity. And in these places Goryainov feels that photographs can capture the same psychological depth as paintings. On the eve of the October 1917 Revolution, Pavel Korin painted a series entitled "Russia Receding into the Past." He never finished the work because praising the past became dangerous in the 1920s, so only a few unfinished canvases remain. But Goryainov's color photographs convey the Russian countryside like paintings—the sky blending with the expanse of a river, crosses glittering over a village almost deserted, an elderly man gazing straight into the camera's lens, and the illuminating beams of a setting sun.







A Cloud over Oshevensk.







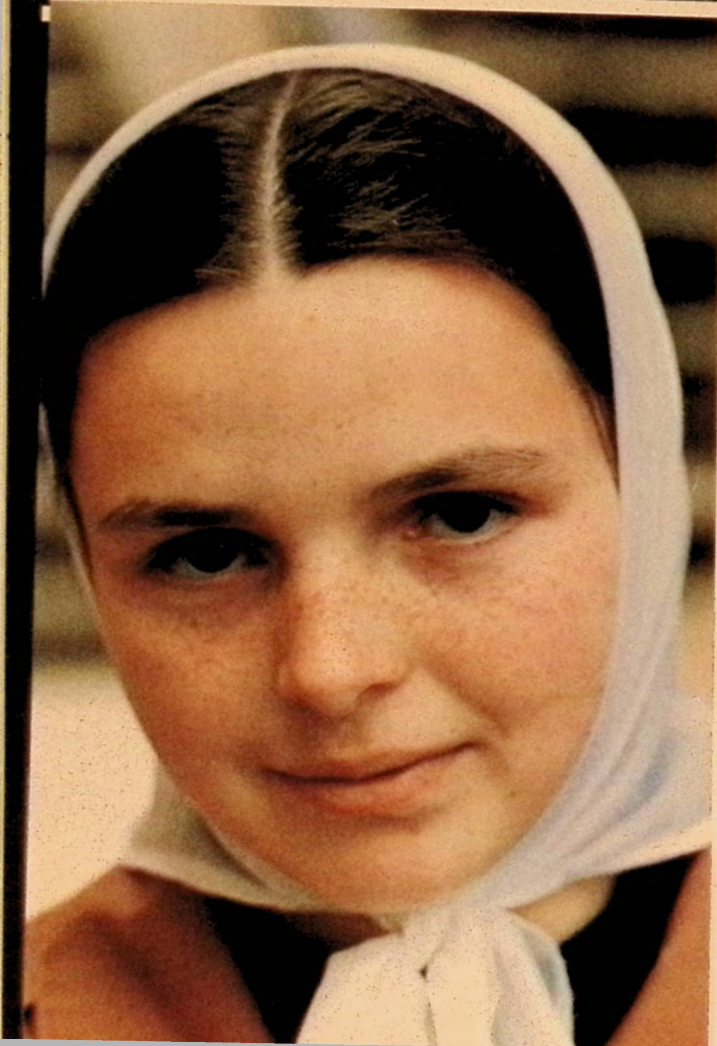
**F**all on Lake Ken (below). In a Povet (Barn). Verkola village, Arkhangelsk Region. Facing page: Granny from Lekshm-Ozero.











**C**hurch in  
Berezhnaya  
Dubrava.  
*Far left:*  
Freckled  
Beauty. *Left.*  
Spring  
Landscape.



# Books as Furniture

By Yuri Somov

**F**ads are a formidable thing. It could be that everybody is just going crazy, acquiring passions they've never experienced before.

On one occasion Soviet papers reported that a fad had begun in the United States for people to use wallpaper that looked like books. I don't know whether the story was correct or not; what I do know is that the Soviet Union has a shortage of wallpaper. That may be one reason that the Soviets prefer books in their original form. After all, books disappear from the store shelves almost instantly despite the soaring prices being set by publishing houses that have adopted self-financing. We Soviets have definitely outdone the Americans in this particular regard: The walls in our apartments are decorated with genuine products of the publishing industry rather than with fakes.

The problem is that while this country prints so many books, the titles are not exactly what the reader is after. True, the publishing of an uncensored edition of Dostoyevsky (the only complete version in Russian) is just about to be completed a mere 20 years after the first volume reached the shelves. Too bad the number of copies printed is unimpressive, to put it mildly. Also, the multivolume *History of Russia* by Nikolai Karamzin has been sliced into a number of pieces and is expected to appear in a magazine in about 18 months.

The situation is much worse where the Russian-speaking philosophers are concerned. *Works* by Pavel Florensky, Nikolai Berdyayev, Lev

Shestov, and Vasili Rozanov come in microscopic numbers from abroad. Instead, novels by the almost unknown French author Maurice Druon have avalanched on the Soviet reading community in an astonishing edition of four million copies.

These are just a few examples. It's as if the world's most literate nation will eagerly read whatever it can get its hands on. I hope that the Siberian taiga will last long enough to keep supplying this nation with pulp.

It looks as if there is a shortage of taiga where furniture is concerned, however. For instance, a list has been compiled in the city of Leningrad that contains the names of people who want to buy new furniture. The fact is that people at the bottom of the list may not get anything until the next millennium. The situation is no better in other cities and towns. It would almost be a joke to try to buy a regular sofa with a couple of cushioned armchairs in Moscow. By contrast, bookshelves are still available, though even they are in short supply. Besides, one needs to hand in 20 kilos of *makulatura*.

The Russian word *makulatura* means wastepaper that can be recycled for the printing industry. The word also means the printed matter that no one wants to read and therefore no one needs. When it comes to the so-called *makulatura* books that are eagerly published by the government in multimillion editions, the phenomenon is difficult to explain to an outsider: The demand for such books is determined not so much by the actual need as by the difficulty of the purchase. For instance, who in my

homeland, which is seething like a boiler and has become politicized and polarized to the extreme, needs the archaic love tales by George Sand or the verbose discourses about the subtleties of a career in finance that early in this century were committed to paper in a three-volume affair by Theodore Dreiser? People who have empty shelves? Books, after all, may be seen as a kind of furniture.

You may wonder what I mean by handing in *makulatura*. First you have to find a kiosk that offers coupons for a particular book in exchange for a specified amount of wastepaper. Then you have to hire a taxi or use public transportation, depending on your income, to cart the sheaves of paper or cardboard. Then you stand in line to exchange the paper for the coupon. Then you start looking for a bookstore that still has the title in stock.

This country is churning out a vast number of books and has no problem pumping out the huge amounts of paper required to print them. Wouldn't it make more sense to organize the production of wallpaper?

That's a rhetorical question. The USSR has plan targets for *makulatura*. Also, it has plan targets for turning the *makulatura* into million-strong editions of books sold in exchange for *makulatura* coupons. There is also a plan for the output of wallpaper. But there is no wallpaper in the stores.

And yet I fear that people in the United States will not understand me. They may wonder why we need planning. And I wouldn't know how to answer that. I am curious to find out myself, but, as I've said, there is no one around who knows. ■



USSR-USA

# Americans of Russian Descent

By Galina Ryzhova  
Photographs by Sergei Samokhin

*Americans  
descended from  
renowned Russian  
families visited Moscow  
in the spring of 1990.*



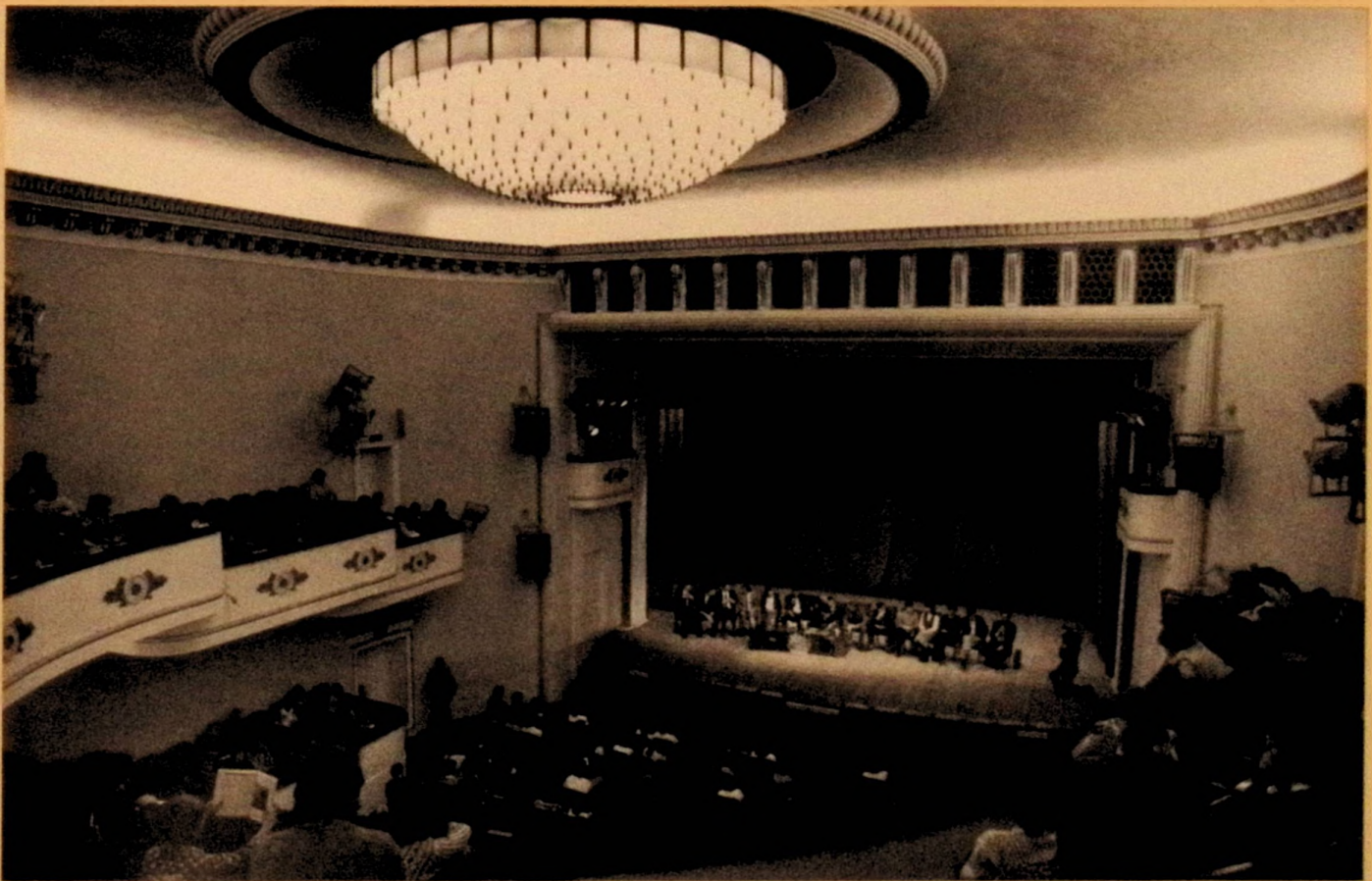


**P**erhaps the vast expanses of our two countries influence national character, and that's why the Americans and the Russians are so much alike. They are equally friendly and good-hearted; they are open for communication with one another." This hypothesis was expressed by an American with the Russian name of Mikhail Khlebnikov. He was visiting

The ancient families of the Sheremetyevs, Trubetskoy, and Golitsyns, whose younger members have recently visited this country, have their roots in the Middle Ages. The progenitor of the Sheremetyev dynasty, Ivan displayed miraculous courage in leading 7,000 soldiers in a battle against a huge Tatar army in the mid-sixteenth century. His descendant Boris Sheremetyev was appointed a field marshal by Peter the Great. The

tates are brilliant examples of Russian architecture and interior design. They have been preserved with their parks, ponds, home theaters, and vast collections of paintings and sculpture.

Sergei Trubetskoy, a legendary hero of the 1812 Patriotic War, was stripped of his titles and decorations for his participation in the Decembrist Uprising of 1825 (against the monarchy) and was sentenced to life at hard labor in Siberia. His beautiful wife,



the Soviet Union with several Americans of Russian extraction. The Americans participated in a Soviet-American conference on cultural issues arranged by the Soviet Culture Foundation. They all were of aristocratic stock, and their families had been pillars of Russian society before they had to leave their homeland after 1917. Russia has always lived in the hearts of the émigrés. The descendants were attending their first rendezvous with Russia.

***At a panel discussion with students at Moscow University.***

Sheremetyevs were among the first to receive the title of count in Russia. Nikolai Sheremetyev had the reputation of being the richest and best-educated member of the Russian aristocracy under Catherine II and Alexander I. He married a talented actress (a serf) and, rumor has it, happily so. The Sheremetyev family es-

Catherine, followed him to Siberia, becoming a symbol of selfless dedication and lofty love.

Nikita Trubetskoy, a general field marshal, also left his mark on Russian history. His talented descendant Paolo Trubetskoy was a well-known sculptor whose works are on display in national museums.

The ancient family of Golitsyn princes is rooted in the fourteenth century. Later the family tree sprouted four branches, each produc-





ing famous personalities. Vasili Golitsyn, a well-educated person who was in the czar's court in the late seventeenth century, had the reputation of being Russia's second most important man after the czar himself. Dmitri Golitsyn (1770-1840) is still revered in the United States, where he was known as Dmitri Augustin. He founded a beautiful church and a village near Philadelphia. In the mid-nineteenth century Russian and foreign newspapers carried delightful reports about Yuri Golitsyn, a famous conductor and brilliant cellist, who performed in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Paris, London, and many cities in the United States.

The Lopukhins gave Russia admirals and ministers, theologians, and prosecutors. The Pushchins produced military leaders, researchers, politicians, and poets.

In the Soviet Union, however, we knew nothing or next to nothing about the twentieth century scions of the dynasties. The younger genera-

**Metropolitan Pitirim of Yuriev and Volokolamsk told the Americans about the cultural regeneration of society.**



**Vladimir Morozan (right) and Pyotr Fikula.**

tions are living in the United States, in France, in Germany, or in Great Britain.

For several days the visitors found themselves immersed in the merry-go-round of Moscow's life. Of course they saw the sights, attended first-night performances, visited galleries, and met well-known writers, painters, and musicians. These descendants of the Sheremetyevs, Pushchins, and Golitsyns paid special attention to the historic buildings and gold-domed churches, the renovated monasteries, and the gravestones of their ancestors. They noticed Muscovites' immense interest in Russia's cultural heritage. This is especially evident at this time. For several decades a considerable part of this heritage was kept secret. Perestroika made a breach in that wall, and in the past two years we have "read" new pages in Russian history, have learned about names that were previously unknown to us.

The Russian Americans are proud to be part of the Russian culture out-



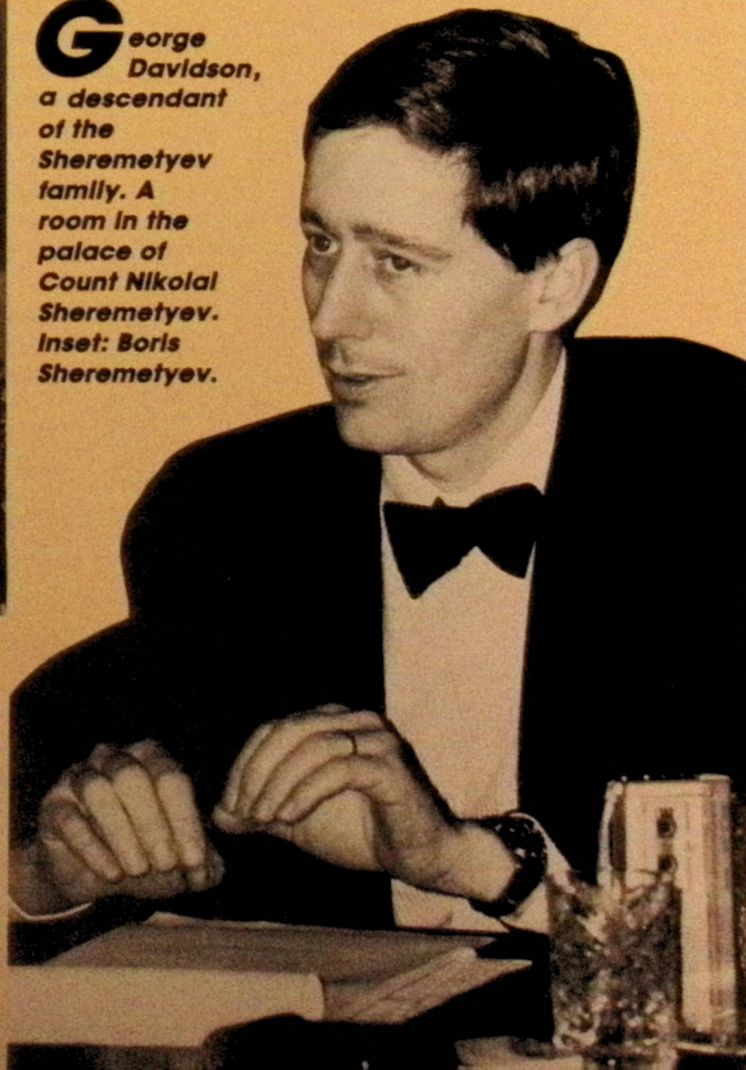


**D**mitri Sheremetyev in his uniform as colonel of the Cavalry Guards (left). Count Sergel Sheremetyev was a member of the State Council (center). Countess Anna Sheremetyeva, the daughter of Sergel, with her son.

## SHEREMETYEV



**G**eorge Davidson, a descendant of the Sheremetyev family. A room in the palace of Count Nikolai Sheremetyev. Inset: Boris Sheremetyev.







side of Russia, culture that is the work of celebrated musicians, writers, and painters, who for various reasons left their homeland in the early twentieth century. These included authors Ivan Bunin, Vladimir Nabokov, and Dmitri Merezhkovsky; composers Sergei Rachmaninoff and Igor Stravinsky; singer Fyodor Shalyapin; and aircraft designer Igor Sikorsky. Someone has calculated that the Russian authors living abroad, including those living in the United States, have written 1,080 novels, 636 collections of stories, and 1,024 books of poetry. The works by such brilliant Russian philosophers as Nikolai Berdyayev, Pitirim Sorokin, and Sergei Bulgakov are immensely important and are now being willingly published by Soviet magazines and newspapers.

*Millennium of Russian Church Music, 988-1988* is the title of a collection of music that is being prepared for publication in the United States. Contributors include musicians from Canada, Denmark, and the Soviet Union. Vladimir Morozan is the American editor of the book. "Our Soviet colleagues, who are editors and musicologists, have encountered considerable difficulty. The quantity of unpublished music is so vast that it is difficult to handle. Valuable material spends years on the shelves because people don't have the time to deal with it. So we've decided to pool our efforts: We have the computer technology and print shops and, most important, we have the shared interest in and love for Russia's brilliant musical heritage."

**F**ilm director George Nakhichevansky had his camera ready at all times. Above: Visiting the kremlin in Rostov Veliky. Pyotr Goltsyn on television in Yaroslavl.

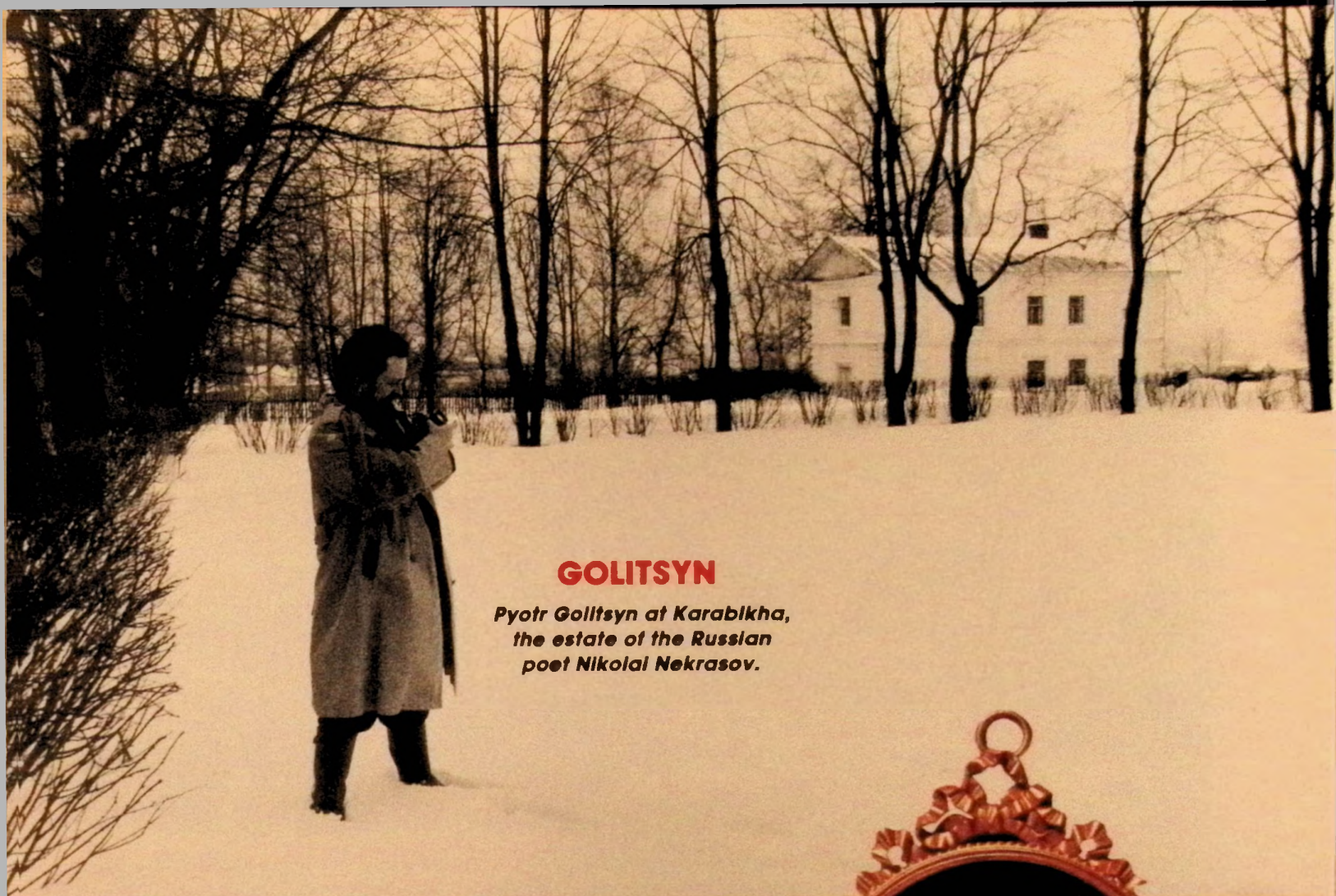


Nikolai Shidlovsky, who now lives in New York, is related to the famous Russian military leaders Alexander Suvorov and Mikhail Kutuzov. He has done a lot to popularize Russia's cultural heritage in the United States. He takes pride in being related to the famous nineteenth century poet and

philosopher Alexei Khomyakov, the founder of Slavophilism.

The Americans were very interested in a project proposed by a group of young researchers at Moscow's Institute of History and Archives that was intended to preserve a vast quantity of Russian historical manuscripts.





## GOLITSYN

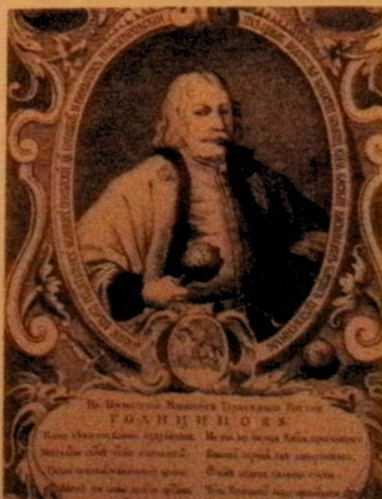
*Pyotr Golitsyn at Karablkha, the estate of the Russian poet Nikolai Nekrasov.*

"Unfortunately, perestroika hasn't yet reached the archives. Ancient manuscripts and books are in danger," said a research associate at the institute, Yelena Belokon. "The problem is not only the horrendous conditions in which they are kept. Young archivists have suggested an original computer-based technology of researching into and preparation of such manuscripts for publication. We have called the project 'Code' and talked about it with the Americans. I think they will support the idea."

They did support the project. A discussion brought out all sorts of ideas, original and quite promising. Someone even suggested setting up an institute of manuscripts to be equipped with state-of-the-art computer and copying technology.

The American interest in an archives is easy to explain: Many Russians living in America have rare archival material relating to the history of Russia and the lives of its great

**V**asili Golitsyn, head of the Russian nobility during the reign of Czarina Sofia.



*Mikhail Golitsyn in an eighteenth century miniature.*





citizens. The documents deteriorate. How can they be maintained properly? If an archives were founded jointly by the two countries, it would be the ideal solution to the problem.

The visitors noticed that the Russian Orthodox Church had become more active in this country, involving itself in a lot of peace work. They met with Metropolitan Pitirim of Yuriev and Volokolamsk.

The Metropolitan lent an attentive ear to the story of Marusya Chavchavadze, who is related to the Romanovs. Chavchavadze told of how the daughters of Nicholas II had been nurses during World War I. At that time many members of the aristocracy worked in hospitals and clinics. Charity was part of the Russian soul, believes Chavchavadze, who works on behalf of the unemployed in New York, setting up charity dinners and fund-raising events.

Pitirim told of how the Russian Orthodox Church had established contact between Afghan and Vietnam veterans, of the Church's work to reinstate the Afghan veterans spiritually

**Visiting Yaroslavl artists (above). Below: Alexander Neratov, the son of an outstanding Russian architect.**



in society, of monks and priests doing volunteer work in hospitals.

"I think," he said, "that the only right way today is to bring together all the scattered parts of society living in Russia and abroad for the sake of noble purposes of charity and in order to rescue national culture. We are doing a lot of work to make these things happen. For instance, a center of Church culture is being arranged in the house of St. Innokenti, the enlightener of Alaska."

Apparently the promotion and restoration of national culture is the call of the times because young enthusiasts from different educational establishments in this country have arrived at the same idea independent of each other. Students at Moscow's Institute of Construction Engineers and at Moscow University have for several years been restoring architectural sites in Russia's northern areas.

"I'm confident that many ethnic Russians will want to join such student teams. The idea behind the Russian aristocracy was to serve the homeland, not just to obtain privi-



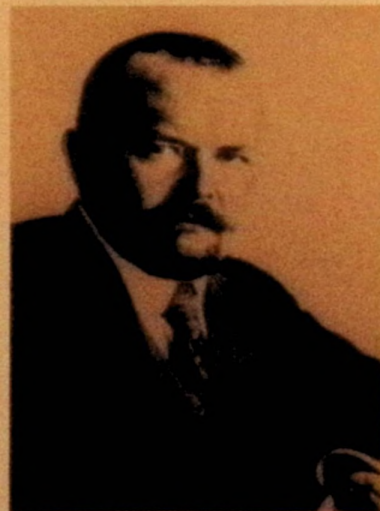


**LOPUKHIN**



*New Yorker Sergel Osorgin (left). A portrait of Princess Maria Lopukhina painted by Vladimir Borovikovsky.*

**TRUBETSKOY**



**P**rince Nikolai Trubetskoy (far left). Above: Prince Grigori Trubetskoy emigrated from Russia. Left: Anya Trubetskaya.





**Marusya Chavchavadze is related to the Romanovs (top). Mikhail Khlebnikov (Pushchin) and artist Ilya Glazunov (left).**



leges," said Alexander Neratov, a descendant of a prominent Russian architect of the late nineteenth century.

"I know Moscow from my grandmother's stories, and now I'm thanking fate for the chance to see the city for myself," said Pyotr Fikula, an advertising agent and the precentor of a church choir in a New York suburb.

A few words about one encounter that stands out among others. Russia's Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture has been restored in an eighteenth century house on Kirov Street in Moscow. The house was built by the great Russian architect Vasili Bazhenov. The walls of the house remember dozens of painters, sculptors, and architects whose names are cherished by every Russian. The American visitors were welcomed by the president of the academy, artist Ilya Glazunov.

The Americans walked through the studios and admired the academy's collection of paintings, which includes rare masterpieces of the Russian school of painting, and large library. All of a sudden Marusya Chavchavadze said loudly, in broken Russian: "I'm proud to be Russian."

Chavchavadze's words echoed Glazunov's sentiment. "The particular thing about this academy is that it is called upon to restore the lofty Russian culture. Russians are those who love Russia and appreciate its culture and history. It's people like you and like us. Help us by collecting valuable archival materials. It could be that the Russian foundation will thus start its activities to bring together all Russians, no matter where they live."

Everybody liked the idea.

"I don't know yet how I can be of service," said Pyotr Golitsyn. "But I will start working as soon as I get back home. Such encounters are a great inspiration. My main impression is of meeting the people here; they have such warm Russian souls. I think my wife and I will take a van and our four daughters next year and come here for vacation. I want to show my kids the country of my ancestors, and I want to raise them in the Russian way. My parents would be happy to see the change here. There is so much change. ■





**PUSHCHIN**

**M**ikhail Pushchin (above). Lavrenti Pushchin, grandson of the Decembrist Ivan Pushchin (center).



**A** present-day Ivan Pushchin (above).

Bottom: The Decembrist uprising in which Ivan's ancestor participated.







## American Artist Meets Soviet Ace

By Alexei Lipovetsky Photographs by Vladislav Runov

**J**erry Crandall from Sedona, Arizona, a well-known artist chronicling the history of military aviation, has finally had his dream come true in Moscow: He met General Ivan Kozhedub, a famous ace of the Second World War.

Kozhedub recently celebrated his seventieth birthday. He won fame by shooting down 94 Nazi planes. Today Kozhedub is the only person living who has the three Gold Stars of Hero of the Soviet Union.

But Crandall dreamed of meeting him not only for this reason. Kozhedub has gone down in the history of military aviation also because

he was the first to shoot down a jet warplane—the famed Messerschmitt ME-262—while flying a conventional piston-engined fighter. Crandall drew the fighter plane in that historic battle and brought the picture to Moscow.

The LA-7 (the two letters come from the name of the designer, Semyon Lavochkin) was one of the principal fighter planes manufactured in the Soviet Union during the Second World War. Soviet pilots also flew their missions in American Airacobras. General Alexander Pokryshkin, now dead, another holder of the three Gold Stars, scored his splendid victories in the Airacobras.

“We were likewise to have received Airacobras, but none were available at the airfield, and we were given LA-5s, later LA-7s,” recalls Kozhedub. “Their maximum speed is 375 miles an hour, while the Messerschmitt jet could go much faster. When the Messerschmitts appeared near the end of the war, their high speed and other flying qualities gave the German pilots a great advantage. We had to adapt to that, using the better maneuverability of our slower aircraft.”

Crandall’s picture shows that on that day, February 15, 1945, a Messerschmitt was flying along the Oder River—the border between Po-





Ivan A. Kozhedub

land and Germany. Kozhedub was returning from a mission, and a very successful one at that: He had already brought down three Nazi aircraft on that flight. The Messerschmitt pilot was absolutely calm, seeing that no one was behind him. Kozhedub, meanwhile, climbed to a higher altitude and, diving, accelerated his fighter to a speed of 450 miles an hour—the speed at which the LA-5 begins to break up. A sharp dive was the only way to catch the enemy, and he succeeded in doing that. The rest was a matter of a few seconds and of techniques learned in innumerable dogfights.

Most of the Soviet Air Force planes were destroyed on the ground at the beginning of the 1941 invasion of the USSR in the summer of 1941. The

first few years, Kozhedub recalls, were very difficult. The Nazi superiority in the air was overwhelming, and often the Germans had a ten to one advantage in aerial fighting. This meant certain death for Soviet flyers.

Ivan Kozhedub has a grandson and a granddaughter. They are the children of his son, Nikita, a naval officer. His daughter, Nastasya, is a journalist and works for a newspaper. Kozhedub's military service, the general recalls with a smile, helped him to start family life. His bride, Victoria, was a bare 16 years old, and he could not register his marriage with her because in Russia the age of consent is 18. But the 26-year-old holder of three Gold Stars, who was not accustomed to beating a retreat, went into battle fully uniformed against the bu-

reaucrats, and he prevailed. Now he and his wife are wondering when they will become great-grandparents.

"I really admire your life, and I'd like to be your friend, as many Americans would," said Crandall, taking leave of Kozhedub. "My wife and I have worked hard to meet you, to show my picture to you, and to find out what you think about it. I was sure it was worth spending the time and money. With your autograph at the bottom, this picture is a historical document of the past world war, which I hope was the last one."

People who see Crandall's picture in the National Air and Space Museum in Washington, D.C., may rest assured that it is an exact reproduction of a fascinating episode from the history of military aviation.



# Kazimir Malevich

## 1878-1935



**K**azimir Malevich has been described by J. Carter Brown, director of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., as "one of the twentieth century's most extraordinary and influential artists." Malevich's work has been known to people all over the world mostly through reproductions in books. Last year people in the Soviet Union had the opportunity to view his paintings at the first exhibition of his work in his own country.

This year Americans will have an unprecedented opportunity to learn about Malevich through firsthand viewing of his work. An exhibition that opened at the National Gallery on September 16 continues there through November 4. It includes 170 paintings, works on paper, and architectural models from museums in the USSR, the United States, the Netherlands, and France. The exhibit was organized by the National Gallery of Art, the Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art at the initiative of Dr. Hammer.

Malevich, best known for his abstract suprematist painting, also worked in styles as diverse as impressionism, symbolism, neo-primitivism,

*Composition with Mona Lisa.*  
1914. Graphite, oil, and collage  
on canvas. Private collection,  
Leningrad.





**Self-Portrait. c. 1908-1909. Gouache on paper. State Tretyakov Gallery.**

**Suprematism. 1915. Oil on canvas. State Russian Museum.**



and cubo-futurism. Malevich's abstract works were regarded with suspicion, as being ideologically alien, in the Soviet Union in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and they disappeared into storage in museums.

Born in the Ukraine in 1878, Malevich trained at the Kiev School of Art. In 1907 he moved to Moscow, where he became acquainted with Natalya Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov. The neo-primitive style of these artists had a significant influence on Malevich's early work, reflected in his 1910-1911 paintings with peasant themes.

The Moscow art world at this time was strongly influenced by the works of the Western European impressionists, Cézanne, Picasso, and Matisse. By 1912 Goncharova, Malevich, and others were asserting a Russian basis for their art and staging exhibitions that broke with these Western links.

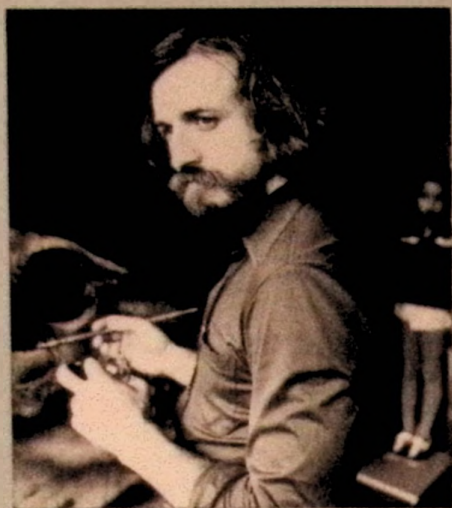
By 1915 Malevich had broken with this group and was moving in an independent direction. In a very short period he produced 35 completely abstract paintings based on a system he called suprematism. These early works, depicting roughly geometrical elements unified on white surfaces, went on exhibit at the end of 1915.

Malevich and the others who took up suprematism supported the October 1917 Revolution. By the early 1920s, however, they had come into conflict with the socialist realist artists, and Malevich began to produce less.

In 1927 Malevich exhibited a large collection in Warsaw and Berlin. When he returned to Leningrad, he left these works in Germany. They were later acquired by Western museums, primarily the Stedelijk in Amsterdam, and were the basis for the West's exposure to Malevich's body of work.

The exhibition will be the inaugural exhibit at the Armand Hammer Museum and Cultural Center in Los Angeles (November 25, 1990-January 13, 1991). Then it will move on to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (February 7-March 24). ■





# The Artist's Sixth Sense

By Oleg Torchinsky

**N**o one likes the paintings of Vladislav Provotorov, a Moscow artist. Cultural officials don't like their obscurantism, mysticism, and religious symbolism. Art critics are irritated because Provotorov's works cannot be forced into any of the known patterns of Soviet art. Fellow artists realize that pictures hanging next to Provotorov's canvases fade into the woodwork. Ordinary art lovers do not like Provotorov's canvases because the artist, instead of consoling and encouraging viewers, tries to impress them with ponderous themes—good and evil, heaven and hell, life and death. This makes people nervous and angry—all the more so because they are unfamiliar with Christian symbolism and thus do not understand what the artist is trying to tell them.

Indeed, Provotorov's pictures give some people the creeps. But who said that art should only gladden the eye? Provotorov's *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, *Judas' Kiss*, *The Ship of Fools*, and *The Seven Mortal Sins* make people not only stagger back in terror and disgust, but also think. When viewers have overcome their repulsion, however, they return to Provotorov's pictures over and over again, immersing themselves in the threatening world of evil from which the artist has banished all sunlight, the greenness of flowers and trees, and the blue of the skies, leaving only darkness ominously pierced with streaks of blazing flames, weeping, and the gnashing of teeth.

Nothing very special or dramatic has occurred thus far in Provotorov's life. He was born in 1947 into the family of an army officer. In 1972 he graduated from the Moscow Higher Art and Industrial School, known locally as Stroganovsky. After graduation, Provotorov worked for an organization that turned out unimaginative industrial ads. He spent all his free time painting. His canvases were regularly displayed at a basement gallery in Moscow's Malaya Gruzinskaya Street, the gallery of "rejected" artists. The advent of glasnost gave him a chance to participate in official exhibitions, including some that traveled abroad. Gradually Provotorov's pictures started finding their way to Austria, West Germany, Switzerland, Finland, and other countries. But not a single Soviet art museum has bought any of his paintings.

I once talked with artists who belonged to Group-20, one of the first independent groups of avant-garde artists in Moscow, and probably in the whole country. Group-20 was very famous in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Provotorov was one of the group, although he and the others had hardly anything in common but a feeling of having been rejected, a grievance against the bureaucrats who stood at the helm of Soviet culture at that time, and an unwillingness to become hack artists.

When I asked these artists what they wanted to say with their works, they responded: "We are just artists. It's up to you to interpret what our



**Christ. 1988. Below: Blasphemy (from The Seven Mortal Sins). Facing page: Composition. 1980. All paintings oil on canvas.**







pictures mean, if you wish." Finally, one of them said: "Any picture is a self-portrait of an artist in a certain way."

Another chimed in: "Provorov's is the most interesting self-portrait." They showed me a reproduction of a self-portrait depicting a man with a

microcephalic head, crazy bulging eyes, and a mouth twisted by a shout.

"Is he really like this?" I asked.

"Certainly," was the reply, and everyone laughed.

A year later I visited Provorov in his new studio. There was no furniture in the room, only a stack of

canvases leaning against a wall. Provorov, a serious-looking man with strands of white in his hair and beard, resembled an old icon painter. I thought bitterly that Soviet avant-garde artists are still called "young artists" although most of them are already in their forties. Many are still ◻





waiting for an opportunity to speak out and to be heard, if not to be recognized or at least favorably reviewed. Some of these "young artists" are already gone, having never had such a chance.

Provotorov impressed me instantly. He was so different from some of his colleagues, who are burning in their search for glory and money. His intellectual potential and knowledge of European culture are just amazing. On top of all that, he gave the impression of a man confident in the path he had chosen.

The Stroganovsky school, where Provotorov studied, is the fortress of traditional realism, altogether different from Provotorov's work. I asked him why he did not paint portraits of exemplary workers in hard hats.

"I am grateful to the school for teaching me the techniques of painting. I had an opportunity to expand my education by borrowing books from its library, which is one of the best art libraries in the world. I was tempted by everything there—impressionism, cubism, surrealism, pop art.

"About my painting. To begin with, I think that unlike other human beings, the artist should have a sixth sense—a special channel of perception that cannot always be described by words. This is the specific characteristic of art. I believe that in science and art there are eternal ideas—archetypes that are beyond us and that have always existed. The task of the artist is to uncover them with the help of this sixth sense and to convey them to the people in the form of artistic images.

"My sixth sense prompted me to explore the ideas of destruction with which those times were pregnant. But that was in no way connected with the circumstances of my life or my relations with society. Those artistic images were the embodiment of the great cosmology of Christianity to which I, a son of the Orthodox Church, owe my understanding of good and evil, life and death, Christ and Antichrist, chaos and harmony."

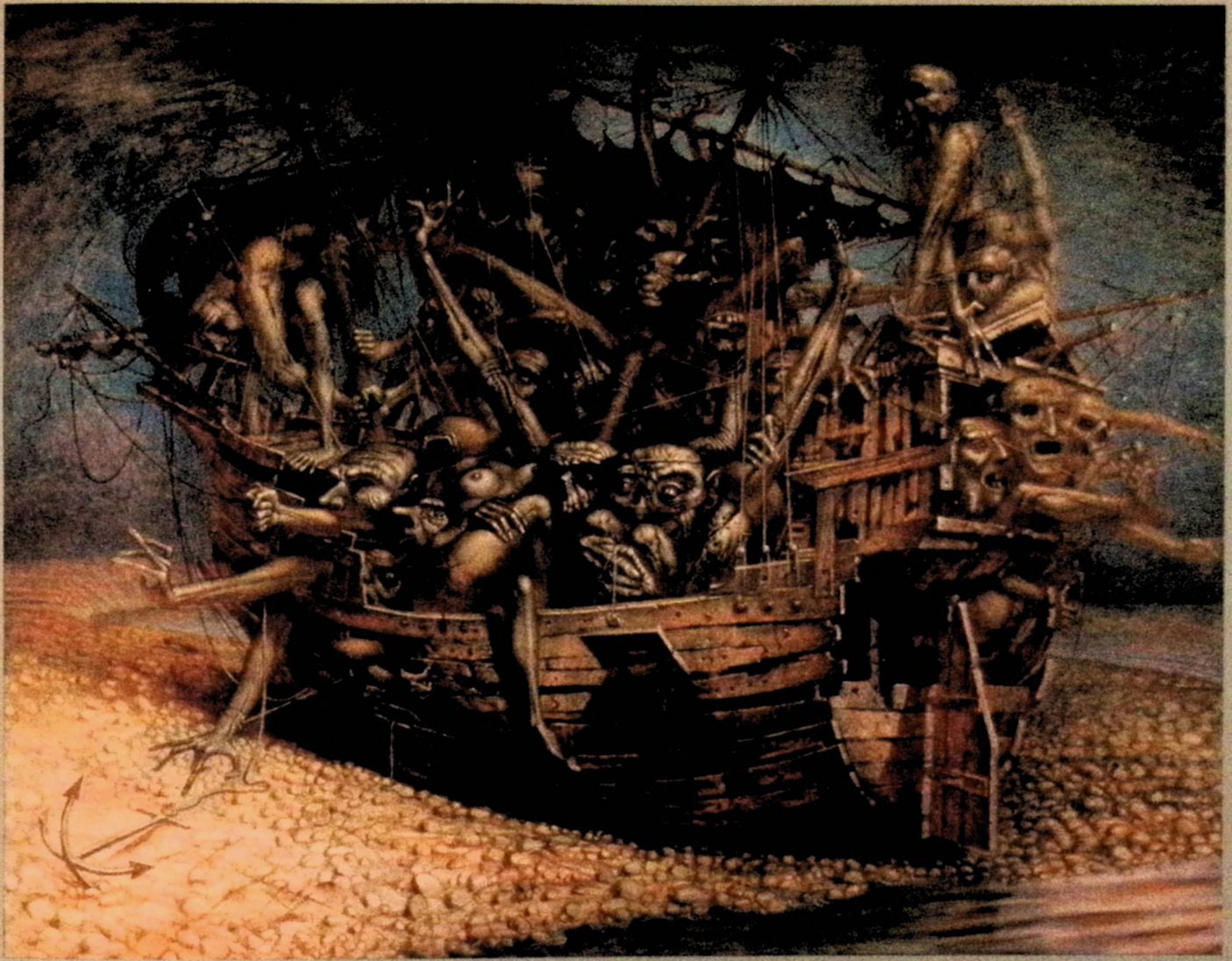
I asked Provotorov how the Church feels about his work.

He replied, "I once showed my works to Father Zenon, the greatest icon painter of our time. 'Some of



**Eve. 1985. Above left: Judas' Kiss. 1984. Falling page: The Ship of Fools. 1981. The Crucifix. 1981.**







your paintings are very interesting and strong," he said. "But they are closer to the Western tradition."

"How many paintings have you done?" I asked him.

"Not very many. Since 1974, I have painted around 60 pictures."

"Which painters had the greatest influence on your work?" I asked Provotorov.

"First of all," he replied, "the old masters such as Dürer, Bosch, and Brueghel, and the Italian Renaissance masters. I have been studying their technique with profound veneration for many years. I am also strongly influenced by Russian culture—but more by literature than by art: Gogol's divine fantasies, Dostoyevsky's abyss, and the literature of the Russian Silver Age—the writings of Alexander Blok and Andrei Bely, the

early poetry of Vladimir Mayakovsky, the plays of Leonid Andreyev."

"Would you identify your works with surrealism?"

Provotorov answered, "Of course there are elements of surrealism in my works. But Salvador Dali's influence on my painting is greatly exaggerated: I really came to know his art when my own style was already more or less formed. I would call myself a 'fantasist-realist.'"

"Some critics identify certain political overtones in your painting," I noted.

"That's because of our traditional love for 'Aesopian language.' We look for a certain hidden meaning even where there is none. It is likely, however, that my pictures have absorbed the atmosphere of recent years. I certainly did not set out to depict the

regime of the stagnation period, but, if I may say so, the regime guided my hand in painting its own image. I could not predict future disasters in the minutest detail—the Chernobyl catastrophe, the earthquake in Armenia, and the bloodshed in the streets of Sumgait, Baku, Ferghana, and Osh. But this is what people think of, for some reason, when they look at some of my past works."

"Tell me honestly," I said: "Aren't you frightened when you are all alone with your pictures?"

"Certainly not. These are my pictures created by my intellect, heart, and energy. Why should I be afraid of them? I am going to hang them all around my studio. By and large, I am not going to frighten anyone. I want my paintings to make people stop and think about the eternal." ■

## See Them in New York

Readers interested in the paintings of Vladislav Provotorov will be pleased to learn that his work will be displayed together with that of other Soviet artists in the United States in 1991. The exhibit, scheduled to open in May 1991 in New York, was organized by the Zigzag Venture Group (ZVG) of New York and the Mars Gallery of Modern Art in Moscow.

ZVG, an intermediary of capital investments, has an interest in art. It has one of the most complete and interesting collections of modern Soviet art in the United States. ZVG actively cooperates with Intourist and publishes the magazine *Passport to the USSR* for American business people. ZVG will finance a TV program, "Welcome to the USSR," which will be broadcast on the Moscow-Kiev-Leningrad commercial cable, which ZVG is helping to set up.

The Mars Gallery is the first of its kind in the USSR to collect and to publicize Soviet avant-garde art. Its collection includes more than 900 first-class works of art, which will be the basis for Moscow's future mu-

seum of modern art. The establishment of this museum is the Mars Gallery's main goal.

The interest in Soviet avant-garde art and the desire to develop and encourage cultural contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States led to cooperation between the American company and the Soviet art gallery. While ZVG representatives were in Moscow, they acquainted themselves with the Mars collection and with the works of participating artists.

The idea of a museum was appealing. It led to the proposal for cooperation and to a considerable broadening of the basic idea, thus opening new vistas for the future museum. The museum will be able to acquire and to exhibit the works of talented unknown artists, Soviet and American, supporting them financially and giving them publicity.

The idea of building the museum was actively supported by the Soviet Embassy in the United States, the U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council, the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, and Vneshtorgizdat.

The New York exhibition of works by the Mars Gallery artists was thus the first step in cooperation. The exhibition itself has two aims: to acquaint the American public with the works of talented artists and to attract possible American sponsors ready to invest in a new type of museum.

ZVG has invited a group of Mars participants on an all-expense-paid three-month trip to the United States. Meanwhile, eight Soviet artists—Nikolai Belyanov, Nikita Gashunin, Lev Ozernikov, Vladislav Provotorov, sculptor Alexander Rukavishnikov, Konstantin Khudyakov, Sergei Sharov, and Sergei Sherstiuk—have established contacts with American art critics and gotten acquainted with New York's museums and galleries. As a token of future cooperation, they have created more than 30 pictures and sculptures, a gift presentation to Zigzag Venture Group.

These works will be exhibited in May of 1991 with the Mars Gallery collection. A bronze statue of John Lennon by Alexander Rukavishnikov will also be on display. On the eve of Lennon's fiftieth birthday, the statue will be presented to the city of New York as a gift from ZVG and the Mars Gallery. Twenty percent of the exhibition receipts will be forwarded to an international fund to combat AIDS. ■



A bright chapter in Russian art—miniature carving on semiprecious stones—flourished in the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. This art developed in Russia not only in the workshops of the St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) court carvers, in the Art Academy, and in the grinding mills in the St. Petersburg suburb of Peterhof, but also at the state-owned stone-carving factories that were built in Siberia and the Urals near the stone deposits.

The mineral resources of the Ural Mountains offered a rich choice of flaky, polychromatic minerals suitable for stone carving. Jasper predominated. This mineral is firm, can be polished, and boasts a rich palette. Other minerals in plentiful supply included agate, onyx, and various quartz rocks.

The history of cameo making in the Urals began with the exploration of flaky minerals. Empress Catherine the Great (1729–1796; ruled 1762–1796) ordered groups of miners into almost inaccessible regions. The lucky finds that met all the requirements were cut into elliptic plates at a factory, polished, and sent to St. Petersburg. Catherine, an enthusiastic collector of carved stones, called her passion for them “a cameo disease.” She gave these unfinished products to court carvers, who worked to her order. Later Ural stone carvers were entrusted not only with the initial working of flaky minerals but with the carving proper, that must have begun in the time of Catherine the Great and on her initiative.

## Cameos from the Urals

By Yulia Kagan  
Photographs by Alexei Sverdlov



Hercules  
Fighting with  
Nemean Lion.  
*Orsk jasper.*  
1832.

maryov, and Yakov Khmelinin. Although they were not allowed to sign their cameos, in many cases their authorship was determined on the basis of documents from the Sverdlovsk, Leningrad, and Moscow archives. The Yekaterinburg factory's annual reports, the lists of finished items sent to St. Petersburg, and the masters' records, the dates, the names of the stones, the life stories of the cameo carvers, and other facts have finally shed some light on cameo production in the Urals.

Gradually the stone carvers working at the Ural faceting factory in Yekaterinburg (Sverdlovsk) mastered the art. Almost all the cameos produced there were sent to the capital, where they were presented to the czar and his family, usually on Easter.

In 1826 and 1851, 250 Ural cameos were sent in two batches to the Hermitage. This collection has been preserved there to this day. Over the past few years the Ural collection has been enriched with four cameos bought by the Hermitage from individuals.

All the Yekaterinburg cameos have a common style, form, and size. Individual styles are almost impossible to discern, especially because labor at the factory became increasingly specialized. As this tendency developed, several masters frequently worked on a single cameo. The names of the Yekaterinburg stone carvers are well known, however. Among them are Ivan Gagarin, Ivan Galkin, Semyon Odintsov, Afanasi Panov, Dmitri Petrovsky, Pyotr Pono-





Cupid. *Sardonyx*. 1843.  
Designed by Pyotr  
Ponomaryov.



Harpocrates, the Greek God  
of Silence. *Sardonyx*. 1821.



Man's Portrait. *Yamsk  
Jasper*. 1820s. Designed by  
Yakov Kokovin.



Peter the Great. *Orsk Jasper*.  
c. 1806.



Catherine II. *Orsk Jasper*.  
1838.



Venus the Bather. *Orsk  
Jasper*. 1839.



Alexander of Macedonia.  
*Orsk Jasper*. 1830.



One of Laocoon's Sons. *Orsk  
Jasper*. 1832.



Jupiter's Head In Diadem.  
*Onyx*. 1828.



Madonna. *Orsk Jasper*.  
Designed by Dmitri  
Petrovsky.



Plato. *Orsk Jasper*. 1832.



Neptune. *Sardonyx*. 1835.



Cleopatra. *Orsk Jasper*.  
1825.



Sibyl. *Sardonyx*. 1835.



Aesculeplus. *Sardonyx*.  
1832.



Isis. *Orsk Jasper*. 1835.



Roma. *Agate*. 1832.



Bust of Genius. *Sardonyx*.  
1842.

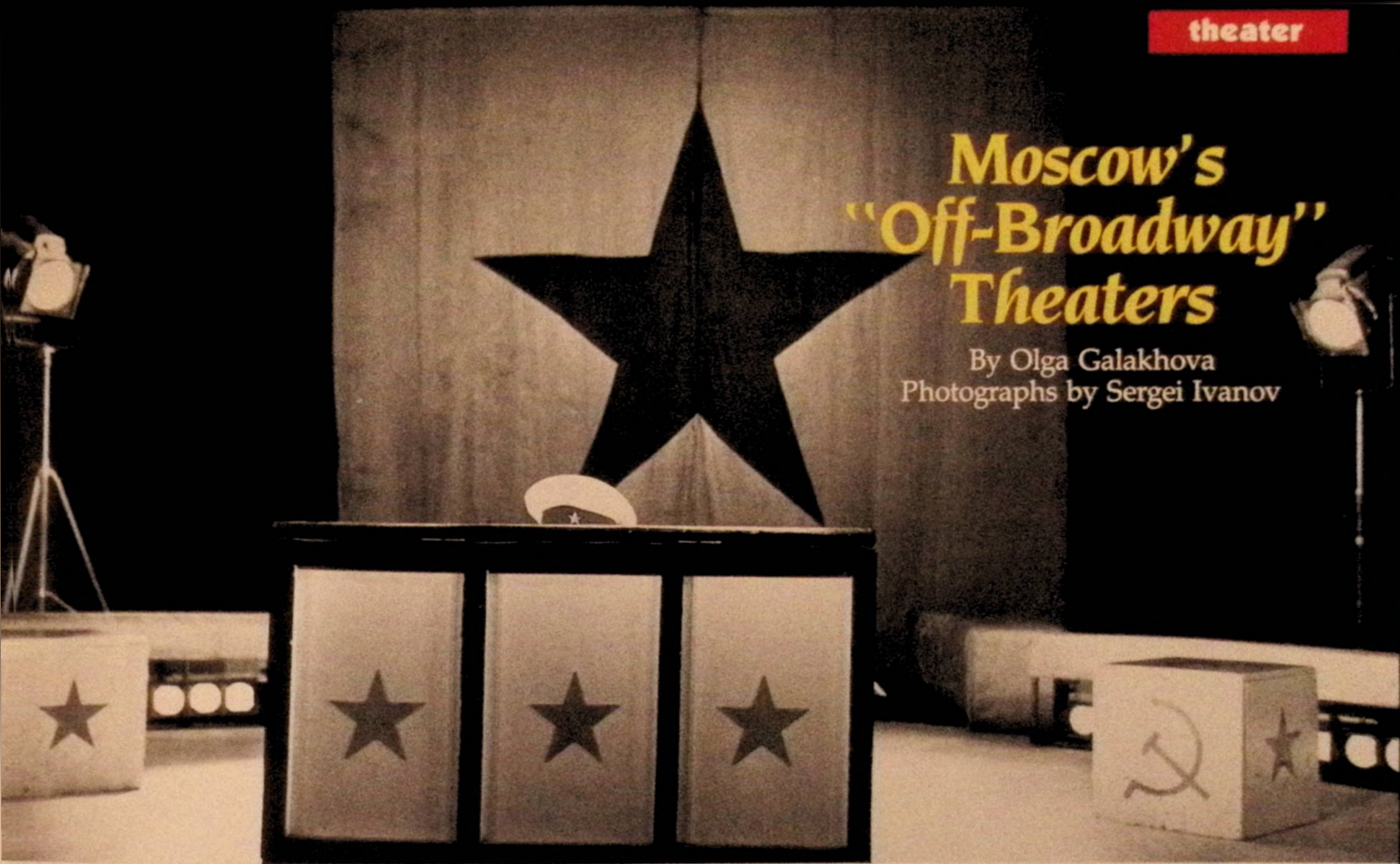






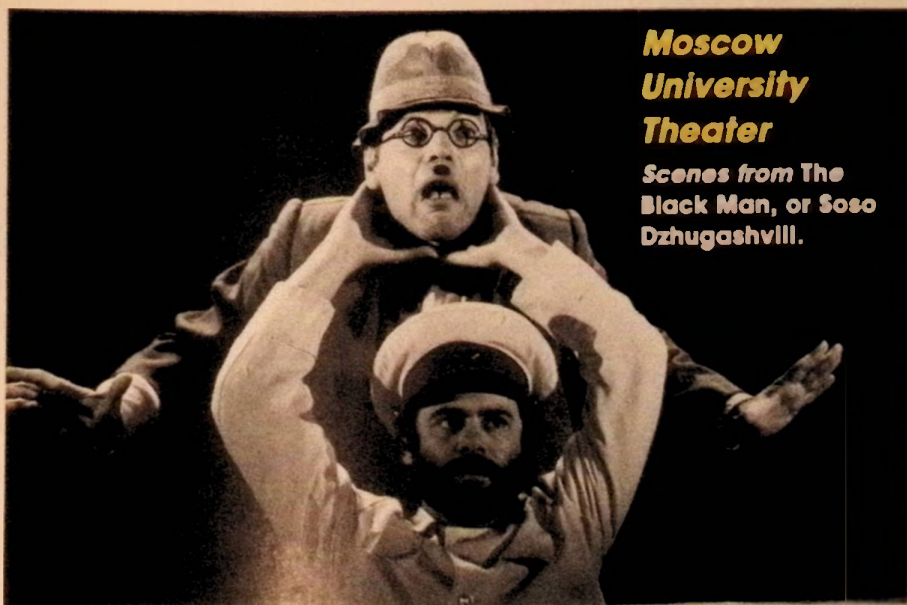
# Moscow's "Off-Broadway" Theaters

By Olga Galakhova  
Photographs by Sergei Ivanov



## Moscow University Theater

Scenes from *The  
Black Man, or Soso  
Dzhugashvili*.



**A**n incredible assortment of creative collectives exists within the gray reality of the studio theater movement. Those that receive no government subsidies still operate as studios. Some of them are trying to achieve

the status of state (subsidized) theaters, while others, for example the Chelovek (Person) Studio, already operate as promising professional theaters in practice despite a lack of subsidies. Some, unfortunately, will never make it as theaters.

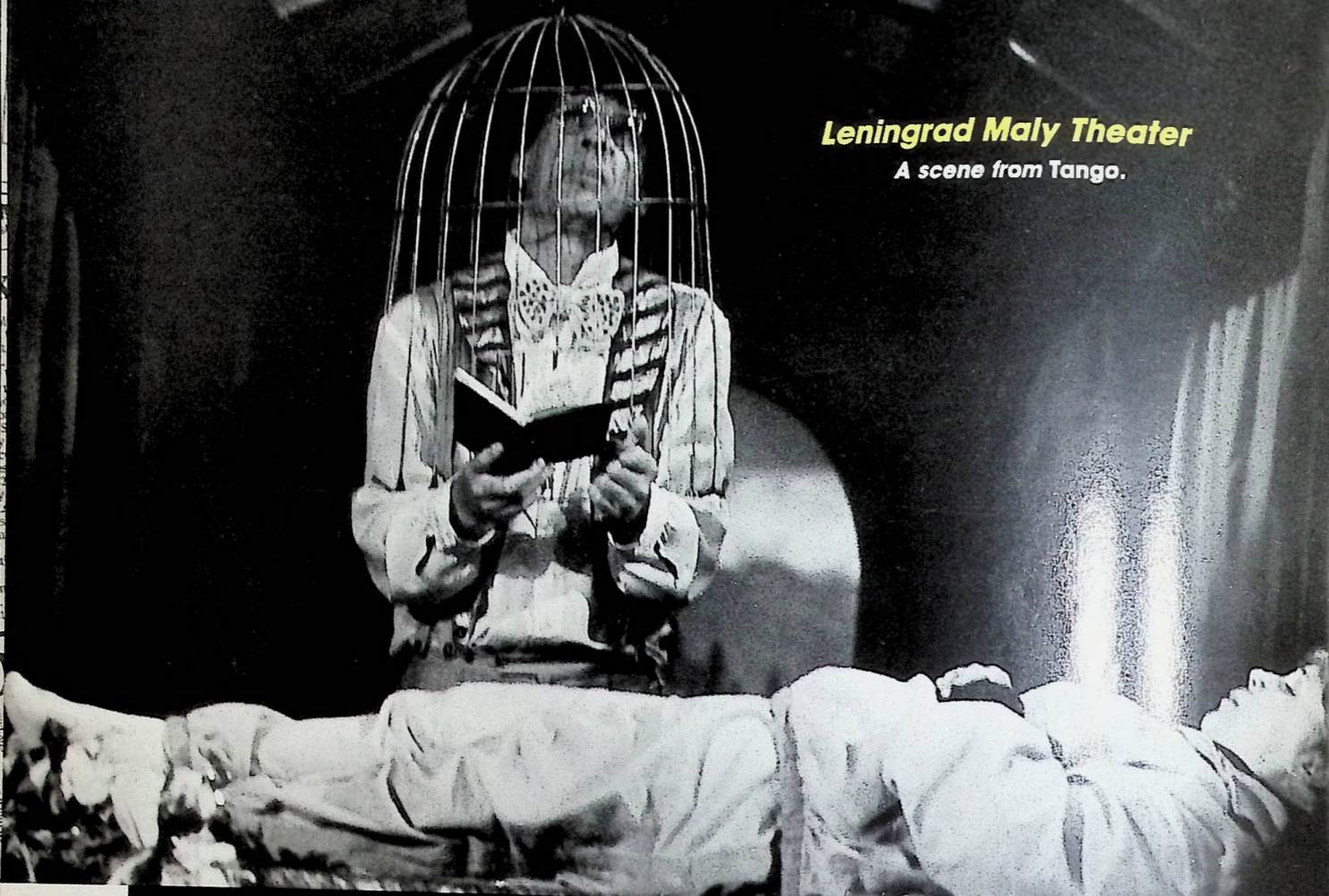
Moscow has a festive air because of all the posters—typeset and hand-made—that are put up by these theaters. Just like the vendors at an open-air market, the theaters all invite you to sample their wares. The posters advertise plays written by the entire Who's Who of names from the European avant-garde of the 1960s, authors who until recently were banned, and Russian émigré authors.

In order to understand the current situation, we have to go back 20 years. At that time new collectives hardly ever got into the theatrical process. Experimental theater existed only in amateur studios and thespian clubs.

During this time the staff of the Moscow theaters increased enormously, as at the famous Moscow Art Theater, where the troupe numbered 170 actors. Theatrical institutes were continuing to train actors, directors, and critics, despite the fact that practically no new state theaters were founded.

Fortunately, the amateurs found an outlet for their work in various clubs. ◻





**Leningrad Maly Theater**

A scene from *Tango*.

**Krasnaya Presnya Theater**

A scene from *Dream*.



Who are these people who were persistent enough to sign on with nonprestigious forms of theater and to work practically for free? One example is Alexei Levinsky, the director of the Theater Studio. Among his credits are a much acclaimed production of *Hamlet* by the student theater of Moscow State University and a production of Samuel Becket's *Waiting for Godot* at the well-known Moscow Theater of Satire. He staged *Godot* at a time when absurdism was equated with ideological diversion.

Today Levinsky calmly, with no sensationalism, continues to expand his Theater Studio. He has experience and understands the European avant-garde to a much greater degree than other directors. His actors are comfortable with such extremes as the esthetics of ancient Russian folk drama and the dramatization of Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*.

Another example is Oleg Kiselyov's theater of improvisation. During the Brezhnev years, Kiselyov managed to stage the play *The Holidays of the*

**Oleg Tabakov's Drama Studio**

Natalya Andreichenko, a well-known movie star, in rehearsal.





## Chelovek Studio

A scene from  
Elizaveta Bam.



## The Bat Cabaret Theater

A scene from *Reading the New Play*.



*Tower of Pisa* only after unimaginable difficulties, using apartments as rehearsal halls because his studio had no permanent building.

In 1986 we organized the first festival of amateur theater studios—Games at Lefortovo—to attract public attention to studios that had received little publicity. At that first Games Kiselyov found fame, and the works of Levinsky and Mark Rozovsky convinced many people that the studios are serious competition for the official theaters.

At the first Games at Lefortovo studio employees spoke at length about the need for legal mechanisms that would protect the studios. They conceived the idea of uniting Moscow studios into an association that would help all of them to survive, to protect their rights, and to break through the thick wall dividing official and unof-



ficial theater. "The salaries of actors and directors in a state theater are no guarantees of their professionalism," many studio workers said. Thus the idea of an association of unofficial theaters was spontaneously born.

Four years passed. The agency, which, according to its charter, was funded from the dues paid by the theater studios, had become a bureaucratic office that paid attention only to its own needs, never concerning itself about the actual state of the studios in whose name it had been founded. So talks began about private patronage.

Attempts to realize projects that have been adapted to the complicated government mechanism inevitably soon resemble it. It's as if projects count on government funding but do nothing to make the government see the need for providing it. And while our deputies are busy in parliamentary debates calling for a complex structure of cultural subsidies such as exists in the West, even the professional theaters in this country continue to live by the residual principle—that cultural funding is of least importance, and cultural activities are allotted leftover funds.

We should not be surprised that today's studio movement has found itself in such a pitiful state. But another reason for the studios' problems can

be found within their own ranks.

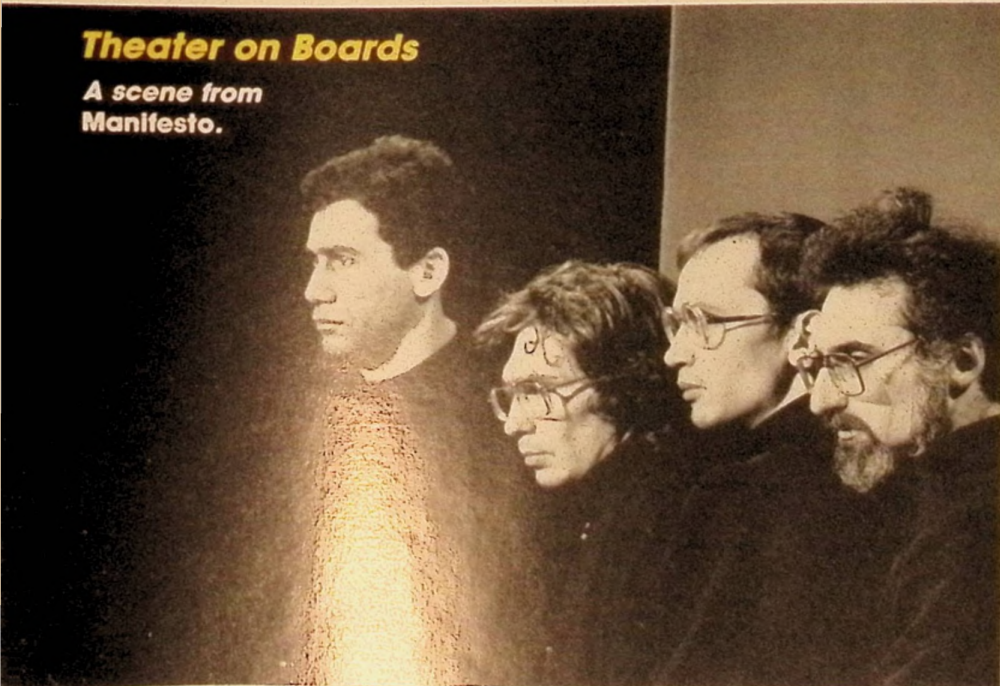
The experience of world culture, from which we were isolated, should be understood and repeated, but frequently it expresses itself provincially, irresponsibly, and willfully. In the deluge of amateur avant-garde the studios tear down what they think are the conventional boundaries, but they have no clear idea of what should replace them.

The studio movement has yet another aspect, which I will conditionally call commercial. I say conditionally because economic relations in theatrical affairs do not exist per se, and no one in the studios would ever admit that for them the theater is not an end in itself, but merely a means to financial profit. For example, the Moscow studio Group of Citizens was able to travel around the country with only one doubtful and mediocre play in its repertoire and earned enough to buy a lot of necessary equipment. Yet at the same time another studio, Che-lovek continually faces the threat of bankruptcy.

The plans for an intellectual-creative center have been worked out and are being realized. Wonderful! Many such projects exist. All that is lacking are the criteria for selectivity and the criteria to distinguish between talent and lack of talent. ■

### Theater on Boards

A scene from Manifesto.



### A TRIBUTE TO SLAVIC CULTURE

Slavic children learn the names of Saints Cyril and Methodius as soon as they enter school. These renowned ninth century Christian preachers and educators developed the Cyrillic alphabet, the foundation of the Slavic languages. A festival celebrating the saints and Slavic written culture is featured in November.



### CHILDREN AND SCHOOLS

Education is an issue of general concern in the Soviet Union, where the present educational patterns have long outlived their day. Now Soviet educators are trying to introduce new teaching methods, which will help them to cope with the formidable tasks they face.

**COMING SOON**

Northern Peoples—  
Will They Survive?





## Vladislav Provotorov

*The Trojan Horse. 1987.*

An article on Provotorov begins on page 52.

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