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*Chuya
Rally
'89*



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Front Cover: International water-sports competitions on the Chuya River were sponsored by a private American group. The story on Chuya Rally '89 begins on page 61. Photograph by Alexei Boitsov.



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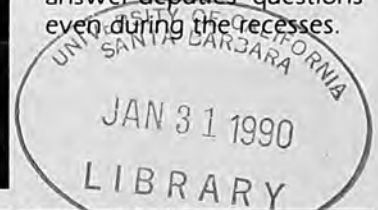
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vignettes of 1989



Congress

When the First Congress of People's Deputies convened in May, it was the scene of heated debates on acute problems facing the country. Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was elected President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at the Congress. He had to answer deputies' questions even during the recesses.



Strike

A major Soviet mining center in Western Siberia, the Kuzbas, was swept by strikes in July. After the government adopted a special resolution dealing with the strikers in the Kuzbas, miners in other parts of the country went on strike with similar demands. The government met the strikers halfway.





Grief

April witnessed tragic events in Tbilisi, capital of the Soviet republic of Georgia. Eighteen people were killed and more than 200 injured as a result of clashes between civilians and servicemen. Georgian women mourned in front of the republic's government offices, where the tragedy took place.

Withdrawal

February marked the departure of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Columns of combat vehicles had crossed the bridge over the Amu Darya River in 1979 to enter Afghanistan; in 1989 they took the same road back.



Massacre

Muslim Uzbeks killed Muslim Turks when riots broke out in June in the Fergana Valley of Uzbekistan. Thousands of families had to be evacuated by cargo plane.





Baltics

The Baltic republics held an assembly in Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, in May. Activists of major Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian unofficial public organizations attended the meetings. The delegates discussed economic independence and the ethnic revival of the Baltic republics.

Explosion

On June 3, at 11:14 P.M. Moscow time, an accident occurred on the rail line between Ufa and Chelyabinsk, 1,710 kilometers from Moscow. A liquefied gas pipeline parallel to the railroad track blew up when two oncoming trains were passing each other. The cars left the track and burst into flames. More than 1,000 passengers were involved on the two trains. Doctors from many cities flew to the assistance of the victims.



EDITOR'S NOTES

I think historians will conclude quite accurately that the cold war ended on December 3, 1989, in Malta," Gennadi Gerasimov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Department, wrote in the newspaper *Sovetskaya kultura* (*Soviet Culture*). Gerasimov may be too sure about the date: No formal surrender or peace treaty was signed—but then, that war has neither winners nor losers. Developments were and are rather gradual. But the idea he expressed so vividly is correct. So let us assume that we have entered a period of genuine peace.

Several years ago Gerasimov frequently wrote for our magazine about positive developments in Soviet-American relations (of which there were very few at that time). This was part of his contribution to ending the cold war.

I've been with SOVIET LIFE for almost 25 years. And I must say that the magazine may be in trouble. It has a powerful and very prompt rival—the U.S. mass media. Unlike the recent past, today the American media cover life in the Soviet Union rather widely and objectively. In the past few years SOVIET LIFE has obtained a new style of its own and has a reading audience that keeps growing. But we still fear that Americans who now have a lot of information about the USSR may lose interest in our magazine. Maybe there are some things we need to change.

We search for the answers to questions that worry us in the letters we receive from our readers. They suggest that our articles analyze problems facing our country and sometimes the whole world, rather than merely providing certain information. Our readers also suggest that we should acquaint them with the discussions that go on in the Soviet press.

Let us agree that we will try to improve the professional standards of our magazine, and you will write to us if you have any difficulty reading any of the articles.

Robert Tsfasman



THE PROMISES

The meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush in Marsaxlokk Bay, Malta, ended on Sunday, December 3, 1989, without producing any new agreements or specific results. But that was exactly what both parties had expected. At the same time, the first personal contact between the Soviet leader and the new U.S. President vividly showed that relations between the two powers had acquired a new character, and it gave a strong impetus to the interaction of the two countries, which can bring about both specific results and important agreements in the future.

A treaty on 50 per cent reductions in strategic offensive arms is one such agreement. In all probability it will be signed during the official summit meeting planned for the second half of June 1990. The new character of relations rests on the fact that the two countries are motivated by common interests (which is largely the result of

Soviet *perestroika*) and opens up realistic prospects for radical cuts in armaments and military spending, as required in one way or another by the internal needs of both the Soviet and the American people.

Far from being euphoric, both parties, as the joint Gorbachev-Bush news conference showed, remained cautious, demonstrating restraint and a sense of realism. They did not conceal their differences on various questions, specifically on the approach to Central American problems. But these are civilized divergences of opinion—a situation where the parties disagree but nonetheless seek points of contact and ways of reconciling, not broadening, such differences.

In my view, this is how one should assess the outcome of the unofficial working meeting, which proceeded in a friendly and open atmosphere, if in somewhat unusual and unexpected conditions.

Although on the eve of the ship-board summit President Bush had



OF MALTA

By Stanislav Kondrashov

emphasized that its main surprise would be the absence of any surprises, there actually was one surprise and a rather big one at that. It did not come from politicians; it came from nature. When the venue of the meeting was being selected, the planners evidently forgot that the weather in Malta at this time of the year can be fickle. The storm in Marsaxlokk Bay (which is open to winds and waves) blasted the idea of talks aboard the two cruisers—the *Slava* and the *Belknap*—which were anchored safely but were nonetheless assaulted by waves two and more meters high.

Two-day talks were held aboard the Soviet passenger liner *Maxim Gorky*, moored at a distance of roughly half a mile from the cruisers. Americans are said to have complained before the meeting that the arrival of the Soviet luxury liner disturbed, as it were, the balance in Marsaxlokk Bay. But when the weather got rough, they praised the foresight of their partners.

The first-ever joint news conference given by the leaders of the two powers became an important symbol of improved mutual understanding and greater confidence, the absence of which only recently would have precluded the possibility of such an event. Thanks to adjustments caused by nature itself (and this is also symbolic), the meeting was held aboard a passenger liner, not aboard the warships. However you slice it, the cruisers had an aura of belligerence that was at variance with the spirit of the meeting. Many commentators believe that during the Marsaxlokk Bay meeting the two leaders said farewell to the cold war.

The promise of the Malta meeting, however, is even more important than the meeting itself. And of course, one more thing is very important: How soon this promise will be concretized. A new beginning has been made; it must be followed by appropriate developments. The Bush administration, as the meeting showed,

has made its choice in a strategic sense: It expressed support for *perestroika* in the USSR and its current foreign policy. As far as Washington is concerned, Moscow's positive attitude toward rapid change in Eastern Europe confirmed that choice. As for the Soviet Union, it became even more committed to the principles of constructive interaction with the Western nations.

There are grounds to believe that the current talks in Geneva and Vienna on nuclear and conventional arms are now set on course toward success. The benefits that will accrue to Soviet people in their everyday life from the current period of peace are closer at hand than ever before. Still in question, however, is how soon, how skillfully, and how efficiently we will be able to use the opportunities that present themselves. A great deal of work lies ahead, and one can by no means say that we are 100 per cent ready to cope with it.

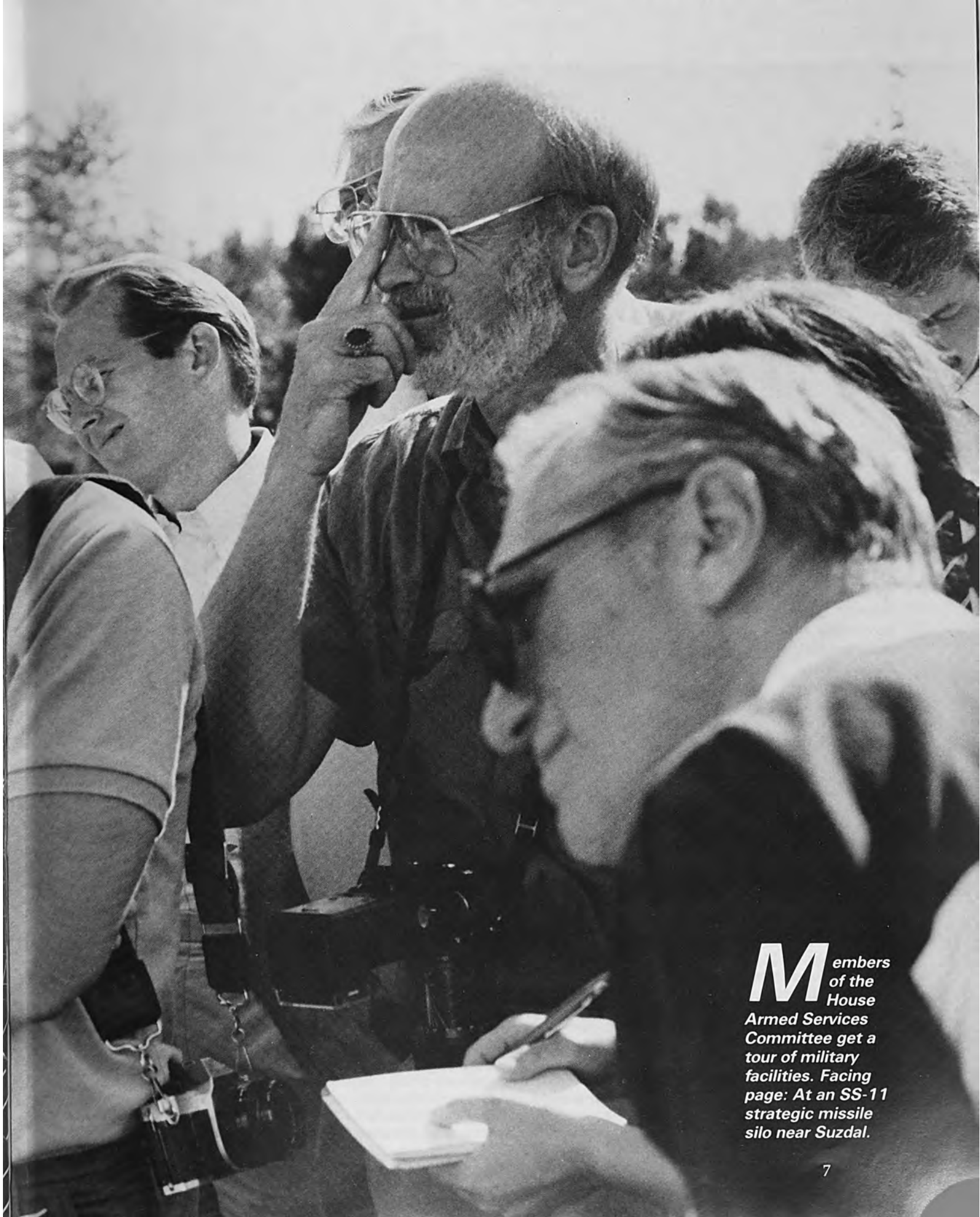
Courtesy of the newspaper *Izvestia*

NO SECRETS HERE

By Vladimir Markov
Photographs by Vyacheslav Bobkov

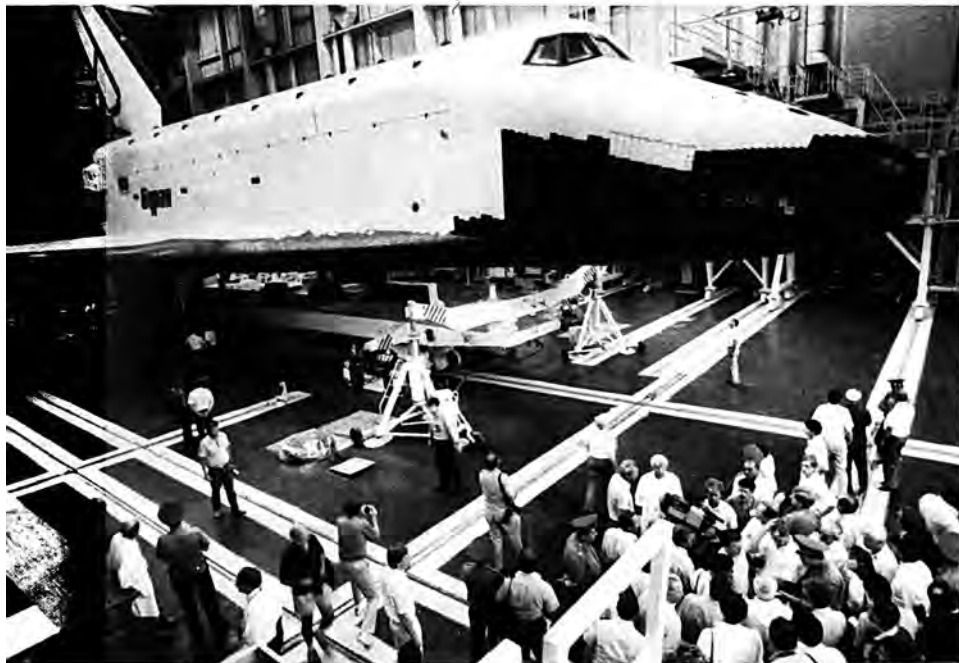
***Americans inspect previously top-secret Soviet
military installations.***





Members
of the
House

Armed Services
Committee get a
tour of military
facilities. Facing
page: At an SS-11
strategic missile
silo near Suzdal.



Visiting the Baikonur Space Center, home of the Buran reusable spaceship (above). Questions and answers at the Soviet Army headquarters (right). Watching the destruction of two SS-20s (far right).



For the first time" is a phrase we are using often nowadays to describe the novel forms of international contacts that are being made possible by *perestroika* and *glasnost*. Although such a description is sometimes an exaggeration, it was true of the recent Soviet tour made by a delegation from the House Armed Services Committee, led by Representative Les Aspin. Fourteen congressmen and more than 30 advisers visited seven Soviet military facilities in seven days in August 1989.

Predictably, the visit began at the Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin. "I never dreamed I would enter this building, and in uniform at that," said

one delegate, a military adviser to the committee.

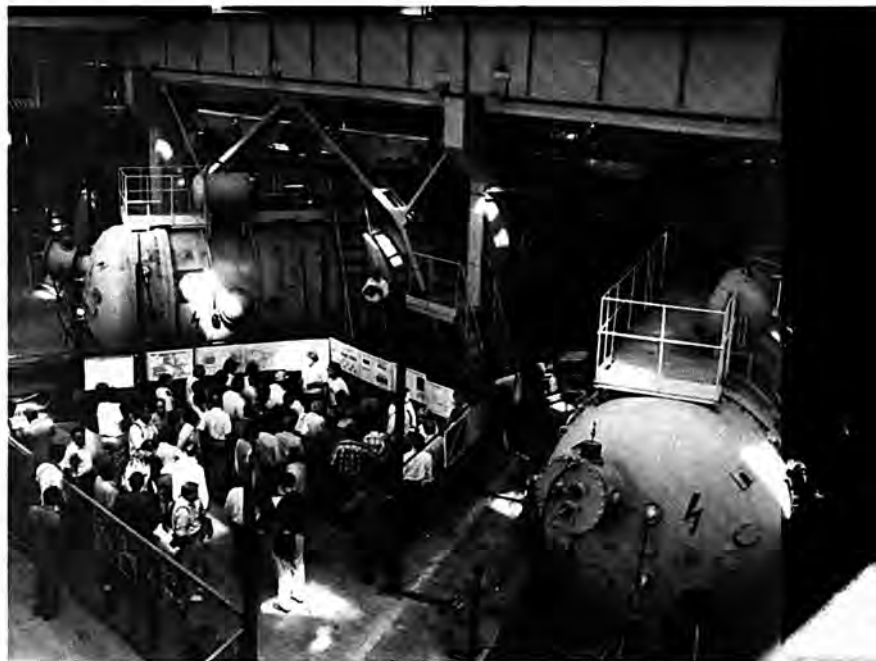
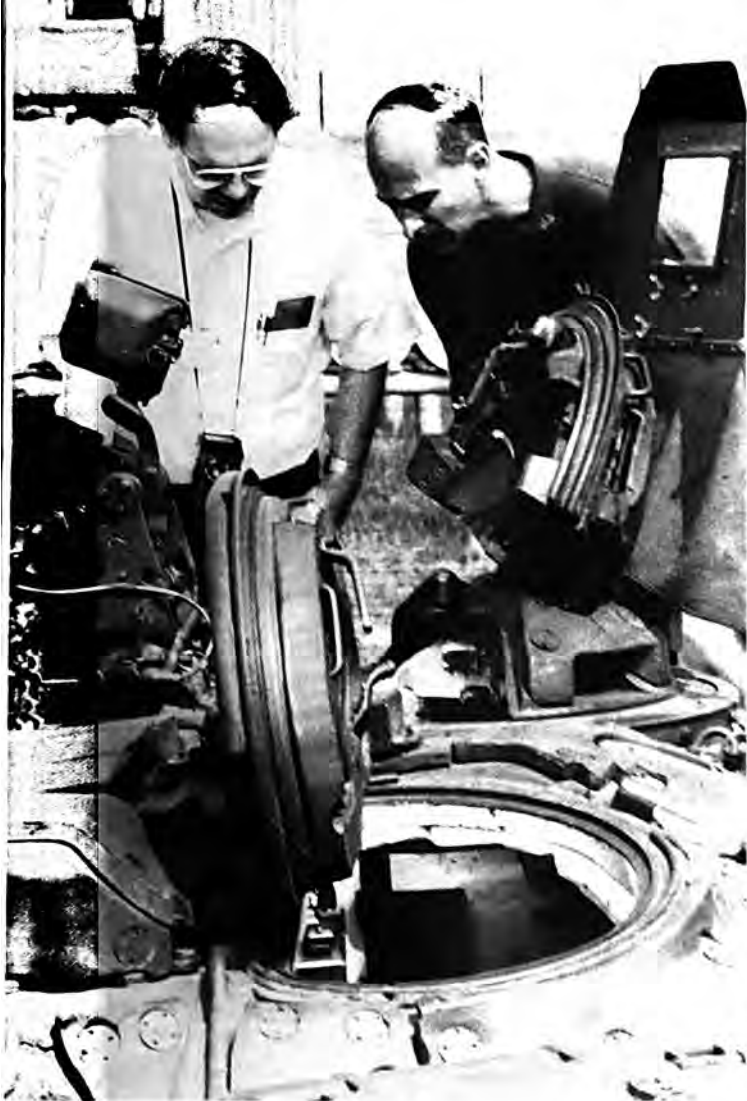
In the Kremlin the delegation met with members of the Supreme Soviet Committee on Defense and Security, chaired by Dr. Vladimir Lapygin, a technology professor who supervised the creation of navigation facilities for the *Buran* orbiter. He told the Americans that the committee's main job is to examine defense spending in the State Budget and to promote conversion of defense production to consumer goods production.

The Soviet Union will consistently reduce military spending, relying on the principle of defense sufficiency but with an eye on the results of disarmament talks. Marshal Sergei Akhromyev, an adviser to President

Gorbachev, said that if agreements are reached on conventional forces in Europe and on Soviet and American strategic offensive weapons, the Soviet Union will slash its defense spending by 38 billion rubles by 1995.

"We will analyze the discussions of the U.S. military budget in Congress to decide on the degree and the priority areas of our own military reductions," said Lapygin.

The Soviet deputies expressed their readiness to draw on the experience the American legislators had accumulated over the more than 40 years since the establishment of the House Armed Services Committee. The Soviet committee will receive reports and information from governmental agencies and use expert analyses.



Learning about Soviet tanks on a visit to the motorized rifle division of the Transcarpathian Military District in Yavorovo (left). Touring the laser installation in Troitsk—the first foreigners to visit the facility (above).

"Your committee has made a good start and can become a powerful body determining the Soviet Union's military policy," Aspin observed.

The visit was not limited to official talks. Soviet and American legislators were in contact with each other from dawn till dusk and conversed constantly, albeit through interpreters.

In the Ukrainian town of Sarny the American and Soviet group witnessed the destruction of the 194th and 195th RSD-10 (SS-20) launchers. Twenty-four carriers for these missiles have already been destroyed in Sarny.

Ronald Bartek was especially interested in the work of technicians who used powerful devices to cut major parts of the carriers. Bartek is a staff

member of the Armed Services Committee and head of the group of U.S. experts who, with the Soviet side, drafted the protocol on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles under the INF Treaty.

"In Sarny I saw for the first time the fruit of our joint work at the talks," Bartek said. "The procedures we coordinated are working perfectly. But one thing bothers me—that we spent mind-boggling amounts of money on the creation of weapons and hardware that we are now destroying. Wouldn't it be better to reach an agreement before we start squandering money?"

The next stop was at the motorized-rifle division of the Transcarpathian Military District in

Yavorovo, the Ukraine. The Americans pinned special hopes on their visit to this facility on the Soviet western border.

Will *glasnost* work? Will we get information about the structure and armaments of the division? the Americans wondered.

Their doubts were dispelled when they were shown the division's latest weapons, notably tanks, howitzers, missile systems, and infantry combat vehicles. They were told in the minutest detail about the structure and composition of units and the tactical and technical characteristics of the armaments.

Openness in the military sphere also made possible a visit to the missile cruiser *Slava* in Sevastopol, where ►

not long ago representatives of both sides conducted an experiment on detecting nuclear weapons onboard surface ships.

In Simferopol, the Crimea, the U.S. delegation was joined by Congressmen Larry Hopkins (Kentucky) and Bob Stump (Arizona), who had visited a facility for the destruction of toxic agents in Chapayevsk, Kuibyshev Region. The facility has not yet been put into operation because of protests from the residents of Chapayevsk and surrounding villages.

TASS reported in September 1989 that, heeding numerous requests from the public, the Soviet Government had decided to retool the facility into a training center for industrial methods of destroying toxic agents. It will use products that are ecologically safe. "People would be consulted before such facilities are built," the report noted.

"I did not expect to see such modern technology at the facility," said Hopkins. "Its construction proves that the Soviet Union is committed to the idea of prohibiting and destroying chemical weapons."

At the Baikonur Space Center in Kazakhstan, the delegation inspected the *Buran* orbiter and visited shops where the *Buran* and the *Energia* booster, the world's most powerful booster rocket, were assembled and tested.

The *Buran* program has been slashed from 10 to 12 flights a year to one flight a year because of economic considerations. Manned *Buran* missions will start in 1992.

Boris Gubanov, the chief designer of the *Energia* rocket, gave the guests a list of specifications and functions of the system and spoke in favor of bilateral cooperation in space exploration and uses. He mentioned, for example, that the *Energia* booster could be used to put into orbit 100-ton telescopic mirrors and bulky modules for orbital stations, to create bases on the Moon, and for flights to Mars. The *Energia* is an ecologically safe spacecraft, which adds to its virtues.

Forty kilometers south of Moscow, in an inconspicuous building deep in

a heavily protected forest, the congressmen saw the one-megawatt Troitsk laser, which had been a top secret of the Soviet Union. The decision of Soviet authorities to show the laser and its operation to Americans was unexpected for the Americans and even for the facility's boss, Vyacheslav Pismenny.

"Imagine my astonishment," he said. "Remember, Soviet journalists have not been allowed to visit even the grounds adjacent to the laser."

Pismenny is director of the Troitsk Branch of the Institute of Nuclear Energy and a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The branch has a staff of 5,000, including some 500 physicists, and an annual budget of 100 million rubles. The institute's research focuses on plasma physics and controlled thermonuclear synthesis and the development of different gas lasers, ranging from those used for medical purposes to devices that will "help us see the limits of laser technology."

The Americans have learned that the Troitsk laser, created 10 years ago, is a unique device incorporating a great many ingenious design and engineering solutions and new materials. It occupies an area of 1,000 square meters.

"The Troitsk laser was used for numerous research projects that have proved the inexpediency of using lasers as the energy basis for new classes of weapons," Pismenny said.

"Will you test the laser on an open range, in particular, for sending its rays into space?" the Americans asked.

"No, we do not think it expedient to spend such enormous amounts of money for such purposes," Pismenny answered. He called for increasing cooperation with American scientists, including activity in spheres that are classified.

"We want to protect our technological and commercial secrets no less than Americans," he said. "But today it is possible to cooperate without endangering national security. Otherwise, mistrust will gather momentum, and the arms race for novel technol-

ogies will go on secretly, with both sides spending staggering sums of money on this competition."

Jack Hammond, until recently director of power engineering for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), asked most of the questions about the laser.

"Being able to see the powerful laser is a very good indication of the ability to exchange high technologies and experience without hurting our security," he said. "This will be useful to both sides."

We hope that an insight into "Soviet secrets," as some delegates called them, will make people understand that we need openness and not enhanced secrecy to build up trust, to stop the arms race, and to guarantee reliable security.

Unlike missiles, mistrust in Soviet-American relations, which was nurtured for decades, cannot be completely done away with overnight. It is very difficult for specialists who have been accustomed to searching professionally for the "soft spots" of the other side to change their attitudes. Meanwhile, the conclusions provided by these specialists largely determine the position of legislatures. We will have to work very hard to ensure the success of this new mission of building up trust through knowledge.

The visit of the U.S. delegation became a major step forward in this direction. There are signs that contacts between Soviet deputies and American congressmen may become regular. For example, during the final meeting of the U.S. delegation with Academician Yevgeni Primakov, Chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet, the representatives discussed possibilities for establishing joint working groups on arms control and disarmament, terrorism, and the like.

"We could also hold joint hearings and invite each other's experts to report to other committees," Aspin suggested. A return visit by the Supreme Soviet Committee on Defense and Security is planned during the first half of 1990. ■

Military Production Goes Civilian

Can defense factories, once they have started manufacturing some civilian goods, become more efficient if they join forces with foreign companies?

In the following interview, Valeri Pogrebenkov, Novosti's military correspondent, discusses military conversion with Mikhail Simonov, chairman of the Defense Industries Subcommittee of the Committee on Defense and Security of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Simonov is also the head of the Sukhoi Design Bureau, the developer of the world's best fighter plane, the SU-27.

Q: What lies ahead for military factories as they receive fewer and fewer orders for arms production?

A: Could be anything—good or bad. Some managers fear that loss of jobs and fewer orders for manufacturing will make their factories less efficient. Their apprehensions are not entirely without foundation, but the anticipated plight can be avoided.

Take our design office, for example. Following the government's cuts in arms spending, we determined that even if 50 per cent of military production was converted to civilian, we would not necessarily have to fire half of our staff.

To avoid redundancies, we began racking our brains, together with the Zhukovsky Central Aerohydrodynamic Institute, a renowned aircraft developer, over civil aircraft-engineering fields that could be developed in such a way as to let our design bureau keep working at full employment. In addition, we decided that, "conversion" or not, we could even increase our efficiency and that of the aircraft-building plants linked with us.

The most important thing was to choose the right line of business. Our

company decided not to diversify into unfamiliar fields. I mean actually the area covered by other well-known design companies—Tupolev, Yakovlev, and Novozhilov, for instance, manufacturers of large aircraft. Our company makes small planes weighing 30 to 33 tons. Their equivalents in the civilian sector are all sorts of auxiliary aircraft, also known as business planes.

Q: Since you are planning to offer your product on the world market, let me ask you about your competitors in the West.

A: The best way to get rid of a competitor is to make him a partner. I'm joking. But there is a grain of truth in this joke, isn't there? When we contemplated the project, we found out that only two other foreign companies made similar planes—Dassault of France and Gulfstream Aerospace Corporation of the United States. We explored partnership opportunities with both. The Americans were quick to respond.

Q: How will you share in the project?

A: The Americans will develop electronic devices, passenger area and cockpit equipment, and the interior design. The Soviet side will be responsible for the aircraft frame, the landing gear, and the engine.

Q: What's your vision of production on the line?

A: Speaking about commercial production, I should note that these planes will be built in the Soviet Union. The Ministry of the Aircraft Industry has offered several of its as-

sembly plants. So it may be a Moscow plant or a twin facility in Tbilisi, or both. We have been offered a few alternatives to choose among. Once the planes are built in the Soviet Union, they will be taken to Gulfstream's plants to be fitted with additional equipment and adopted for American conditions.

Q: Don't you think such joint ventures are a blow to national dignity in aircraft building?

A: No, I don't. We do not have an inferiority complex. We think it would be good to produce such planes with the Americans, for several reasons. For one thing, any such project will be an incentive for our aircraft industry to seek higher technological standards because it will know its products must be competitive in the open market in the West. For another, the Soviet aircraft industry will not stagnate in the face of the ongoing transfer of resources from the military sector to the civilian sector. Another factor is that we will be in a position to export our technologies. There is a widespread erroneous view that if we want something good, we can only get it from the West. We have always had some good technologies, and we have things to offer for export.

Q: Are you planning to cooperate with foreign companies in countries other than the United States?

A: Yes, we are. The appetite comes with eating. We would like to cooperate with some Argentine aircraft-building companies and others. In other words, we want to add a new dimension to our overseas deals.

Bans No More

For decades, the Iron Curtain acted as a filter for all information coming from the West, barricading this country from the outside world. Eventually Soviet people grew so accustomed to this absurd situation that they weren't a bit surprised when another restriction was imposed.

Today the Soviet Union is beginning to acknowledge universal human values and to compare its achievements and setbacks with world standards. In this context several questions arise:

Why are Western newspapers and magazines available only in special reading rooms in libraries?

Why can't Soviet people watch Western television?

Why are Xerox machines still under stringent control?

For how long will these restrictions be in force?

Izvestia diplomatic correspondent Maxim Yusin posed these questions to Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky.

Petrovsky: The Soviet Union is on the verge of crucial change. The government wants its information policies to conform to European standards. The Soviet Union wants to implement the Vienna agreements and to prove in deed its willingness to turn Europe into a "continent of *glasnost* and openness."

Specific measures are being drafted with a view to overcoming our information isolation from the rest of the world. For example, the government has agreed to allow free sale of Western periodicals across the country, and the list of Western newspapers and magazines that will be available is significantly enlarged.

Hard currency subscriptions to Western periodicals will be allowed for departments of government, organizations, cooperatives, and individuals. Individual subscriptions may be arranged through relatives and friends living abroad.

Yusin: It takes several weeks to get a letter from abroad. Don't you think the same may happen with daily newspapers?

Petrovsky: Yes, it may. The increasingly beleaguered USSR Ministry of Communications has mountains of problems, all of which call for urgent solutions.

Yusin: Will émigré publications be available throughout the country?

Petrovsky: Why not? There are no restrictions on publications as long as they comply with the constitutional regulations and current legislation. Propaganda of war, racism, pornography, and calls to overthrow the existing regime are forbidden in the USSR.

Yusin: The retail price of foreign periodicals will be rather high, and not everyone has hard currency to pay for subscriptions. Will it be possible to find these periodicals in libraries?

Petrovsky: The Ministry of Culture is charged with providing free access to foreign periodicals through a network of public libraries, reading rooms, and information centers.

Yusin: The regulations concerning Xerox machines are very strict. Will it be possible to photocopy a foreign publication?

Petrovsky: Enterprises, organizations, and individuals will be allowed to use duplicating machines to make copies of any printed material.

Yusin: In other words, all restrictions on Xeroxing are lifted, and Xerox machines may be brought into the country from abroad.

Petrovsky: Absolutely. With a law coming into force—and I hope it will take place in the very near future—Soviet citizens will be allowed to buy Xerox machines either abroad or in the Soviet Union and use them at home.

Yusin: What other crucial changes in the government's information policy are in the offing?

Petrovsky: Any organization or individual will be allowed to buy a special TV aerial to receive American or, say, British broadcasts via satellites. By June 1, 1990, all regulations and specifications concerning "satellite aerials" will be submitted by appropriate agencies to the government.

Yusin: But satellite dishes are not manufactured in this country.

Petrovsky: True, but it is possible to import them. Besides, I hope the Soviet electronics industry will eventually start producing them.

Another important novelty is the decision to pass new regulations reducing the paperwork required for foreign journalists to get a short-term entry visa. Now foreign journalists are allowed to tour the Soviet Union only at the invitation of a Soviet organization. In the very near future, foreign journalists will be allowed to visit this country without invitations. It will take them two weeks to get an entry visa.

Yusin: Are there any travel limitations within the country for foreign journalists?

Petrovsky: Yes, there are such limits. This practice of closed-to-travel zones applies not only in the Soviet Union but also in other European countries and in the United States.

Yusin: How soon will new regulations come into force?

Petrovsky: We still have many problems at hand. Very often we come across departmental obstacles and the old mentality. Yet in spite of all our problems, we must do everything we can to get these new regulations passed. Obviously, half-measures are no solution at all. The sooner we give up old stereotypes and master the rules of civilized information exchange, the higher will be the Soviet Union's international prestige. This will also raise the international prestige of *perestroika* and promote the process of renewal in the country.

Courtesy of the newspaper *Izvestia*

Foreigners are not a rare sight in Pushchino because the well-known Center of Biological Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences is located in this scenic corner of southern

Moscow Region. Like any other academic town, Pushchino maintains a plethora of scientific contacts with colleagues abroad, including scientists in the United States. But when one group of Americans came to Pushchino last summer, their visit was the talk of the town. The local newspaper, *BioCenter*, covered the event in two issues. Pushchino schoolchildren did most of the work welcoming the visitors—about two dozen American children who had come to attend a Soviet-American ecology camp.

A year ago a group of Pushchino children interested in ecology went to the United States, and this year the Americans returned the visit. The exchange was organized within the framework of the program "Children Are the Makers of the Twenty-first Century," sponsored by the Institute of Soil Science and Photosynthesis (in Pushchino) of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the U.S. Meadowcreek Project. Both of these agencies are working on developing nontraditional approaches to ecology education. Joint ecology camps are a good opportunity to compare and exchange new approaches in ecology education.

But this is not all there is to the camps, say their organizers. The very nature of today's ecological problems—the global modification of the climate, the depletion of the ozone layer, and the catastrophic disappearance of forests—makes solution of these problems impossible without

INDEPENDENCE DAY IN PUSHCHINO

Text and Photographs by Yevgeni Kondakov

Last summer schoolchildren from the USSR and the United States enjoyed themselves at a Soviet-American ecology camp in Pushchino, near Moscow. The articles on these pages are recollections of Soviet and American participants.

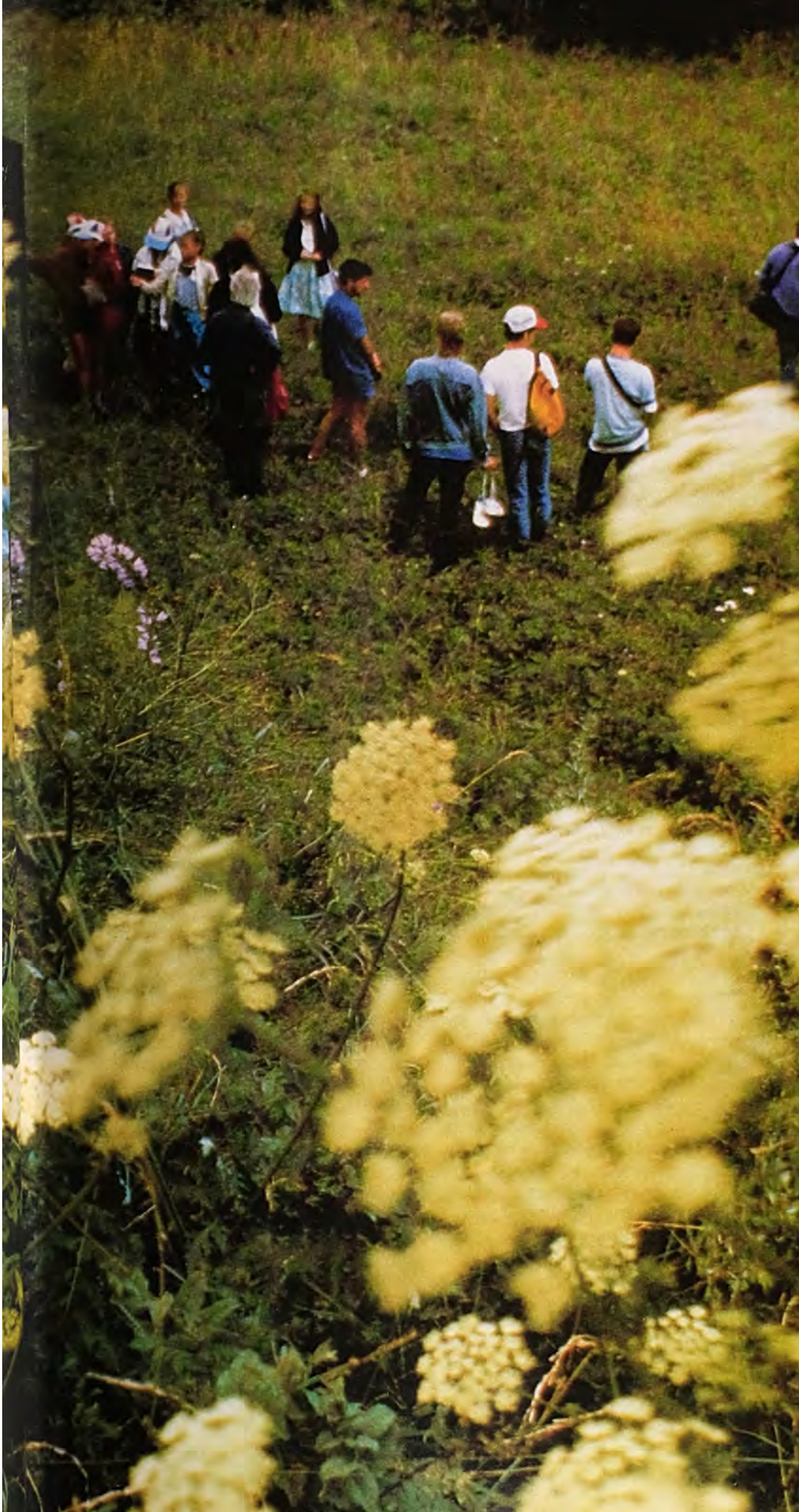


The Pushchino Hotel in which the campers lived.



Campers at the
Teshilovo Nature
Preserve near
Pushchino. Insets, top
to bottom: Yuri
Bespalov and students.
Lev Sarkisov (right) and
Bronson Frick
(Tennessee), Sveta
Makarova, Lev Sarkisov
and Sharif Taha
(Arkansas). On the
swings: Anyon
Zlotnikov, Debalish
Bhattacharyya
(Arkansas), and Kostya
Malofeyev





the cooperation of both countries. The foundation of this cooperation was being laid during the 15 days Soviet and American children spent together, no matter whether they were measuring the nitrate level in the Oka River or playing soccer on a field near the hotel.

The camp program included lectures and field trips. The young ecologists attended a workshop on soil microbiology, appraised the quality of drinking water sources, and studied various types of plant communities near Pushchino. To help the American children learn the first things about the animal and plant life near Moscow, the Pushchino Department of Scientific and Technological Information published brochures in English with pictures identifying the common local plants, insects, and birds.

The field trips and excursions were followed by work in the labs of the Institute of Soil Science and Photosynthesis, where the children themselves analyzed the water, soil, and vegetation samples they had collected. The center's employees held the classes.

Historian Yuri Beshpalov put aside his work on a book about the history of the area to lead excursions and to conduct a history and archeology workshop. Biologist Elvira Bannik demonstrated cryoconservation of seeds under special conditions developed by Pushchino researchers. The children put the seeds of a rare species of carnation indigenous to the area into containers filled with liquid nitrogen. Scientists plan to save the species this way.

Many research centers in the world are compiling data banks of genetic resources. But is this method strategic to the preservation of the variety of life on the planet? This topic was hotly discussed in one of the numerous debates that took place from the first to the last day.

School No. 2 put its computer class at the disposal of the young ecologists. Natalya Lunina, a programmer at the Pushchino computer center, conducted a programming class and a class in the development of computer models demonstrating ecological laws. ▶

The children attended classes in the morning and devoted the afternoons to workshops or independent projects. Andrea Denson learned how to make traditional Russian toys out of clay; Chip Chiles, Sveta Makarova, and Bronson Frick used a computer in the camp's press center to publish an English-language newspaper, *Bridge*. And Lev Sarkisov and Sharif Taha devoted both their mornings and afternoons to ecology. Working on a project in population botany, they determined the age of limes and oaks in the town park.

When the camp was over, a conference was held (the maiden event for the institute's new conference hall) to present the results of the research by the children and an exhibit of their projects.

One of the days at camp was the Fourth of July. According to the American children, Americans celebrate this holiday every year wherever they are. Pushchino was no exception. In the evening the whole camp celebrated the event. The American children took the on stage to tell the story of Independence Day and to describe the holiday traditions. Mackey Luffman impressed the audience so much that the city newspaper decided to run his story about the Boston Tea Party and the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

Then a group of amateur actors among the American schoolchildren did some humorous sketches illustrating various periods in American history. The show drew tremendous applause and laughter from the audience. A songfest (with American and Russian songs) and fireworks on the bank of the Oka River ended the celebrations.

The camp itself closed several days later. A final press conference was held for Pushchino residents. David Orr, director of the Meadowcreek Project, said at the conference: "The people who have linked their lives with this camp are people of vision. We are united by the dream of what can take place but has not taken place yet. We want to build a new world through children. When people meet face to face, their ideas about politics change."

SUMMER IN

By Carl Etnier

Teacher; member of Meadowcreek Project (USA)

As the summer sun set on the Oka River, a small group of picnickers sat on the bank listening to the crickets and sounds of the intermittent barges, looking at the verdant hills and stark power lines silhouetted against the descending sun, and laughing and talking together in a combination of Russian and English.

The conversation flowed from childhood recollections to politics, but it kept coming back to the state of the environment. The day was warm, even at the 10 P.M. sunset, but most declined to swim in the river because of contamination from a spill a few hundred kilometers upstream. The fresh fish smoked over a driftwood fire were regretfully refused by one picnicker because of the river's PCBs (polychloride biphenyls), carcinogenic pollutants that concentrate in the meat and fat of fish.

Clean air standards were regularly exceeded in all major Soviet cities by as much as 10 times over the norm. Members of the group were excited about an excursion to Moscow, but they weren't looking forward to breathing the capital's smog. The Americans in the group reported that things were not much better back home. They were from the Ozark Mountains, where clear spring water

burbling out of the ground is usually contaminated with disease-causing bacteria. Of the 26 largest U.S. cities, not one met all the standards for clean air. The systems of government and economies were organized differently in the two countries, but both were remarkably efficient at producing pollution.

The picnickers had made it their business to learn of environmental threats and to teach others about them. All of us were helping teach classes at a Soviet-American ecology camp for high school students, sponsored by the USSR Institute of Soil Science and Photosynthesis in Pushchino, a town of 18,000 just south of Moscow. Our group of American adults and students were there for two and a half weeks, teaching and learning about different environments and different cultures.

Although we live more than 5,000 miles from Pushchino, we had previously met and befriended many of the Soviet people. They had been to a similar camp in October 1988, sponsored by Meadowcreek Project, a private environmental education organization in Arkansas. Both camps offered a mixture of talk and activity on the environment and the local culture, plus time for eating, fun, and relaxation.

At Pushchino, mornings began with talks by Soviet and American scientists. Topics included sustainable agriculture, nitrate pollution in water

PUSHCHINO

supplies, species extinctions, and the connections between national security and environment. One day the students froze flower seeds to demonstrate cryopreservation's ability to maintain a species gene pool in cold storage. They dipped seeds from the flower *Dianthus* in liquid nitrogen, 196 degrees below zero. When the seeds germinated, the students found that the short bout with amazingly cold temperatures had not hurt them at all.

The Soviet ecologist who spoke to the students on species extinction, Dr. Sergei Rozanov, oversees two scientists who are investigating using this and similar techniques to freeze plant tissues for hundreds of years, maintaining a gene pool for species that cannot be protected in reserves.

On another day, looking for nitrate pollution, Dr. Yaroslav Ryskov led them as they donned rubber boots and sloshed through the water and muck to take water samples from streams. When the students analyzed the samples in the lab, they found few nitrates in the streams flowing out of forests, but, as expected, high levels of pollution in the streams that drained heavily fertilized agricultural fields.

In contrast to the morning activities that all the students rotated through, afternoon groups allowed students to understand some aspect of the environment or Soviet culture in more detail by working on it for five days at a

time. One group studied the humble dandelion as it grew in the forest, in an open field, and in other settings to learn how its froth was affected by the different environments.

More culturally oriented groups learned Russian arts. One workshop engraved pictures into metal, noisily pounding their metal tools on metal plates. The engravings were brought home as treasured keepsakes by the students, and the experience was remembered as one of learning both art skills and nonverbal communication. The teacher, artist Victor Zalim, knew almost no English, and the American students knew almost no Russian. "But by the third day," said American student Penny Milholen, "we didn't have a translator and didn't need one. We understood each other perfectly."

The time after studies and activities was taken up by sports, private walks, and conversations, and, most memorable, celebrations. We celebrated the Fourth of July, American style. No hot dog roasts or softball games or parades, but we pantomimed those in the "Independence Day Today" epilogue to a semi-improvised skit on the War of Independence.

We taught the Soviets some outdoor party games and sang together "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and "America, the Beautiful." Though we feared we would have to forego the traditional pyrotechnical finale, Yaroslav Ryskov produced a flare gun from somewhere. In the twilight, we

took it down to the banks of the Oka for three vollies of "fireworks" to close the evening.

The rambunctious Fourth of July celebration, nearly as informal as a water fight on the beach, contrasted sharply with one the Soviets hosted on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Russian poet Anna Akhmatova. Her birthday soiree, in the somber semidarkness of a room lighted only by candles, was a carefully scripted narration of her life and readings from her poetry, in Russian and in translation. Interludes of classical piano music reinforced the serene mood. At the close, all of us had been moved by her haunting words.

The camp in Pushchino ended the same way the camp in Arkansas did, with thoughts of international tensions and even our topic of environmental concerns pushed aside. There was room in people's minds only for the personal feelings of farewell to friends: hugs, promises to write, shared laughter, and tears.

While many of the friendships will endure, so will the pollution that caused us to come together in the first place. During our two and a half week visit, the earth's ozone shield deteriorated a little, greenhouse gases concentrated more in the atmosphere, and 70 to 700 species became extinct. Those of us who helped at the camp hope that the students' new understanding will motivate them to make our shared planet a little cleaner. ■

religion

Reviving an Old Tradition

By Elya Vasilyeva
Photographs by Oleg Kaplin



The parishioners of the Church of Joy of All the Afflicted, carrying out the behest of Christ Our Savior—"Be merciful"—perform a service of mercy to sick children and the elderly. We bring assistance to the following addresses."

This handwritten poster, which I noticed on the door of a Moscow church, drew my attention.

I opened the heavy door of the church.

"The name of our church itself enjoins us to care for all those who are in trouble, to bring them relief and joy," said Father Boris, archpriest of the Church of Joy of All the Afflicted.

The church has stood on Bolshaya Ordynka, one of Moscow's oldest streets, for 300 years. It has been rebuilt many times, but it received its current form at the hands of Osip Bove, a prominent Russian architect of the nineteenth century, architect of the Bolshoi Theater building.

The Church of Joy of All the Afflicted is very popular among religious Muscovites, and many of them who have moved from the overpopulated apartments of the city center to new districts in the suburbs continue to come regularly to this particular church. They say that the specific ▶



Father Boris has befriended the children in an orphanage. Above: On behalf of the believers, Father Boris presents a color TV to a group of elderly and disabled people in Boarding House No. 20. Facing page: "She is ready to give her life for every child," says Father Boris of Natalya Zhukova, head of a boarding school for mentally retarded children. Zhukova hugs Andrei Kuleshov, age 5.

Moscow traditions—the service, the ritual, the decoration—are best preserved here.

Another ancient tradition seems to be reviving among the believers. Bolshaya Ordynka was once known throughout Moscow as a center of mercy. In it stood the Marfo-Mariinskaya Convent, established in 1910 by Grand Duchess Yelizaveta, a sister of Czarina Alexandra. There the sick, the lonely, and the orphaned received shelter and care. Both the convent and its founder came to a tragic end—the Grand Duchess died a martyr's death in 1918 in the bloody chaos of the Civil War, and the convent was shut down in 1926.

"But the spirit of the Marfo-Mariinskaya Convent has remained very much alive," continued Father Boris. "We have only recently found out that many of its former inhabitants covertly continued visiting the homes of elderly people and caring for patients in hospitals, even after the convent ceased to exist. That is perhaps why we found it easier than did the parishes of other churches in Moscow to revive the movement of mercy. In any case, when the city Department of Social Maintenance asked us to help take care of gravely ill people in hospitals and old-age homes, scores of our parishioners responded at once."

The movement of mercy, reborn in our country in these times of *perestroika*, has drawn the Church into its ranks. Characteristic in this respect is Father Boris, who has served in the church on Bolshaya Ordynka since 1961. He's a charming man, warm and openhearted. He finds a kind word for everyone, he is ready to help in an hour of need, and his services are always "so sincere and heartfelt," as one woman told me.

"People have understood that we can, we must unite for the sake of a good, a worthy cause. Everyone, of course, understands happiness in his or her own way, but to me, happiness means living and being needed. It's hard to find any other activity that would yield such rapidly visible results as the movement of mercy," said Father Boris.

The Church of Joy of All the Afflicted joined the movement only six

Grand Duchess Yelizaveta Romanova (1864-1918) renounced the material world to enter the Marfo-Mariinskaya Convent on April 9, 1910. The convent was built with the Grand Duchess's money. Yelizaveta was an experienced surgical nurse, and the convent's hospital had an excellent reputation. Serious cases were often sent to the convent hospital for surgery.





Praskovya Korina, an orphan from the Russian provinces, was one of the first students at the Marfo-Mariinskaya Convent. After she married the famous artist Pavel Korin, she became an art restorer. She helped to restore some of the masterpieces of the Dresden museum, damaged during the bombing raids of World War II, which are again on display in the Dresden museum. Above: The convent in an earlier day, with Korina as a child in the foreground.

months ago, but it has already won public recognition. Its archpriest received a letter from the Moscow branch of the Soviet Children's Fund, which said: "Please convey to your parishioners our gratitude and hope that their noble actions will go on easing and improving the conditions of life for sick children deprived of their parents' care and love."

Parishioners come often to Boarding School No. 6 for mentally retarded children. These parishioners play with the children, read to them, and help them get dressed. Together they wash dishes, do household chores, work on the school grounds—there's always plenty to do in a place that houses 150 children, each one of whom is in need of constant care and attention.

Through the efforts of one of the parishioners, a prominent eye specialist, all the children at the boarding school now undergo examinations at Moscow's best eye clinic and receive hospital care if necessary.

Father Boris said: "When you first see these children, you can't help feeling sad, but the better you get to know them, the more convinced you become that their souls are just like all those of other children. And they're no more mischievous than other kids—in any case, my own children were much less obedient than they are. It's very easy to get on with these kids, they're so openhearted. Strange as it may seem, their handicap brings out in them such qualities as utter sincerity—the inability to lie or to be sly."

One of the parishioners persuaded his friends, Moscow State University students (very far from religious, by the way), to visit the sick children. So the acts of compassion expand, involving more and more people who are united by the idea of giving unselfish aid to others.

"Our aid isn't entirely disinterested," Father Boris told me. "To see a smile on a child's face is the biggest reward anyone can get."

Most certainly, children—even sick ones—are nevertheless children, and it's always a pleasure to deal with them. What is much harder is to deal with feeble old people, who often have lost all sense of reality.

"I hate your patients"—that's what one medical nurse told me when she handed me her resignation," said Vladimir Drozdov, director of Boarding House No. 20 for retirees and invalids. Under his care, fully supported by the state, are 524 people aged 16 to 102.

"You see for yourself the good conditions our patients live in. Last year, for instance, we received considerably greater allocations for food. Highly skilled doctors work on our staff. But we have a big problem too," Drozdov went on, "which at times brings all our efforts to naught—that's a shortage of paramedics and orderlies. We should have a staff of 90, yet we actually have only 10—even though we pay good money. But the work is hard, and not too many people are willing to take on such jobs. During the summer we invite medical students to come help out. Sometimes the Department of Social Maintenance sends us people sentenced for drunkenness or petty hooliganism, and we don't turn them down either. Actually, it may seem strange, but it is frequently these lawbreakers who stay on to work for us. When they see people who have such difficulties, they quit drinking, their souls seem to wake up, and they feel compassion and sympathy. We welcome anyone who wants to help those who cannot help themselves.

"When the Church members first came to our boarding house, they immediately showed, by their own example, what real love for people can do. More than that, it is the believers who frequently help solve problems that we just couldn't cope with before. For example, one day a group of gerontologists from the United States came to visit us. They asked me a question that took me completely off guard: 'How do you prepare your patients for leaving this world?' At first I didn't even understand what they were driving at—after all, my job was to give the patients room and board, treatment in case of illness, even activities to keep them busy. But to prepare them for death?! That wasn't my duty at all. Later I thought and thought about it and finally changed my mind entirely: Quite true, people must be helped in the tragic moments

when doctors can't do anything more. It was the believers who brought us that art—the art of helping a person in his or her last moments."

The day we visited Drozdov's boarding house, we found a team of TV journalists already at work there. Father Boris had told us the day before that about 10 of his parishioners would be there. They actually did come in the early morning, as usual, but no sooner had the journalists appeared than the believers just vanished into thin air.

"Mercy never seeks gratitude or recognition," said Father Boris, as though trying to find an excuse for his parishioners. "They prefer to do their work as the Bible tells them to—quietly and selflessly."

The archpriest thinks that in the psychology of some of the believers their personal religious attitude is more important than doing social service for their neighbors. That is why he preaches from the altar: "While communicating with God in their prayers, Christians must not close their eyes to the suffering of people around them." Very frequently, Father Boris said, "the poor come to one another's assistance, while those who are better off prefer to watch from the sidelines."

This condition is the result not only of indifferent hearts but also of the fact that charity on the part of religious groups violates a law promulgated in the very first years of Soviet government. Under present conditions there is a visible contradiction between the obsolete law and reality. Though the Church continues to be separated from the state, it does not separate itself from society. And society shows great respect for the Church. Very soon the Law on Religious Cults will be submitted for public discussion, and revision should do away with many contradictions in this sphere.

Meanwhile, the movement of mercy is expanding and gaining experience, though "not as quickly as we would like it to," according to Father Boris.

And the indefatigable Father Boris now dreams of the birth of Moscow's first religious charitable society in the former Marfo-Mariinskaya Convent. ■

Irina, Sister of Charity



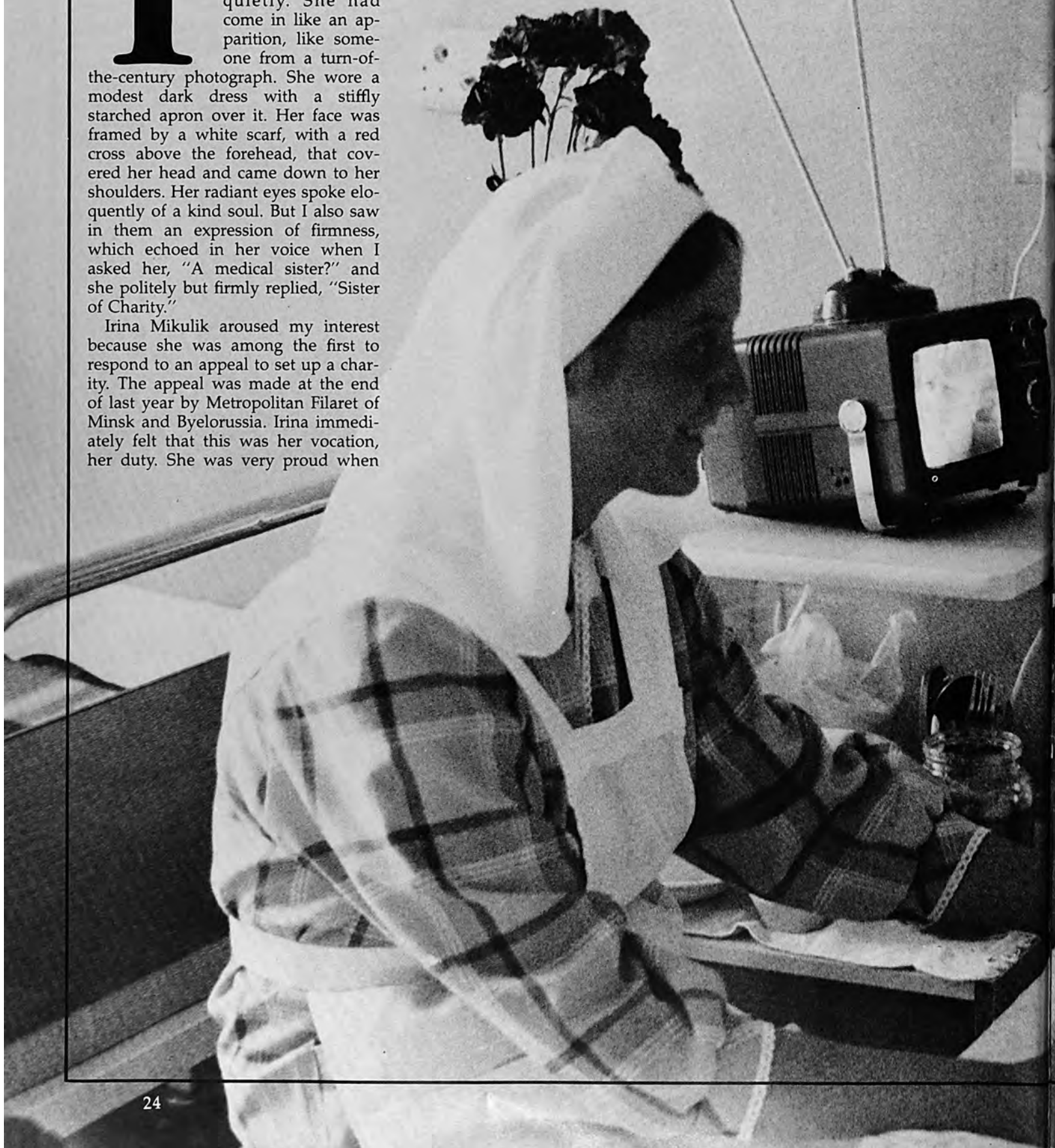
**Irina Mikulik knew when she was 10 years old
that she had a vocation.**

By Natalya Buldyk
Photographs by Yevgeni Koktysh

The young woman introduced herself as Irina, Sister of Charity, and smiled quietly. She had come in like an apparition, like someone from a turn-of-

the-century photograph. She wore a modest dark dress with a stiffly starched apron over it. Her face was framed by a white scarf, with a red cross above the forehead, that covered her head and came down to her shoulders. Her radiant eyes spoke eloquently of a kind soul. But I also saw in them an expression of firmness, which echoed in her voice when I asked her, "A medical sister?" and she politely but firmly replied, "Sister of Charity."

Irina Mikulik aroused my interest because she was among the first to respond to an appeal to set up a charity. The appeal was made at the end of last year by Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Byelorussia. Irina immediately felt that this was her vocation, her duty. She was very proud when





1989

On the job at the Traumatology Institute, Irina Mikulik consoles patient Irina Matochkina. The Sisters of Charity were needed to help care for the most serious cases at the institute, the patients with spinal injuries, who were confined to bed for a very long time or perhaps for their entire lives.

Yelena Zhilkina, whom the Metropolitan had appointed to direct the service, offered her the opportunity to become a Sister of Charity.

"I chose Irina because I know how kind and compassionate she is," explained Zhilkina. "She considers it an honor to serve people. The establishment of the service was a great joy to all of us believers. For decades, because of the ban on charitable activity, we were deprived of the opportunity of carrying out the eternal Christian mission of doing good through definite actions, of caring for the aged, the sick, and the orphaned. We were allowed to go to church and pray, but we were not allowed to set up any organizations or societies, even with the best intentions. We all pray for *perestroika* because it has brought changes into our lives, especially since the meeting of Pimen, Patriarch of All-Russia, with President Gorbachev. Our newly organized charity service is proof of the changes. ▶



"In the beginning we were few in number, and we were very nervous the first time we went to the clinic at the Institute of Traumatology," Irina recalled. "We were even more nervous because the chief physician had told us that our help was needed to care for the most serious cases."

Nevertheless, reality turned out to be even more difficult than the sisters had imagined. They were put in charge of the fifth floor, which had about 60 patients, all in casts and practically all young men, usually the victims of traffic accidents.

"I cried the whole night after my first day on duty," said Irina. "It was so painful to see all these young people who were crippled. But we gradually got used to it, though we certainly didn't learn everything right away. Two or three sisters left because they could not overcome their painful emotions about the patients. Of course, love and compassion do not come all at once; they have to be cultivated in your heart."

Things did not come easily to Irina either, though unlike the others she had had some experience and special training. She had worked as a nurse in the polyclinic of a factory in Minsk. But it is one thing to be a nurse at a polyclinic where the doctors treat patients with flu and other simple ailments, and quite another when you have to dress wounds, give injections, and alleviate the suffering of the patients with your own hands.

"Though it's shameful, I'll admit that in the beginning I found it very difficult, almost unbearable, to per-

form some of my duties," said Irina. "But the Lord helped me and gave me strength, patience, and compassion. The Metropolitan celebrated a special service to launch us on our mission of charity, and since then he has been mentioning the names of all the sisters and all our patients in his daily morning prayers. I pray a lot; I've reread the Gospel; and I've gone over in my mind the Acts of the Apostles. And now I hurry to my patients with a light and happy heart. The four hours of my shift go by very quickly. It's such a pity we do not have more time."

Irina explained that the greater part of her day is devoted to work at the factory polyclinic. Then she has to shop and cook for herself and the elderly woman she lives with because the woman has no relatives or close friends in Minsk. Neither does Irina; she comes from a village in the western part of the republic. That is where she went to school and learned to love God.

"My grandmother used to take me to church," recalled Irina. "I am grateful to her for the happiness of knowing religion that helps me live a pure life. And I am grateful to my mother for being an example, not in words but in deeds, of true Christian kindness and charity. She brought up four children all alone. Our father died

when I, the youngest, was only four years old. Only now do I realize how difficult it must have been for her. But I never saw her angry or irritated. She used to help anyone in the village who needed help, and she taught us children to do the same.

"I have many friends in Minsk now," continued Irina, "mainly people who come to our church. We get together quite often, read the Bible together, and listen to music, usually Church music and the classics. I like Bach and Mozart. We enjoy celebrating each other's birthdays and name days."

"But you're young. Don't you want to go to the theater or the movies, to take a walk, or to go to some resort area in the summer?" I asked.

Irina apparently understood that I was trying to draw her out, and she answered a question that I had not even asked yet.

"Believe me, I don't feel the least bit deprived of my share of happiness. I am living the way I really want to live. I go to the movies and to the theater sometimes, but those are not the most important things in my life. I want to help others; I want to be useful to them today, tomorrow, always. And I'm very happy when I'm doing that."

"Of course, I understand," I replied.

We said good-by. Irina hurried to her patients, while I returned to my hectic daily bustle. Full of cares and worries only this morning, my heart felt an unusual peace and quiet: Could it be that Irina, Sister of Charity, had done me some good?

Sisters of Charity
assembled in
front of the
Cathedral of Minsk,
Byelorussia.



1.



ВСЕРОССІЙСЬКИЙ ЗЕМСЬКИЙ СОЮЗЪ
ПОМОЩЬ БОЛЬНЫМЪ И РАНЕНЫМЪ.
СОСТОЯЩІЙ ПОДЪ ПОКРОВИТЕЛЬСТВОМЪ
ЕЯ ИМПЕРАТОРСЬКАГО ВЫСОЧЕСТВА
ВЕЛИКОЙ КНЯГИНИ
ЕЛИСАВЕТЫ ВЕОДОРОВНЫ
СБОРЪ МОСКОВСКАГО
ГУБЕРНСКАГО КОМИТЕТА.
ЖЕРТВУЙТЕ
ТЕПЛУЮ ОДЕЖДУ, НОСИЛЬ-
НОЕ ПЛАТЬЕ, БѢЛЫЕ, ОБУВЬ,
ПИЩЕВЫЕ ПРОДУКТЫ
РАНЕНЫМЪ,
ПО ВЫЗДОРОВЛЕНІИ ОТПРА-
ВЛЯЕМЫМЪ НА СВОЕ ЖИ-
ТЕЛЬСТВО, И НУЖДАЮЩИМЪ
СЕМЬЯМЪ ЗАПАСНЫХЪ—
ВДОВАМЪ И СИРОТАМЪ.
ПРИГОТОВЬТЕ ВАШИ
ПОЖЕРТВОВАНІЯ,
МЫ ПРИЇДЕМЪ ЗА
НИМИ.

2.



4.

3.



1. Konstantin Korovin. Russian District Society for Help to the Sick and Wounded. Moscow, 1914. Chromolithography. 124 x 92 cm.
2. Sergei Vinogradov. Moscow to Russian prisoners of war. Moscow, 1915. Chromolithography. 125 x 94 cm.
3. Leon Bakst. A Large Charity Bazaar of Dolls at City Maternity Homes for Unwed Mothers. St. Petersburg, 1899. Chromolithography. 71 x 54 cm.
4. Alexander Apsit. Day of a wounded Red Army soldier. Moscow, 1919. Chromolithography. 73.5 x 104 cm.

Charity Posters

By Nina Baburina
Photographs by
Oleg Kaplin

Many American cities in 1991 will be able to see prerevolutionary Russian charity posters in a show arranged by the Lenin State Library. The library's art collection ►



Artist Unknown. National fund raiser for Tchaikovsky Monument in St. Petersburg. St. Petersburg, 1893. Chromolithography, 96.5 x 59 cm.

includes more than 340,000 Russian and Soviet posters.

On these pages we present a sampling of late nineteenth and early twentieth century charity posters, which marked the beginning of political poster art, a movement that later became very popular in Russia.

After the Revolution, new artists developed in the best traditions of the older Russian poster artists. Their works were fiery challenges to social ills. Many posters, with appeals to help wounded Red Army soldiers, famine-stricken peasants, and war orphans, became classics of world poster art.

In the late 1920s, the changing political and ideological situation crowded charity out of Soviet art. It came back during World War II.

Today a humanistic change is sweeping the country. Posters are sure to reflect it.

Tough Guys,

A day's work done, the miners ascend to the surface and hand in their lights. Even one light missing spells trouble: It means something happened, and a miner is still down in the shaft.

The morning of July 10, 1989. Mezhdurechensk in Western Siberia. Several dozen miners, ending the night shift, say they won't turn in their lights. Two hundred miners from the morning shift join them to elect, right there in the yard, a strike committee chaired by foreman Vladimir Kokorin, a member of the Communist Party. The miners advance economic and social demands, one being an immediate visit from Mikhail Shchadov, the Minister of the Coal Industry.

That was only the beginning of a strike that would shake the industry and indeed the whole country, as our magazine wrote in October. In the Kuzbas, 180,000 miners went on strike several days later. All mines in the Western Siberian coal fields stood idle. Miners in other coal regions were quick to join in. They formed strike committees, which pushed aside the astonished party and trade union functionaries and even the City Soviets. The strikers staged endless rallies to express their demands to the federal government: better working conditions, higher pay, more housing, improved health protection, better supplies of consumer goods and food-stuffs, and—most important—their own say in managing the mines, thwarting the ministry's control.

Governmental commissions were formed to negotiate with the miners, and they admitted that the majority of demands were justified. The striking miners were assured that all their demands would be met. On July 20, the jubilant Siberian miners resumed work. Miners in other regions soon followed suit.

The document the government adopted in early August has a title several lines long, but miners refer to it simply as Resolution 608. It covered some 1,400 demands advanced by the miners strike committees and accepted by governmental commissions and trade union officials. Seventy-five ministries and departments were charged with the task, and the first checkup was slated for the end of October. Shchadov said that everything was all right and that the majority of demands would be met by that time. Even so, the miners did not share his optimism: The ministry was a bog, they said. The truth underlying the dispute seemed hard to find, like a deep layer of coal.

A number of demands were met all right: Higher bonuses were instituted for evening and nighttime work; the time it takes to travel from the shaft to the working face is now time for which the workers are paid; the "northern" hardship compensation for work in severe climates has been increased; and the new laws on pensions and vacations make allowances for the heavy work in the mine. But many other demands were brushed aside by the bureaucracy, the miners justly said.

To get a few extra commuter train cars for northern mines, miners' representatives had to make a week-long "tour" of ministries in Moscow.

Resolution 608 permits the sale of coal produced above quotas to Soviet and foreign consumers at contract prices. To quote a miner, in reality it is easier to obtain a license to shoot white rhinos than a license to sell coal to a client abroad. The key demand of economic independence was drowned in all sorts of "buts": Sure you can sell, but better wait a bit... But the mines are not ready... But there will be havoc if it isn't coordinated from the capital... And so forth.

Coal heaps accumulate heat that can ignite the coal. To extinguish such a blaze is a tough job. The same was true of the miners strike. The coals of

Those Miners

By Felix Alexeyev

dissatisfaction were smoldering. In late October, there was a new outburst. This time, the instigators were located above the Arctic Circle. The first to go on strike was the Vorgashorskaya Mine in Vorkuta. The miners wanted to "shake the bureaucrats a bit." Other mines in Vorkuta liked the idea. The striking miners advanced a package of additional demands: imposing deadlines for the implementation of each point of Resolution 608; taking procrastinators to task; scrapping the outdated mining statute; and getting official recognition for strike committees. Shchadov rushed to Vorkuta only to hear that the strikers did not want him—rather, they called for a meeting with Chairman of the Council of Ministers Nikolai Ryzhkov himself.

As requested, miners' representatives from all parts of the country met with Ryzhkov.

They took their time picking seats in the conference hall of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin. Pushing buttons on the electronic vote counter, they swapped jokes: "Easy there. This is no pick for you. Will we vote? Is the Kremlin electronic system any good under a miner's hand?"

"We've come here to see whether Resolution 608 is being implemented in full. Another task, no less important, is to find ways to stabilize the industry, without which the country's economy will stall," declared Ryzhkov in his opening speech. Ten hours of heated debates and hard words followed. Let me cite some highlights.

A member, addressing government officials sitting in the presidium: "You are making *perestroika* from the rostrum, and we want to make *perestroika* in the workplace."

A Vorkuta strike committee member: "There is a search for a scapegoat under way. They say that strike committees have provoked the strike. No; the real reasons are indifference to our needs and the administration's unwillingness to start a dialogue."

A member of the Donetsk Strike Committee: "You want to know why, in July, we all were so revolutionary and are now sitting side by side with the 'generals' of the industry? Because it takes more than loud rallies to adopt decisions. The government has clearly had to heed our warnings and agree to unrealistic time limits for some demands. We are now reviewing the time frame, and both sides are satisfied."

Ryzhkov, addressing the miners, noted: "You should feel responsible . . . and not fall into the hands of political extremists. If you do, no one will remember you 24 hours later."

A question from the hall: "Do they remember us today?"

The chairman of the Kuzbas Regional Strike Committee said: "Coal miners want genuine economic independence. We don't want to go begging to Moscow for every little thing."

Ryzhkov responded: "I have a request for you, Comrades—when you go home, please tell your people that we have laid mutual demands on the table, that there are many things that cannot be settled overnight, and that we pledge to wage a constructive, open dialogue and seek accord."

In the Kremlin dining hall stood long tables laden with sandwiches, sweet rolls, mineral water, strong tea. A stocky, gray-haired miner who stood next to me asked the waiter: "How much?" "It has all been paid for," the man answered after a slight hesitation. The miner turned to me, winked, and said: "And they say the government does not care for the miners."

Then he offered his hand, hard as stone from work, and introduced himself: "Tadeusz Pupkevic, walking excavator engineer in a shale open-cast mine in Estonia and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet. You know what? We can debate until we are blue in the face, and the work will not be done. A strike is a mighty weapon, and you should be very cautious, unless you want to break the

economy. I'm a working man, but I grew up on a farm, and I'm cautious like a peasant."

Ryzhkov stood among miners at the next table. Somebody was saying to him: "They trust you, you know. But the bureaucrats are real bad—they don't want to let go of their power and are therefore trying to put the brakes on Resolution 608."

"I know," Ryzhkov replied. "So what will it be? We should be at one. Should we set up teams to verify the implementation of the resolution in each coal region? There should be standing committees comprising both government officials and miners. Let them go to the mines and see everything for themselves. But please, be realistic. Don't push too hard."

The 10 hours in the Kremlin brought results: It was decided that the government would prepare relevant documents for the decisions the sides agreed on no more than 10 days later. And it did.

Miners in northern regions received additional allowances. There is a compromise on the demand to recognize officially the strike committees. Until this is done, miners' interests will be defended by verification commissions for Resolution 608, which were established after the Kremlin meeting.

The miners in snow-clad Vorkuta have resumed work. The last to end the strike (on December 2) were workers at the Vorgashorskaya Mine: Miners resumed work only when Shchadov himself initialed the new statute proclaiming the mine an independent enterprise.

The slogan "Remember, Miner: You are the master of the mine" seems to be becoming a reality, born of the conflict. Will it help find new economic and social resources? There is no easy or fast answer. One thing is clear, though: The government has a new partner. Whether the partners will cooperate or not depends on the sense of responsibility of everyone—both in the government and in the mines. ■

on the silk road

By Anatoli Filatov
Photographs by Vladimir Kovrein



Fourteenth and fifteenth century buildings of the Shah-i-Zindah mausoleum ensemble in Samarkand.
Inset: Ancient Bukhara.



Caravans bearing exotic goods from the East no longer traverse the network of caravan routes once known as the Silk Road, a major channel of trade and cultural contacts between Europe and Asia in ancient times and in the Middle Ages. The fortresses that once provided security for the merchants no longer exist, and the ruins of the caravansaries have been buried in sand.

But the Fergana Valley is still beautiful and fertile, especially in the short period when peach trees are in bloom. The mountains have not changed either. They have seen everything—the crushing avalanches of foreign invasion, the great migrations and echoing hoof beats of huge Fergana herds. Now beautiful racehorses also graze on the alpine pastures. Fergana horses were valued highly by Chinese emperors and military leaders. The herds driven to China were so large that “one did not lose sight of another,” to quote a contemporary.

In a word, the famous Silk Road was not famous for silk alone. The trade and cultural contacts among China, India, Europe, North Africa, and Asia Minor were much more important. For

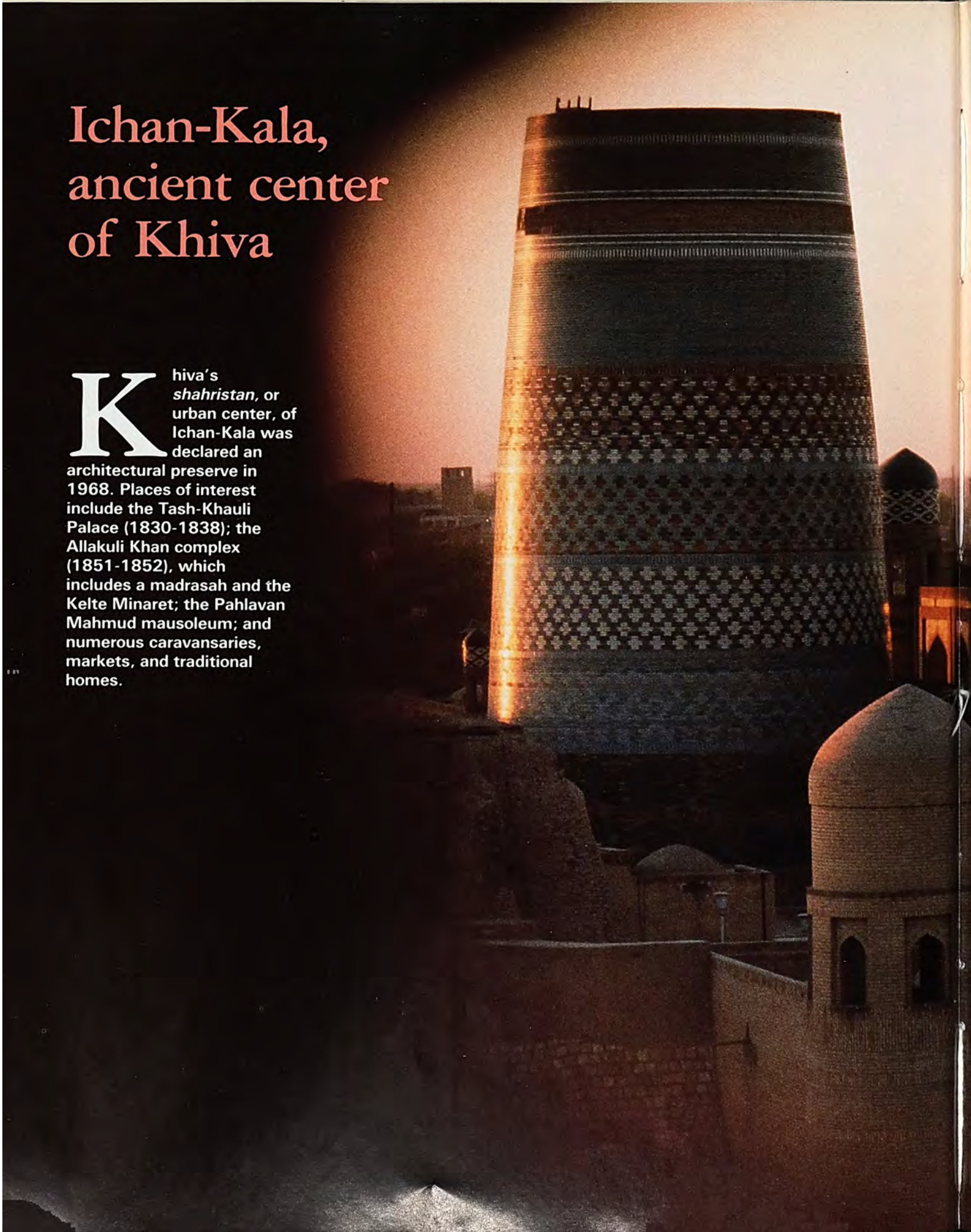
example, grapes, alfalfa, beans, pomegranate and nut trees, and saffron were delivered to China from Central Asia; large batches of silk, iron, nickel, precious metals, and lacquered goods were exported from China to the West, even farther than Rome. China imported slaves, glass, precious and semiprecious stones, and spices.

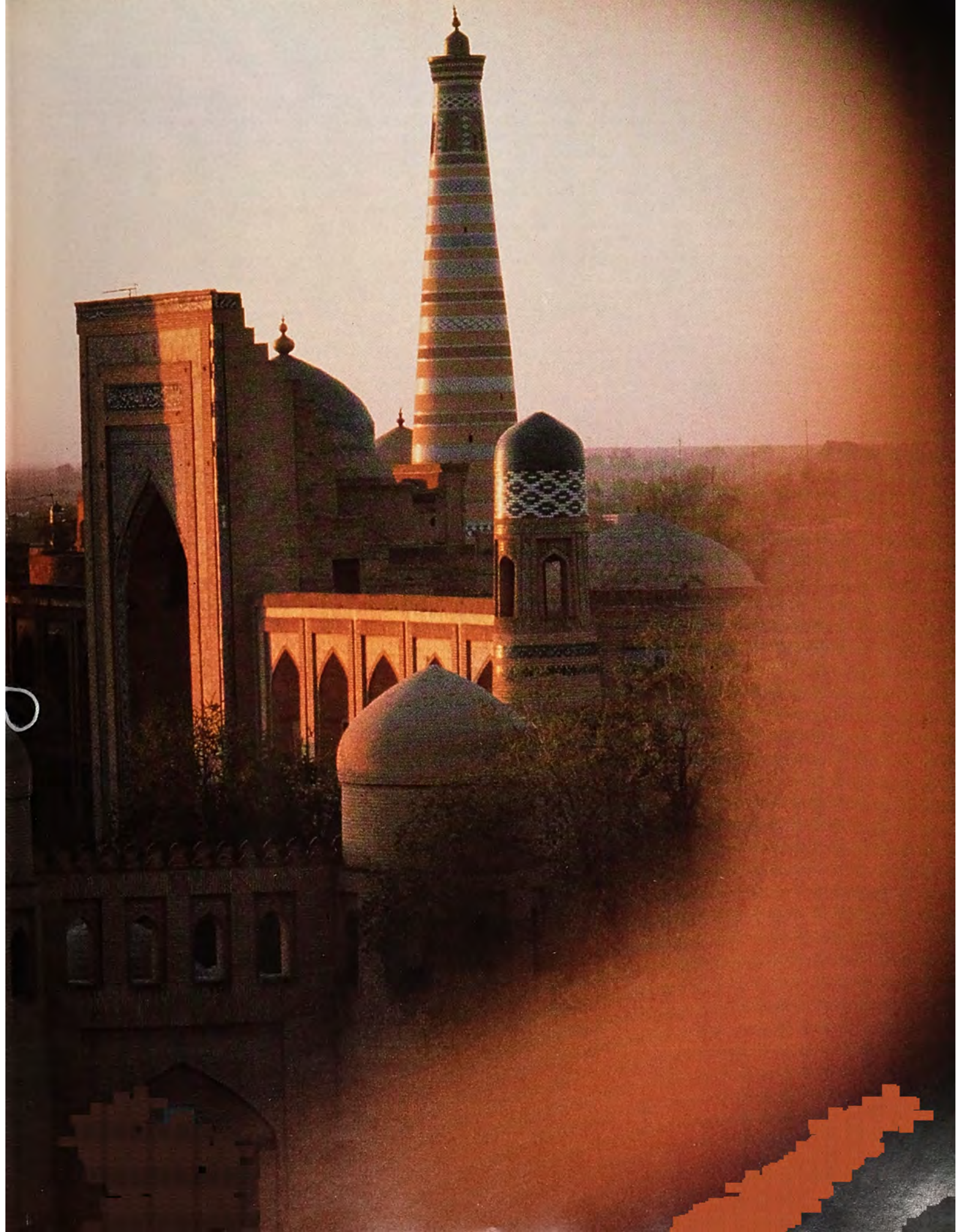
The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is sponsoring the Silk Road Project, supported by 10 countries, including the Soviet Union. The objective of the program is to restore the cultural and historical heritage along the Silk Road. The activities will be financed by donations from the participating countries and by individual contributions. Expeditions will be financed by a special UNESCO fund.

A six-hour ride in a comfortable bus from Tashkent to Kokand gives the curious traveler ample opportunity to see at least part of the area where a northern extension of the Silk Road (which once connected China with many Eastern and Western countries) ran at the time. Although much of the route's original flavor has been lost forever, the people whose ancestors settled here centuries ago still live on this land. ►

Ichan-Kala, ancient center of Khiva

Khiva's *shahristan*, or urban center, of Ichan-Kala was declared an architectural preserve in 1968. Places of interest include the Tash-Khauli Palace (1830-1838); the Allakuli Khan complex (1851-1852), which includes a madrasah and the Kelte Minaret; the Pahlavan Mahmud mausoleum; and numerous caravansaries, markets, and traditional homes.





Ahror Agzamov was born in Kokand, and his 74 years have been full of hardships and suffering. When the war with Nazi Germany broke out, he was wounded in one of the first battles: A shell splinter hit his face. He dragged himself to a hospital and, quite exhausted, fell asleep right on the floor. Agzamov does not know how long he had been sleeping when he was awakened by shots and commands snapped in German. The hospital had been seized by the enemy. The Nazis shot on the spot those who could not walk unaided.

Agzamov's wife received official notification that her husband was missing. For Agzamov himself, his wound marked the beginning of a long and painful experience of slave labor: As a prisoner of war, he was sent to a concentration camp in the Ukraine, then to an 800-meter-deep ore mine, where he worked under the supervision of armed overseers and fierce Alsatian guard dogs.

After the 1945 Allied victory, Agzamov found himself in the British occupation zone. Soviet POWs were warned that if they dared to go back to the USSR, they would be put behind bars again (not an unfounded supposition). Agzamov did not venture to return home. In 1951 he left Europe for the United States to become an announcer for the Voice of America. But 18 months later he quit to enter a mechanics school. After finishing the school, he got a job, he was making a fair living, and he had a rented apartment in New York. But he was unhappy. More and more often he thought about his homeland and his family.

Drearily looking through an atlas on a sleepless night, the one-time geography teacher made a stunning discovery: Both Kokand and New York were situated at the forty-first latitude! It was certainly a sign—he was captured in 1941!

"It's strange, but on that night I suddenly believed that my family was waiting for me overseas."

And then his life changed dramatically. He plucked up his courage and wrote to his wife. The reply from Kokand was not long in coming. The letter said the family had never lost hope that he would come home someday. Then something really unbelievable happened: He managed to arrange for his daughter, Maksuda, to visit him in New York, bringing her 18-month-old daughter with her. They spent a whole month together, but it still wasn't enough time.

After seeing off his guests, Agzamov returned to his apartment and cried. He began preparing for a return visit. On May 4, 1974, he flew from New York to Moscow, and the next day he was in Kokand. He has never since left home.

Despite Agzamov's great suffering, he is not embittered. Maksuda (who works as a teacher at a nursery school) and her husband, Umarjon (who teaches German), have eight children. Agzamov and his wife also have eight great-grandchildren. Agzamov, the "American" as some of the locals call him good-naturedly, is a lucky man in some respects.

Kokand, a city of 200,000, has certain features that are all its own. I can't think of a better guide to show the sights of Kokand. Today Agzamov is the chief custodian of the local museum. Apart from knowing the museum itself inside out, he can tell visitors a lot of interesting things about his native city.

The historical part of the city is graced by the Khudoyar Khan Palace. The last ruler of the Ming Dynasty, Khudoyar governed the Kokand khanate from 1845 to 1875. For a long time he was an implacable enemy of Russia, often making dashing raids on it. After a crushing defeat in 1868, however, he admitted his vassalage to Russia. In 1875 Khudoyar was overthrown by the people during the Kokand Insurrection of 1873-1876. He ran away and was given refuge by the czarist government. The Kokand insurgents were suppressed in 1876, and the area remained under Russian rule.

The palace was built between 1863 and 1870, but it is an original development of the glorious local architectural tradition, which is centuries old. The construction project required the services of 16,000 builders. It stands on a four-meter artificial embankment resembling a podium. The team of 80 designers and artisans was headed by Mir Ubaidulla, an outstanding Central Asian architect whose name has gone down in history.

The design of the state rooms represents what seems to be every kind of traditional Central Asian decorative art: works by metal smiths, carved wood and ceramic pieces, chased metal, frescoes, and last but not least, yellow and green glazed tiles, with which the palace's façade is magnificently decorated.

The palace is especially beautiful in the evening, when the scorching sun is not blinding, and you can quietly examine the gorgeous tiles. The façade looks like the sky brought down to the earth—no symmetry; nothing repeats. Each plane has an individual design, mostly floral or geometric. The four decorative minarets are all different. Most of the compositions bear a striking resemblance to Oriental carpets. Noisy swifts darting through the air at night and dynamic inscriptions in Persian give an inimitable feeling of eternity and the joy of life.

While Kokand's residents have lovingly pre-

Ahror Agzamov (facing page, bottom and top right) talks about the museum's architecture and collections. Facing page, top left: Rasuljan Nazyrov (right), director of the Kokand Chamber of Commerce, inspects the construction of a new department store.







Sharafuddin Yusupov, from Rishtan, exhibits his ceramics (above).

Facing page: The traditional Uzbek flat bread is called nan. Far left: Khasan Umarov at work on his woodcarving.

served the city's historical center, they have also built quite modern buildings—a teacher-training institute, a theater, and some hospitals are examples. Some factories—chemical plants, light industrial establishments, and food-processing plants—have been built in the suburbs.

I particularly enjoyed the discovery that Kokand, once entirely a place of merchants, has retained its old interest in trade: The sellers still know how to display their merchandise to advantage, and the cooks still know how to cater to everyone's needs.

Inom Kabilov aptly recalled the old Oriental saying: "Each city must have one bazaar and one cemetery." Kabilov is the manager of a small store and a personable and energetic fellow. He volunteered to show us some of the local stores, restaurants, and bazaars, the vegetable market, and the omnipresent flea market, which occupies several city blocks. The flea market makes you think of a great ritual formed gradually, over many centuries, perhaps even in the era of the Silk Road. As in a performance, there are actors, sets, stagehands, and an enthusiastic audience of thousands. At the flea market you can find everything you want, from the fashionable (such as imported shoes, clothing, and audio equipment) to the most traditional (such as hand-painted chests with forged iron decorations, combs made of extremely strong wood, the traditional beds for children, the famous Central Asian knives, tambourines, musical instruments, trussed chickens, and aromatic spices). Many other things are also available, things whose purpose is unknown to an outsider, such as piles of a soft mineral that is believed to be a panacea for pregnant women. Vendors are selling red bicycles, which are almost new, a great variety of carpets, gowns of every color and design, skullcaps, and bright shawls.

To a Muscovite, the opportunity one has in Kokand to get a tasty meal at any time without any problems might seem enviable. There are a great many teahouses everywhere, offering Fergana pilaf, a local soup specialty, salads, all kinds of sweets, tea, and, of course, the flat bread called *nan*. You can get whatever you want; the main thing is to choose the right place.

A teahouse next to the Jami Mosque provides a good opportunity to sit down and contemplate the mosque's 100-meter façade, which is exquisite. This Muslim shrine, built in 1800, attracts a lot of people. The famous 98 carved columns of ironwood, arranged in three rows, are especially interesting. On orders from Kokand's ruler Omir Khan, the wood was brought on elephants from India, and the fine carving was done by Kokand artisans.

Cemeteries are a sad but poetic sight. Traditionally, people look after their ancestors' graves. The beauty of these places is strongly felt by poets, artists, archeologists, and clergy.

The old Norbutabia madrasah (mosque school), surrounded by a series of large Muslim cemeteries and remarkable mausoleums of the khans, is an impressive sight. One of the most famous mausoleums is that of Nadira (1792-1842), wife of the Kokand ruler Umar Khan Amiri. Amiri was a poet and his wife was also. Nadira was the patron of arts and talent in the Kokand khanate, so Kokand's residents were shaken by the news of her tragic death. She and her children were prominent victims of the endless internecine feudal clashes. They were ruthlessly killed by order of the Bukhara Emir Nasrullah.

Rishtan, a small town not far from Kokand, is famous as one of Central Asia's oldest pottery centers. According to legend, Tamerlane himself sent famous artisans from glorious Samarkand there. But most probably Rishtan had local masters too—the refined gossamer pattern of local ceramics differs greatly from the intense colors of Samarkand works. Of course, this explanation is not very accurate, but there is something to it.

The name Rishtan means "showing the way to virtue." Local artisans such as Ibragim Kamilov show the way to virtue—not only have they preserved the local craft traditions, the experience of many generations of artisans, but they have been working painstakingly for decades to pass the secrets of the trade on to the younger generation.

At first sight, the work of an artisan creating the light blue and white Rishtan majolica might look extremely monotonous. Master craftsman Kamilov painstakingly paints on a white dish, in unhurried but skillful strokes, the pattern he learned from his father. Next to him stand small clay pots with special glazes containing powdered minerals—deep red copper and almost black manganese. After the disk is baked at a temperature of 1,000 degrees Celsius, the copper glaze turns into the famous Rishtan azure, and the manganese produces a wide range of tints, from pale pink to black.

Kamilov took up the trade very early in life, since his father went blind at the age of 30, and Ibragim had to help support the family. Now, at age 63, Kamilov is quite renowned. His works have been exhibited in India, Turkey, Morocco, Spain, and France. "At first I counted the exhibitions," says he. "But when there were more than a dozen of them, I gave up."



USA '89

By Boris Alexeyev

Photographs by Yuri Abramochkin

Consumer goods production, neglected in this country, is now a higher priority than the means of production.

Rejoicing at this development, the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council (ASTEC) organized the first American commercial exhibition in the Soviet Union. When President Mikhail Gorbachev and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Nikolai Ryzhkov appeared at the opening ceremony, it was clear that the country's leaders had real business in mind.

Strengthening existing ties and opening new avenues of trade were the goals of USA '89, held in Moscow in October. Sergei Garusov (left), an engineer from Komsomolsk-on-Amur in the Far East, visits the exhibit of Gerber Garment Technology. Facing page: Kaaren Boothroyd and Deborah Bowes were pleased to have a visit from Gorbachev and Ryzhkov.



American commodities have been almost absent from the Soviet consumer market. That situation is probably going to change in 1990, however, when "Made-in-USA" clothing, footwear, and knitted goods will be sold for rubles in Soviet department stores. At least this is what Dwayne Andreas, co-chairman of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council (ASTEC), said about the council's plans to expand bilateral trade.

In the past, proposals of American business people to sell consumer goods in the USSR were rejected. The Soviet Union preferred to buy whatever American machinery and equipment were available after the restrictions imposed by numerous amendments to the trade bill. Consumer goods were of secondary importance, if they were not excluded altogether from the list of imports.

That was then; this is now. Consumer goods production, which was neglected in this country, is now for the first time a higher priority than the means of production. ASTEC sighed with relief at this development and organized the first American commercial exhibition in the Soviet Union. Its aim was to help 900 Americans, representing more than 150 large corporations and medium and small businesses, to establish contacts with 23,000 Soviets, representing 8,000 Soviet trade organizations that have received the right to trade directly with companies in the West. For seven days they negotiated deals at a trade exhibition called USA '89.

When President Mikhail Gorbachev and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolai Ryzhkov honored the exhibition with their presence at its opening ceremony, it became clear that the country's leaders had real business in mind. Gorbachev and Ryzhkov spent two hours at the exhibition, inspecting the exhibits and meeting with representatives of various firms.

An array of commodities and technologies was on display—from the newest models of cars and road-building equipment to food products and farm-produce processing equipment.

Deborah Bowes and Kaaren Boothroyd, vice presidents of Bowes/Boothroyd Associates, Inc., represented Cherokee, a shoe manufacturer. Turnover of Cherokee footwear is estimated at 800 million dollars.

Sergei Garusov, from Komsomolsk-on-Amur in the Soviet Far East, feels at home among the exhibits of Gerber Garment Technology.

"Are you showing Americans their own equipment?" I ask.

"I am on the way home from Connecticut, ▶

Western Atlas International, a Texas

firm, had never participated in a Moscow exhibition. Representative Robert Lee brought new equipment the firm is very proud of—geophysical instruments including an instrument to reduce the cost of prospecting.



Jeans are a very popular item in the Soviet Union, and Levi Strauss (exhibit, facing page) plans to open a shop in Moscow soon.



Coca-Cola's exhibit drew many interested visitors. In the past year the popular American drink has appeared in Moscow stores. Above: Robert Cook is head of the Moscow office of Dresser Industries, a company whose products have been in steady demand on the Soviet market. The gas pumps on display are in use in Moscow gas stations.

where my factory sent me for training. It's only natural that I couldn't miss the opportunity to say hello to them here."

Garusov's factory bought GGT equipment, and Garusov and three of his fellow workers spent a whole month at GGT. The plant paid 2.5 million dollars for the equipment and 1,500 dollars for the training of the three men.

The complex equipment bought at GGT will make it possible for the factory in Komsomolsk-on-Amur to create technology for new models and styles of clothing in only 10 to 15 minutes. Previously workers at the factory spent 16 days on the same operation. The factory will be able to react promptly to changes in fashion and changes in the market.

Frederick Rosen, the president of GGT, says that his firm unsuccessfully attempted to sign a similar deal with the Ministry of Trade of the USSR several years ago. The ministry was then interested in cheaper deals in Western Europe.

Now that the Soviet factories, which are far more qualified to judge the advantages of some technologies over others, have the right of direct access to world markets, they prefer to buy GGT equipment, and some has already been installed in factories around the USSR.

Robert Lee, international sales manager at Western Atlas International, is in Moscow for the first time. The Soviet Union is one of the largest markets, but it has always been hard to reach, he says. Nevertheless, his firm decided to participate in the show of American achievements because its directors believe in Gorbachev's *perestroika*, which is opening broad vistas for trade. "We have on display our geophysical instruments, which are popular all over the world. It's a pity the firm has lost so much time and is only beginning to discover the Soviet market. Nevertheless, we hope for a long-term program and do not expect immediate results. We are not frightened that our partners don't have hard currency; there is a way out of any situation."

Six years ago I met with Thomas Tusher, who is now president of Levi Strauss. He was negotiating licenses for the manufacture of jeans in Moscow. Today such a project would have been called a joint venture. At that time, all the documents called it "assistance in the production of American pants." Seeing young people wear jeans made either in India or by Soviet co-ops, I sadly recall the South Korean plane episode, after which the Americans refused to sign a contract that had already been worked out.

Today Levi Strauss is gradually reemerging on the Soviet market. Khaled Jamil, the firm's representative in Moscow, says that the company already has a shop in the Soviet capital that sells blue jeans for hard currency and now intends to open another, which will sell goods for rubles.

The American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council was established in 1973. Since then there have been many meetings and mountains of words about the "importance" and "usefulness" of trade between our two countries but hardly any practical results.

What hindered the development of our trade relations?

- The long economic dissociation between the United States and the Soviet Union, as a result of which both countries became accustomed to not doing business with each other;
- The absence of the most-favored-nation treatment for Soviet commodities on the American market;
- The Soviet Union's limited export possibilities and the low competitiveness of Soviet goods;
- Restrictions on the export to the USSR of the latest American technology; and
- The bureaucratic system that until very recently dominated Soviet foreign trade, the inaccessibility of foreign markets to Soviet enterprises, and the enterprises' disinterest in export.

Nevertheless, there is reason for optimism. Both sides said so at the press conference held at the exhibit's opening ceremony.

John Murphy, an ASTEC representative, said: "The level of trade always corresponds to the state of diplomatic relations. The new impulses to improve relations between our two countries give hope for improvements in trade."

"Judging by everything, the Soviet Union will be granted most-favored-nation treatment very soon. That will mean the appearance of Soviet goods on the American market," Andreas said.

"What Soviet goods may be of interest to the American side?" I asked him.

"Fertilizer, petrochemical products, tractors, dry cargoes, heavy machinery, china, faience, and even rubber boots, to mention just a few."

His answer surprised me. During the years of *glasnost* we have gotten used to criticizing our "good-for-nothing" industry. It turns out that it is worth something after all.

Then I asked him, "When do you think the ruble will become convertible?"

"It is always important to know what you don't know. I can tell you that I don't know this. But I am sure the ruble will someday become a hard currency."

In the meantime, the situation is saved to some extent by a 10-year credit the Americans granted their Soviet partners in ASTEC. This means that until the year 2000 our trade with the United States has a guarantor—the U.S. dollar, which will remain the main unit of all our accounts. ■



THE SHARPER “VIEW”

By Tatyana Iyulskaya
Photographs by Alexander Tyagny-Ryadno

The young people's television program called "Vzglyad" ("View") is unrivaled in popularity. Every Friday night, 150 million viewers settle down in front of their sets to watch the program.

The group of young men who run the show first appeared on the television screen more than two years ago and immediately captured the view-

Members of the "Vzglyad" team, clockwise from far left: Alexander Politkovsky, Vladimir Mukusev, Dmitri Zakharov, Vladislav Listyev, and Alexander Lyubimov.



ers' interest. The bright and engaging hosts of the then nameless information and music program addressed the TV audience in an unprecedentedly frank and informal manner—and in a live broadcast! At first there were three of them, and each had an original image. The ironic and quick-witted Vladislav Listyev often took on the role of a leader but was challenged now and then by the serious, bespectacled, and erudite Dmitri Zakharov, while Alexander Lyubimov specialized in biting remarks.

It was a most extraordinary program, and even now that our media have obviously changed for the better, "Vzglyad" is still novel and fascinating. Over the years we had gotten used to the uniform stony faces of people on television speaking with an air of importance from a prepared paper or from a teleprompter. The newly born youth program evoked a lot of excitement, and its enthusiasts were not necessarily young. But there were skeptics, too.

It soon became clear that the program's team (a large group of specialists in addition to the actual hosts) meant business. Their approach was uncompromising and topical. They raised a mass of issues that had formerly been either papered over or regarded as forbidden ground—the lack of jobs for young specialists, housing, young people's problems, drug addiction, prostitution, juvenile delinquency, and so forth. Various subculture groups and individuals—hippies, rockers, punks, and others—have appeared on "Vzglyad" and expressed their opinions.

The program also informs viewers about the lives of young families. One family economizes on everything and leads a modest yet happy life; another has to borrow money from their parents, which they find humiliating. In a third family the husband, a cook by trade, earned 95 rubles a month; his wife, a hospital nurse, earned 90; and they had a small child. "If my husband didn't bring food from work, I don't know how we'd be able to make ends meet," said the wife. "Because of this situation, I can't refrain from stealing," echoed the husband. Their position is ambivalent: On the one hand, pilfering is punishable by law, but on the other hand... Three different families facing the same problem, a problem that was summed up in the program title: "How can young people be given the opportunity to earn more at their work, or at least on the side?"

The program immediately began receiving a lot of mail. The members of the team often got hot criticism—from first one extreme and then the other. Nevertheless, they always followed their own vision. Soon a competition for the best title was an-

nounced, and the program came to be called "Vzglyad." It proved a happy choice, reflecting a combination of two different approaches: In a narrow sense, the program carries the views of its makers, and in a broader aspect, it relates the modern young person's opinions about life and society. Moreover, much of "Vzglyad"'s success is explained by the fact that it does not confine itself to youth problems, since young people are in fact interested in every subject on earth, although their perceptions of things may be different from those of other age groups.

"Vzglyad" prefers to deal with unexplored subjects. In taking up themes that have already been given some coverage in the media, the program always has a fresh angle.

Writing about a TV program is a thankless job indeed, since in order to believe, one needs to see. But even an incomplete list of "Vzglyad"'s pet subjects may give you some idea about it, as well as about the range of interests of Soviet young people: How can real democracy be achieved? Is social justice possible? What is the economic reform all about? How can we ward off an ecological disaster? What are the views of Academician Andrei Sakharov? What are the roots of Stalinism? What is the present situation in Chernobyl? What can be done for those who have returned from the war in Afghanistan, for invalids, for lonely people? What are the good and bad sides of the cooperative movement? Will the death penalty be abolished in the USSR?

The ubiquitous Alexander Politkovsky, a brilliant reporter, is no less popular than the three principal members of the team. He fights with the trade mafia; he falls through the ice in order to demonstrate how to climb out of the water in such an emergency; he follows in the tracks of an impostor giving himself out to be a "Vzglyad" correspondent. His reports on the burning issues of the day have won him public trust, and nowadays he is continually showered with requests for help.

The fifth member of the team, Vladimir Mukusev, is good at asking "Vzglyad"'s guests sharp and complicated questions. His lust for finding the truth is remarkable. ▶

The mail pours in, and incessant telephone calls received by "Vzglyad" testify to the fact that the program's audience believes what it hears on the show. The show's telephone is a new departure and a sign of the times: Anyone can call in directly when the program is on the air. The calls are answered by a group of psychologists and sociologists known as the "Sympathy" team. The most relevant questions and communications are announced right away, and not a single query goes unanswered.

Bureaucrats are scared of them, a situation that has produced some funny incidents. On the eve of Lenin's birthday "Vzglyad" telephoned one of Moscow's District Executive Committees and formally inquired about the number of monuments to Lenin in the district. It was a rhetorical question because the reporters knew very well both the number of monuments and their squalid condition. But the next day, when the film crew went to the location, all the monuments had scaffolding around them and restoration work was proceeding full speed ahead.

These fellows have a sense of humor, and they know how to relax and amuse themselves and their audience. The musical part of the program is every bit as good as the rest. For music fans "Vzglyad" provides a great opportunity to see the latest videos of Soviet and foreign rock stars. The producers' principle of selecting musical material is elementary: "We give young people the music they like. To be eligible for our program, a group or an individual need not have a friend at court; we simply require good music, sensible lyrics, and original images."

Does all of this mean the program producers have nothing to worry about? Of course it doesn't. As our media, cinema, and literature are becoming more liberal, relevant, and informal, much of what was regarded as a display of great courage yesterday is now just the normal course of things. In this context it is hard to remain number one, but "Vzglyad" shares a characteristic of young people—the desire to be first.

Courtesy of the magazine *Sputnik*

"I TREAT THE SOUL"

By Svetlana Vinokurova
Photographs by Victor Reznikov



Alan Chumak cures people through his television programs.

Soviet TV audiences were glued to their sets for the June 1989 broadcast of "You Can Do This," a documentary film about journalist Alan Chumak. Chumak had been curing patients doctors had declared hopeless, and the results have been confirmed by experienced medical experts. Chumak did not just relieve their pain; he fully cured his patients.

Twin four-month-old girls taken to Chumak for treatment has such an extensive list of diseases that their despairing doctors had only shrugged. One of the girls had survived clinical death and was hopeless, the doctors said. Today, after Chumak's treatment, both go to school. They were photographed this year, slightly more than six years after their cure. Both are feeling fine.

Seven-year-old Boris, stricken with encephalitis in 1984, was in a coma for 45 days. The doctors simply stated that the boy had no chance, and even if he did survive, he would be mentally impaired at the very best. Today the boy is going to school, has a nor-

mal encephalogram, and is developing well.

A third case was a nine-month-old child suffering severe kidney disease. After Chumak had treated the child, the doctor who had been observing the infant since birth gave it a clean bill of health.

The film shows some of the hundreds of similar cases. A mother calls Chumak from Simferopol in the Crimea. Her child is in an intensive-care unit. Chumak "says his incantations" in Moscow, and the child recovers.

When the documentary was over, Chumak appeared live before the camera. He asked the TV audience to fill jars with ordinary boiled water and place them in front of the TV screens. He then began a therapy séance. Relaxed, we sat in front of the TV screens, looked away as the healer recommended, and concentrated on "ourselves, our bodies, and our feelings," also as he recommended. But my professional curiosity got the better of me, and I glanced at the screen from time to time. Chumak was muttering under his breath and making mysterious gestures. The show went on like this for about five minutes.

Then Chumak advised us to drink the water from the jars, one or two swallows at a time, on an empty stomach before going to bed.

The station received a flood of letters from viewers, as did the newspapers and Chumak himself. The newspaper *Izvestia* (June 16, 1989) had some reports about the results of the show. Larissa Klyachko: "I got rid of a cold, my temperature dropped, and by the next day I was in perfect health." Tatyana Novikova: "I had a pain in my leg and suffered from hypertension, but after Chumak's séance the pain subsided." Tamaz Chikishvili: "My wife's leg has improved after a severe dislocation."

I ask Chumak how and when he discovered his abilities.

"I'm just an ordinary guy," he says. "I'm a journalist by profession, and I've worked on television for a long time. I heard quite accidentally that there were people who allegedly could make a diagnosis and heal from a distance. I decided to expose them and began my search. I found one. He was also an ex-journalist. Then I found another couple of 'clairvoyants.' They said, 'Try it yourself; move your hand over the table.' I closed my eyes, moved my hand—and sensed the shape and position of the things on the table—that is, I felt a colossal volume of information enter my brain."

"Information from whom?"

"It must be built into me. I believe these things are no more than a special kind of faculty. Imagine a composer. A stock question a journalist would ask is, 'How do you compose music?' The stock answer is, 'I hear it.' If a composer says so, his answer is natural. But if another person tells his doctor, 'I hear music,' the doctor may suspect a psychic dysfunction. If an artist visualizes a picture he's going to produce, it's normal. But if you go to the doctor and say, 'I see a colorful picture,' you're probably a mental case."

So what is and what isn't the norm? These things are absolutely conventional. And if so, there are certain tolerances. The trick is to break down these limitations in yourself. It is not normal not to see, hear, or feel this world in all its aspects.

"We are children of the universe who have forgotten our mother, neglected our mission on the earth, and often spurned the spiritual. Just imagine an ambassador plenipotentiary who has forgotten why he was sent to a foreign country and who he is. He becomes one of the locals; he is assimilated. He isn't an ambassador any longer; he doesn't deliver; he's a half-wit from this point of view. We children of the universe have forgotten this. We are born to eat five tons of meat, to procreate, to build a nest, and to buy a car. But what for? Why are we here?"

"Eleven years ago, when I was 43, I asked myself the question, 'What are we for?' Having subordinated my life to the cognition of self, I didn't even notice that my development was proceeding more and more rapidly. To be sure, there were moments when I thought I was going crazy. I can see a person who is 5,000 kilometers away. I wanted to find out if I was really sane. I began experiments with doctors and physicists. The reality of what I saw and felt was confirmed. In what ways must my consciousness have changed to enable me to convert to a different system of perceiving realities without losing contact with the former reality?"

"What do you mean by 'a different system of realities'?"

"We live in the world of forms, time, and space," explains Chumak. "Tomorrow is what doesn't exist yet, and yesterday is what has already ceased to exist. We can travel in our mind's eye to tomorrow or to yesterday. Thinking of tomorrow, we may be worried or concerned, and we disappear from today, from the moment we are living in. It so happens that yesterday and tomorrow exist in our thinking objectively."

"Another example. If we rise now and walk in some direction, we'll be walking forward, but if we turn and walk in the opposite direction, we'll be walking forward too. This means that forward or backward is a relative concept. We have arrived at a conventional division of the whole world. And 'now' is nothing but a reference point."

"Therefore, I can be part of the time and space I need to be part of. I

can also become another man and his form of consciousness. He 'gets imprinted' on me—that is, I don't work with him; I work with myself and begin changing his consciousness."

"I conduct general-purpose therapeutic séances, so it doesn't matter what specific disease a patient in front of a TV set has. To prolong my influence, I suggest recording my séance on either a video or an audio cassette. If the viewer has neither, I suggest placing a jug of water in front of the TV."

"What happens to the water?"

"It's as if I become the water myself and the water carries me and my desire to help, and I continue living in this state in the water and on the cassette too. My technique is just the opposite of hypnosis, when you are made to be the way the hypnotist wants you to be. At my séances you are entitled to carry away 'from me' anything you can."

"Do you have contacts with extra-sensory perception?"

"ESP is on the level of the body and consciousness. I work on the level of the spirit."

"I'm doing 48 TV séances," says Chumak, "but in the future I intend to expand my audience. I am hoping for an international program. What I do removes the language barrier and doesn't depend on the level of the development of civilization. One thing is common to all humankind—suffering. I want to help people to be rid of their suffering, to become calmer, happier, and wiser."

"I'll organize programs at TV and radio stations. Every person sitting in front of a set will receive some kind of a cure. The task is to rejuvenate the human spirit. Everyone is talking about this, but we need to act too."

"One of my programs targets foodstuffs. I'll take it upon myself to harmonize the body and reduce the influence of the toxins contained in foodstuffs."

"Another program is ecological—the creation of a certain state that would 'clean' the environment and the people. Fantastic? But the ideal always comes first!"

"The body is mortal, but the soul is immortal, and I treat the soul," concludes Chumak. ■

CRIME WITHOUT Philosophy

G

enetics and Dialectics, a book by a relatively unknown scientist, Ivan Frolov, was severely attacked by the supporters of Academician Trofim Lysenko when it was published in the Soviet Union 20 years ago. With the help of applied science and philosophy, Frolov attempted to explain the worthlessness of the "Lysenko myth," which had firmly entrenched itself in the science of that period. Such an attack was a most daring and unexpected step for a young scholar, and it triggered a storm in the scientific community. At the same time the book attracted the attention and elicited the support of such eminent scientists as Pyotr Kapitsa, Nikolai Semyonov, Boris Astaurov, Dmitri Belyayev, Bonifati Kedrov, and Vladimir Engelgardt.

Frolov recently published *Philosophy and the History of Genetics*, a revised and updated edition of the first book, which gives an unorthodox view of the problems of science in general. The topical nature of the questions raised in the monograph prompts renewed scrutiny of the development of genetics.

Today Academician Frolov is a scientist of international renown. He is president of the Philosophical Society of the USSR, chairman of the Scientific Council of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR on the Philosophical and Social Problems of Science and Technology, and chairman of the Interdepartmental Center of the Science of Man. Frolov is also a People's Deputy of the USSR. Recently he became editor in chief of the newspaper *Pravda*.

Svetlana Soldatenkova interviews Academician Vladimir Strunnikov, president of the All-Union Society of Geneticists and Selectionists.

Q: The appearance of the new monograph by Academician Ivan Frolov

has aroused keen interest among both general readers and specialists at home and abroad. You were one of the many scientists who witnessed the long reign of the Lysenko cult in our country and the bitter struggle in which our best scientists were destroyed. What did you think about Frolov's clearly anti-Lysenko book 20 years ago, and what do you think of the new edition?

A: Many books on science are being published nowadays, and the reissue of one or another does not warrant, as a rule, any special coverage in the press. But Frolov's monograph is a different matter: It occupies a special place among publications on philosophy, biology, and genetics. To understand its significance and to assess its true scientific worth, we should not only study the role of philosophy in the development of genetics but look back into the past, because what happened in those times is not only incomprehensible but often completely unknown to the new generation.

So let me digress into history. In the first quarter of this century, our country was in the forefront of the study of genetics and achieved universally recognized success. But following a gradual suppression in the 1930s, genetics was dealt a crushing blow by Trofim Lysenko and his associates at the August 1948 session of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences. Genetics-oriented research institutes that were making good progress were all closed and their personnel first sacked and then physically exterminated. Total obscurantism in science set in. The very existence of genes and chromosomes was denied; the heritability of acquired properties, sporadic procreation of one variety or species by another, and unsubstantiated methods of improving varieties of agricultural crops were championed.

PUNISHMENT **and Genetics**

At such a tragic period it would have seemed natural for our philosophers to come to the aid of genetics and repulse the advance of medieval thinking. But the overwhelming majority of philosophers adapted themselves—some out of fear, others in order to advance their career—to the political situation. They were not just neutral; they went to work building a philosophical foundation for the absurd teachings of Lysenko and his associates. Geneticists and progressive biologists became politically suspect, a situation that ended in tragedy for those concerned. Philosophers lost a great deal of ground in the eyes of progressive intellectuals, who remained true to their ideals. It must be said that the desire of these philosophers to save their own skin and their lack of principle remain a blot on the collective conscience of science in this country.

Year after year dragged on in this gloomy atmosphere. Then suddenly there appeared the name of the young philosopher Ivan Frolov, who flung himself into an unequal struggle against Lysenko. It was quite unbelievable—a philosopher who was an anti-Lysenkovite. Frolov's principles got him into a lot of trouble: Grigori Platonov, one of the most zealous and active substantiators of Lysenko's teachings, refused to supervise Frolov's scientific work.

Frolov wrote a book that was definitely anti-Lysenko. The manuscript was approved by outstanding but officially blacklisted scientists of the time—Astaurov, Kedrov, Kapitsa, Nikolai Dubinin, and Axel Berg.

Understandably such a book could not be printed immediately, and it came out only in 1968 after the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, which refuted Lysenko's teaching. Lysenkovites gave the book a very hostile reception. They called

Frolov every name they could think of, accusing him of being anti-Marxist, antidialectical, and anti-Darwinist.

But life took its course, and the truth gradually asserted itself, though with some difficulty. In our times Lysenkoism—Lysenko himself died in 1976—has been debunked, but we still hear its echo and see attempts to restore it.

Frolov's book, in its first and second editions, is valuable because of its philosophical concepts and its analysis of the methodology of genetics against the background of the historical development of genetics. That is the only way to comprehend its problems, dialectics, and prognosis of development.

Frolov has won the respect of geneticists with his daring and his adherence to principle in very difficult, dangerous times. To this day he takes an active part in the development of Soviet genetics. He is a member of the Learned Council on Problems of Genetics and Selection at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Q: I understand it is not easy to reduce Frolov's philosophical concepts to a level that is comprehensible to the layperson, but I would like to ask you which of these concepts you believe to be the most meaningful for geneticists.

A: All the chapters of the book are interesting. They are full of historical information about the development of genetics, which previously had been scattered about in specialized periodicals. The book deals with practically all the basic areas of modern genetics and analyzes them from the standpoint of dialectical materialism. You are correct in saying that it is impossible to speak of all these rather complex problems. I will dwell on just two problems in genetics that remain controversial to this day. The philoso- ►

Soviet genetics, which occupied an advanced position in the 1920s and 1930s, has not yet regained its potential since its "formal rehabilitation" in 1964.

pher's stand on these issues is very important because he takes a broader view in analyzing genetic processes than do the experimenters working in this area.

The first is the assessment of the specific role of heredity and social factors in the formation of the human intellect. This is a most complicated problem. Since it is connected with human beings, its solution not only aroused furious debates but served as a pretext for political labeling. Discussions on the theme continue.

The extreme view boils down to the assertion that all people are born with practically the same intellectual potential, and only social conditions determine their intellectual level.

Today, just as 20 years ago, Frolov gives the more correct answer—that the formation of the intellect depends on the interaction of biological and social factors. As for determining the precise correlation of these factors—heredity and environment—it is difficult to determine as yet even in laboratory animals.

Positive assessment of the role of heredity in transmitting intellectual capabilities acquires special significance in our age, the age of scientific progress. It justifies the selection and corresponding education in different fields of talented children. This important measure, somewhat discredited due to bad organization, should be developed further.

The second no less important and topical issue is the mutability of organisms. A quarter of a century ago, Lysenko and his supporters were still fiercely defending the Lamarckist concept of the heritability of acquired properties—that is, properties that come into existence under the influence of dissimilar conditions of habitat. However, geneticists believe that since these dissimilar conditions do not affect the structure of genetic information registered in the chemical makeup of the chromosomes, DNA, the changes that have taken place will not be consolidated in later generations. The newly originated properties are passed on to future generations only when the program of their development is duly registered in the hereditary apparatus. Newly acquired and inherited properties, called muta-

tions, occur very seldom, and, as geneticists believe, independent of the changing environment. In other words, mutations that promote better adaptability of the species to a new habitat do not occur frequently in changing conditions. Extensive experimental data confirm this outlook.

Frolov subjected to sharp and well-documented criticism the Lysenko concept of the heritability of acquired properties. He did not, however, reject the possibility of an engineered occurrence of mutation.

We must give Frolov due credit for his firm stand on this issue, which has been justified. For instance, American scientists at the Harvard University School of Medicine published an article in a 1988 issue of *Nature* magazine in which they showed the possibility of obtaining purposeful and, most important of all, mass mutation in one variety of bacteria. This variety, the colon bacillus, has no gene that controls the assimilation of lactose, the sugar present in milk. But if the bacillus is cultivated in a medium in which sugar is a component part, then it acquires precisely those genes that control the assimilation of lactose in large quantities. We still have to discover the genetic "mechanism" of this remarkable phenomenon. The new data may open the road to a broader solution of this vital problem that will extend the horizons of the applied sciences.

Then suddenly there appeared the name of the young philosopher Ivan Frolov, who flung himself into an unequal struggle against Lysenko.

Q: Why was Lysenkoism compatible with Stalinism? This question arises from a reading of Frolov's book.

A: Because personal totalitarianism is at the foundation of both. The Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the Academy of Medical Sciences, and the Academy of Agricultural Sciences have set up a special commission to analyze the history of the development of genetics in the USSR and the study of Lysenkoism, among other things. I am the head of this commission. Archives at numerous institutes have yielded hitherto unknown material that gives a clearer insight into the inception, development, and collapse of Lysenkoism. I will simply say now that the deformation of the country's agriculture, which began in the 1930s as a result of the distortion

of Lenin's principles of socialism and the cooperative sector, and the curtailment of the New Economic Policy forced Stalin to search feverishly for a solution to the wretched situation. Like a drowning man clutching at a lifeline, he lunged at projects that promised an instantaneous boom in farming. Lysenko grasped this situation and exploited it, proposing fantastic projects as if from a bottomless well. The projects appealed to Stalin, and he gave Lysenko his full support, first suspending and then annihilating the best scientists, including Academician Nikolai Vavilov. Analyzing Stalin's deviation from Lenin's principles of democracy, people often ask how it could have happened. The answer would simultaneously explain the triumph of Lysenkoism.

During the autocratic rule of the "genius of all humanity" [Stalin] and the sweeping repressions, resisting Lysenko's ideas was unthinkable, especially after Stalin himself approved and edited Lysenko's program report at the notorious August 1948 session of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences. From that moment on, criticism of Lysenko's propositions meant opposition to Stalin himself. The consequences of opposition were well known. The upshot was that the Lysenkovites gained unprecedented opportunities for smashing their opponents and implanting the most absurd ideas in science.

Lysenkoism is only one of the more hideous and deformed manifestations of Stalinism that is incomprehensible to common sense.

Q: Soviet genetics, which occupied an advanced position in the 1920s and 1930s, has not yet regained its potential since its "formal rehabilitation" in 1964. This was stated at the conference devoted to the prospects of the development of genetic research in the USSR that was held late last year in Moscow. What has already been restored, and what still remains to be done?

A: Measures were taken to restore genetics in our country after the 1964 October Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, which condemned the dogmatism and totalitarianism of Lysenkoism. That proved

F rolov has won the respect of geneticists with his daring and his adherence to principle in very difficult, dangerous times.

insufficient, however, because the crackdown on science had taken too heavy a toll. The liquidation of Lysenkoism coincided with the discovery of the code of genetic information registered in the complex chemical combination of the chromosomes—DNA. It was a sensational discovery, and many outstanding scientists of world renown attached primary significance to it. The generous financing of molecular genetics in the USSR was, therefore, absolutely justified. But classical genetics was undeservedly pushed into the background, its significance underestimated. After all, molecular genetics is only the successful offspring of general genetics. Genetics continues to be the basis of fundamental research in biology—modern medicine and selection are built on its achievements. We should not forget that the world owes the double increase of its agricultural yield in the past 30 years partly to selection, which has unlimited potential. And this potential will increase with new discoveries.

In order to put Soviet genetics in the front ranks of modern world science, we have a great deal to do to train the necessary personnel—we have to provide the normal material and financial support for research institutions and to create suitable conditions for creative and truly talented scientists. It is especially important to receive timely scientific information and to cooperate with colleagues abroad.

It is impossible to say beforehand which specific types of research will have priority; that will depend on the many and diverse conditions in which the research is conducted.

Q: What are the prospects for research in the philosophy of genetics?

A: Genetics is developing intensively. Important discoveries that shed new light on heritability and mutability are coming thick and fast. The already accumulated and continually increasing knowledge persistently calls for philosophical assimilation. Historical experience has shown that analysis of heredity should be based on common sense and not on dogma, which is doomed to failure. Genetics is an excellent field for philosophers. ■

RECOGNITION, AT LAST

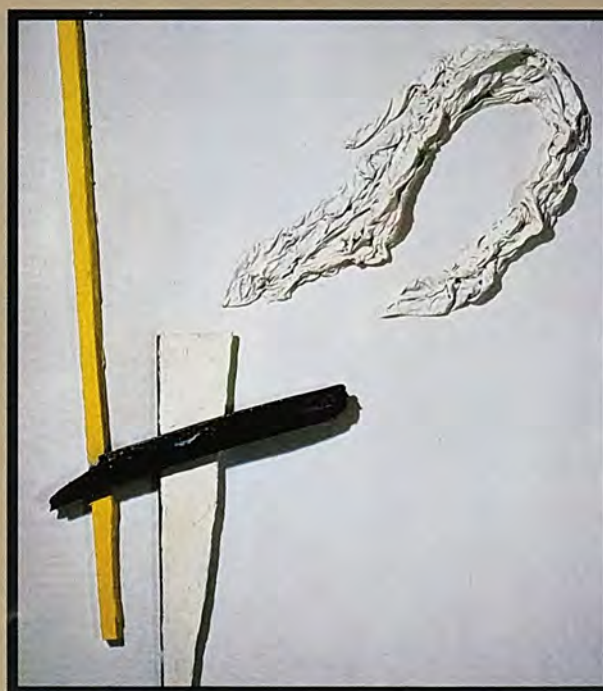
By Nina Moleva

They were prohibited from displaying their work in the times of Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev, but they remained true to the course they had chosen at the outset. I am referring to the group of artists united under the leadership of Elia Belyutin, Moscow painter, art theorist, and writer.

At a Moscow exhibition in 1946, Belyutin displayed his paintings, which rejected the principles of socialist realism in favor of the vivid emotional vibrancy of expressionism. Belyutin was a pupil of Pavel Kuznetsov and Aristarkh Lentulov, the master avant-garde painters of the 1920s, and as Belyutin developed their principles, he strove to pass them on to an ever larger number of artists. At a time when creative groups—all of which aroused the distrust of the officials—were being harassed, Belyutin was gathering around him a large number of such artists—close to 90 by the late 1940s.

The campaign against cosmopolitanism broke up the group, but not for long. Immediately after Stalin's death, Belyutin's studio reopened, one of the first symptoms of the Khrushchev thaw. The studio attracted artists of all ages and specialties—painters, sculptors, book illustrators, and designers. What appealed to them was Belyutin's civic and creative stand, which juxtaposed the search for innovative expression and the dogmatism of official art. Belyutin's motto was that art should serve spiritual emancipation, enhancing people's knowledge of themselves and of their creative powers. According to Ilya Ehrenburg, Belyutin created an academy of genuine painting that stood in contrast to the "antipainting" of socialist realism. ▶





Belyutin (center) and his followers in their studio (top). Clockwise from above: Victor Buldakov, Corrida, 1988 (mixed media); Maya Filippova, Boy with a Dog, 1980 (oil on canvas); Marina Zaitseva, Loneliness, 1989 (canvas, wood, fabric, acrylic). Facing page: Elii Belyutin, Sorrow, 1969 (sculpture; metal, automobile lacquer).



By the early 1960s the studio consisted of about 600 Belyutinetses, as they came to be called. They used to charter boats and sail down the Volga and the Oka rivers in groups as large as 250. Ignored by the administration, the studio members found support among progressive Soviet scientists and scholars. Physicists Pyotr Kapitsa, Nikolai Semyonov, and Igor Tamm and film directors Mikhail Romm and Andrei Tarkovsky, for example, helped the artists arrange exhibitions. The opening of one of the largest of these was held in the Moscow Film House to coincide with the premiere of Tarkovsky's film *Ivan's Childhood*.

But all these displays that attracted crowds of spectators were semiofficial and remained open for only a few days, sometimes only a few hours. Any advertising or publicity in the press was forbidden, and the Ministry of Culture and the Artists Union kept a close eye on the exhibits to see that the ban was not violated. Foreign correspondents managed to attend only one exhibition, which was arranged in late November 1962. The apparent rarity of it made the journalists all the more surprised to find a powerful artistic avant-garde movement in Moscow represented by talented individuals. As a result, the Belyutinetses movement was dubbed "the new reality" in the Western press.

A few days after the exhibition, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union proposed that Belyutin arrange the same display in the prestigious Central Exhi-



Clockwise from top left: Yelena Radkevich, Danaë, 1982 (graphic sculpture); Inna Shmeleva, Carmen, 1975 (oil on canvas); Elii Belyutin, Mourning, 1970 (oil on canvas); Vera Preobrazhenskaya, Hockey, 1979 (oil on canvas). Facing page: Elii Belyutin, Conversation, 1982 (oil on canvas).





bition Hall, where the works of the Moscow branch of the Artists Union were then exhibited. The idea was to unite the left-wingers with official art, but the plan fell through. Khrushchev had some harsh words to say about the avant-garde works of the 1920s that were displayed, and he attacked Belyutin's studio. As a result, the studio was deprived of all status and prohibited from displaying any work. A campaign against avant-garde art was launched across the country. The Belyutinians were expelled from the Artists Union and deprived of work. There were no more exhibitions for Belyutin, his papers were not published, and he was forbidden to head the studio.

Meanwhile, his art continued to gain recognition in the West. Beginning in 1961, one-man shows of his works were arranged in Warsaw, in Paris, and in Rome, Messina, Catania, Montecatini, and Salsomaggiore in Italy. Belyutin was awarded the Gold Medal at the Sixteenth National Exhibition of Fine Arts in Italy. Refusing to give in to the repression of his studio, he renewed its activity beginning in 1964 in his suburban house in Abramtsevo, near Moscow.

Some of the former members resumed their work where they had left off, and new artists from the traditional centers of Russian folk art—Fedoskino, Palekh, Yegoryevsk, and Zagorsk—came to take the place of those who were frightened away by the reprisals. The newcomers were not frightened even when the country's creative unions outlawed Belyutin after one of the artist's one-man exhibitions in Paris. That happened in 1969, when his portraits of Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Boris Pasternak were displayed.

New administrative reprisals descended on the studio. The Belyutinians were forbidden to exhibit their works or to come into contact with foreigners. American art critics who wrote a book on Soviet unofficial art admit that they were unable to overcome this prohibition and meet any of the Belyutinians. The Americans were afraid to identify them by name for fear of causing more trouble for them.

Continued on page 60

PANORAMA

Commercial Space Launches

The Soviet-American joint venture Space Commerce Cooperation and a private company, Energetic Satellite Corporation, have signed a contract to launch American satellites from the Baikonur Space Center with Soviet rockets. If this contract is implemented, it will be the most important step in Soviet-American space cooperation since the 1975 Apollo-Soyuz project.

The satellites themselves will be designed and built by the Energetic Satellite Corporation. They will be part of a system that localizes and determines the coordinates by latitude and longitude of various moving objects.

Obstacles to the arrangement's success are the notorious COCOM (NATO Coordinating Committee for Control of Strategic Exports to Communist Countries) restrictions prohibiting the delivery of American satellites onto Soviet territory. The Energetic Satellite Corporation intends to publish all the data on its satellites to demonstrate that they have an exclusively commercial, peaceful character and do not use any classified technologies. The U.S. business representatives hope that in six to eight months they will be able to get the needed export license. This would clearly be a great contribution to the improvement of Soviet-American relations.

Twelfth Century Manuscript

Archeologists conducting excavations in the village of Zvenigorod near Lvov in the western Ukraine found well-preserved fragments of birch-bark manuscripts. The discovery, the first of its kind in the Ukraine, is believed to date back to the twelfth century. Prince Volodimirko, who ruled the area at that time, tried to establish links with his western and eastern neighbors and encouraged crafts and learning.



Buran's First Pilot



Cosmonaut Igor Volk will be the pilot of the Soviet space shuttle *Buran* when it makes its first manned flight in space. Volk says that from the time he was very young he was determined to become a pilot. He started his career in the Soviet Air Force and later attended a school for test pilots. He was already an experienced test pilot by the time he made his first space flight in 1984 (with Vladimir Dzhanibekov and Svetlana Savitskaya). In November 1985 he and test pilot Rimantas Sankiavicius took the *Buran* for its first 12-minute test flight, which remained in the Earth's atmosphere. In all, Volk has flown 24 test missions on the Soviet shuttle.

Miniature Submarine

A miniature submarine that can carry divers to depths of more than 200 meters has gone through a testing program with flying colors. Developed by the Institute of Oceanography (a research institution of the USSR Academy of Sciences), the *Osmotr* (*Inspection*) differs significantly from its predecessor, the *Argus*. The new unit can be used for a variety of jobs ranging from research to inspection of sunken objects. The *Osmotr* can carry five people in its command and divers' compartments. The new sub will broaden the research capabilities of marine geologists, biologists, and other oceanographers.

Rachmaninoff Heirlooms

When Christine Wright arrived in San José, the capital of Costa Rica, three years ago, she introduced herself to the people who welcomed her as a great-granddaughter of Fyodor Chaliapin, the famous Russian opera singer. She found out that great-grandchildren of the famous Russian composer Sergei Rachmaninoff lived in San José. So the ancestors of two famous Russians met in a Central American country, far from their native land. They became friends and visited the Soviet Union together at the invitation of the Soviet Culture Foundation.

Rachmaninoff's great-grandchildren—Natalie, Allison, and Peter—presented the foundation with the originals of letters written in 1949 and 1950 by Ivan Bunin, the famous Russian author, to Irina, Rachmaninoff's daughter. They also gave a small album of family photographs.

These are not simply family heirlooms: They belong to Russian and to world culture.



Horse Auction in Moscow

Last fall the Moscow stud farm held its regular international thoroughbred and racehorse auction. One hundred and thirty-four Latvians, Orel trotters, and horses of other breeds were up for sale. Business people from the Netherlands, West Germany, Syria, and Italy attended the event.

Turning over a New Leaf

By Vladimir Brodetsky

Friendly, Frank, and Open Dialogue." Some *Pravda* readers were surprised on December 4, 1989, to see that headline above a large picture of Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush. The photograph went with an article about the meetings in Malta. But the word in the headline that struck some readers was "friendly." I witnessed with my own eyes how elderly people who saw the headline grumbled: "Friendly dialogue? Some friends!"

Their reaction was explainable; the cold war era has taken its toll. Even the Soviet-American summits held in the past few years have not reassured everyone. The meetings began in Geneva in the autumn of 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev was just beginning to "score points" in the field of foreign policy. Ronald Reagan at that time had just stopped thinking of the Soviet Union as the evil empire.

Since then our two countries have traveled a long road, but changing people's attitudes takes even longer.

What can be done to make Soviet people accept the word "friendly" with regard to America?

The Soviet media should continue to give extensive and truthful coverage of American reality and the development of Soviet-American dialogue. That's our internal affair. But what is the business of both sides? What should both the United States and the Soviet Union do at all levels?

Gorbachev recently said that Moscow used to believe that human rights issues would be more difficult to settle with the West than trade and economic relations. Now we have discovered that it is the other way around. Indeed, the Soviet-American dialogue, like the East-West dialogue as a whole, on human rights paid off quickly, and this problem is no longer a stumbling block.

In trade and economic relations, little progress has been made so far. Much blame for this rests with the Soviet side. The Soviet bureaucracy is

still very strong and powerful. To launch a joint venture project, Soviet business people have to sign dozens of papers in many government ministries and departments. And while they do this, the Americans' patience runs out, and the project falls through.

Too many problems confront American business people when they come to the Soviet Union. The language barrier is surmountable, but the bureaucratic muddle is absolutely discouraging. I had the opportunity to talk to American business people who had flown all the way from New York to Moscow and then on to, for instance, Kiev or Odessa, and eventually returned home with empty hands.

Many projects fail to materialize not only for objective reasons, such as the inconvertibility of the Soviet ruble or the nonparticipation of the Soviet Union in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Some fell through simply because we are bad merchants—our bureaucrats are afraid of taking responsibility, and Soviet legislation does not square with international law.

As for the problems on the other side of the Atlantic, mention should be made first of all of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which imposes forbidding duties on Soviet exports to the United States. If it is repealed (judging from President Bush's statements, it may eventually be withdrawn), the Soviet Union will have an additional source of hard currency. Then Soviet enterprises will be able to spend a part of their hard currency earnings to settle accounts with American producers and exporters.

Trade is a key to mutual understanding. People who trade with one another do not fight one another. But here the problem of third countries arises.

There are crises in many regions of the world: Africa, Asia, Central America, Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union has its allies and friends; the United States, too. Each country has interests

in various regions of the world. When these interests acquire imperial dimensions, the world becomes hostage to them. Soviet-American relations also become hostage to such interests. No wonder negotiations on regional problems have long been part of the Soviet-American dialogue. These negotiations have not always run smoothly, but Soviet and American diplomats have succeeded in extinguishing some dangerous conflicts.

The United Nations is currently discussing ways to replace emergency diplomacy with preventive diplomacy—discussing ways to prevent crises. Soviet and American representatives are actively participating in this discussion.

One of the latest examples of successful diplomatic cooperation between the two countries is the unanimous approval at the United Nations of the joint Soviet-American proposal on including in the agenda of the Forty-fourth General Assembly Session a point entitled "Strengthening International Peace, Security, and Cooperation in All Its Aspects in Accordance with the UN Charter." This joint action by the two countries has no precedent in the history of the United Nations.

Emergency situations constantly arise in the world, and, as great powers committed to the ideals of humanism, the Soviet Union and the United States must react to them. The recent developments in Eastern Europe have become a peculiar test of this ability. They were at the focus of the Gorbachev-Bush discussions in Malta. Yet another unprecedented development was a joint press conference the two leaders held at the conclusion of the summit. At the conference they spoke in turn, spelling out their positions on different issues.

Apparently the United States and the Soviet Union are turning over a new leaf in their relations at all levels. Moscow is looking forward with hope to the next meeting between Gorbachev and Bush.



The Day-Care Center Next Door

By Alyona Vasilyeva
Photographs by Alexei Boitsov





Children at the center (clockwise from above) exercising; gargling with saline solution after their naps; pedaling on exercise bikes in the gym; and showing their treasures to director Zinaida Malykhina.





Staff members at the Kolokolchik Day-Care Center devote a lot of time and attention to physical training and health-building exercises and routines. Left: Climbing on ropes and on wall bars. Below: Posture improvement exercises.



K

olokolchik (Little Bell) is the fond nickname given to Day-Care Center No. 1343 in Moscow's Kuibyshev District by the parents and children who patronize it. Kolokolchik rings with cheerful voices all day.

It is a typical residential area day-care center for 190 children aged one-and-a-half to six years. Kolokolchik is nearly deserted on Saturdays—only the few children whose parents work in shifts on weekends sometimes (mainly the technical personnel of the Izvestia publishing house) are there. Even very young mothers, who, in the opinion of the day-care center director, Zinaida Malykhina, need teachers' advice as much as their children, prefer to keep their children at home on Saturdays.

A typical day at the center begins at nine o'clock in the morning and extends to eight in the evening. It includes breakfast, lunch, five o'clock tea or milk, and supper. Children study the basics of arithmetic, writing, music, and drawing, and they receive regular medical checkups from the staff doctor. Puppet theaters put on shows from time to time, and Grandfather Frost and the Snow Maiden make appearances during the New Year festivities. When the children have had such a busy day, by the time they get home, their mothers have only to give them a bath and to put them to bed.

Until recently parents paid for a day-care center according to their earnings, but not more than 22 rubles a month per child. Beginning in January 1990, the fee will be the same throughout the country—12.5 rubles a month. Families with three or more children and low-income parents, presumably students, do not have to pay at all.

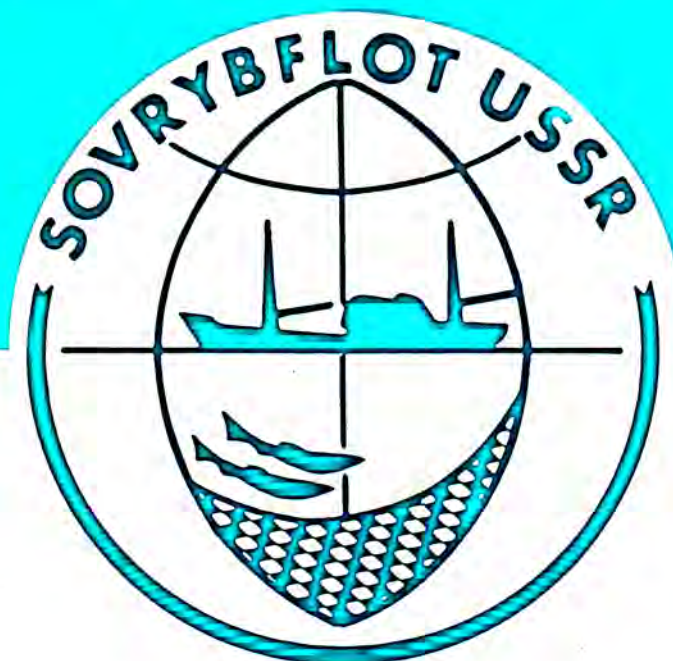
Though Kolokolchik seems to be an ordinary day-care center, it has its own individuality. When I got there, one group was having a music lesson, another was rehearsing a play in which the lively Red Riding Hood persuaded the shy gray wolf to growl more fiercely.

Kolokolchik is famous, above all, for its concern for physical training. The staff members have worked hard to furnish a gym with sports equipment, fitness apparatus, and wall bars. The instructors and nurses deserve high praise for their enthusiasm. They find the time and energy to organize games in the fresh air, to make the children gargle with saline solutions after their naps, and to drink herb cocktails.

There are health-building groups for children susceptible to colds—the kindergarten scourge that causes an endless chain reaction. These children are provided with chest massage, punctate massage, and a special system of exercises.

Says the kindergarten head: "Our main problem is personnel or, to be more exact, salaries. Someone with a secondary specialized education—a graduate of a 10-year school and a two-year specialized course—earns a mere 110 rubles a month." They certainly could have thought of easier and more profitable ways of life. This bit of information confirms the selfless enthusiasm of the people who work with children. ■

Fresh from the Sea . . .



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RECOGNITION

Continued from page 53

The works of the studio members are based on Belyutin's "theory of contact." He explains: "The essence of my theory is that it is not the formal development of artistic methods that lies at the bottom of the development of art, but the influence of the reality of the surrounding world, to which the artist is subjected. It is this influence, or contact, that makes the artist change the character of his art and his very comprehension of what a painting, a picture, or a sculpture is in reality. That takes place according to the laws of contact, which are based on the fact that a person experiences certain discomfort under the influence of the life that surrounds him, and he strives to restore this disrupted inner balance—emotional, intellectual, or spiritual—in order to continue functioning normally. He can do this only through contact with art."

In Belyutin's opinion, traditional forms of art in modern society serve to entertain a person rather than to fill the inner vacuum that forms under the influences of reality. The only possible way to address oneself to that which defines our spiritual essence is through the translation of reality in all its multiplicity of forms and expressions into an innovative medium with the help of a code that is strictly personal for each artist. The Belyutinites look for their own, untraditional methods of coping with this difficult task. The fraternity, as the studio members have started calling themselves, continues to occupy a place of pride in modern Soviet avant-garde art.

With the advent of *glasnost*, the studio has finally gained recognition. The Tretyakov Gallery has selected 14 paintings by Belyutin and 98 canvases by other studio members for display. The Belyutinites are getting offers to arrange exhibitions abroad, but they continue to work and to wait for an exhibition in their homeland at which they will be able to display the hundreds of paintings and graphics that they have produced in the past quarter-century. ■

White Water!

By Yuri Tyurin
Photographs by Alexei Boitsov

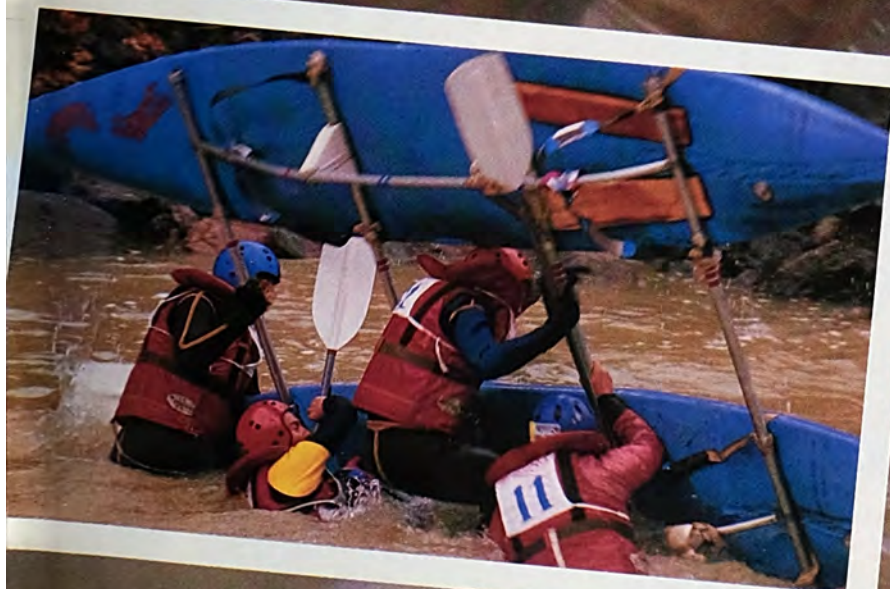
Teams from many countries paddled rafts, kayaks, and catamarans over the tumultuous white water of the Chuya River, a tributary of the Katun, in Siberia.







*Vignettes of the competition.
Insets, left to right: An American
team. Capsized. A Czech team
struggles against the elements.
Helping a kayak in trouble.*



The stormy Chuya River, a tributary of the Katun in Siberia's Altai Mountains, is a favorite place for Soviet water-sports lovers, who fearlessly take to the white water in rafts and kayaks. About 1,000 people from Australia, Great Britain, Zambia, Italy, Canada, Costa Rica, Nepal, New Zealand, the USSR, the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Czechoslovakia gathered there at the Altai '89 international camp last summer to participate in a competition called the Chuya Rally '89.

"The idea of such an event emerged during one of the joint hikes of Soviet and American climbers in the Altai," said Anatoli Chernyshev, chairman of a cooperative called Laboratory of Adventure, set up under the umbrella of the Soviet Peace Fund. "Jib Ellison, director of the American project RAFT [Russians and Americans for Teamwork; see SOVIET LIFE, April 1988, p. 10], selected the foreign participants, and the Soviet Peace Fund financed the Altai '89 Peace Camp to the tune of more than 250,000 rubles."

Thirty-six teams participated in the event, but not all of them had the necessary equipment, and not every team included people who knew how to use the gear. To solve this problem, mixed crews were formed—a Soviet-Nepalese, a Soviet-American, an American-Zambian, a Soviet-Zambian, and so on. The only women's crew, which called itself Chuya Women, came from the United States. All its members are professional white-water guides.

The whole first day of the camp was spent assembling the boats, preparing the slalom course, and finalizing the rules, which vary in different countries. After some debate, the referees and competitors agreed that the competition would be held in four classes—kayaks, rafts, catamaran doubles, and catamaran fours.

The daredevils struggled against the wild water over such difficulties as whirlpools, frightening boulders, steep waterfalls, and artificial obstacles. To reach the finish, the teams had to have an iron grip on the paddle and great skill in wielding it; they had to have intuition, instantaneous reaction, and coordination, maneuvering among the boulders and rapids and through the gates, and sometimes paddling against the current. The course was a mere 300 meters long, but the distance seemed much greater because of its difficulty.

The Altai seemed to have decided to test the entrants' tenacity, conjuring up rain and snow squalls with cold, damp nights. But the conditions didn't put a damper on the festival. The starts were neither postponed nor canceled, and

the "stands"—the banks of the Chuya—were always packed with spectators. The onlookers included participants who were cheering on their teammates, Soviet water-sports fans who had come from many Soviet cities, photographers, and local residents.

Regrettably, there was a casualty. A catamaran double overturned, and the current drew one of the paddlers under a boulder. Some Americans who were looking over the course not far from the scene of the accident tried to save him, but help came too late, and all the efforts of the doctors were in vain.

After three days of races, the team from the city of Gorky on the Volga took first place overall; it was followed by teams from New Zealand and Great Britain. Many prizes were presented; the spectators welcomed the American women's crew, which placed fourth, with particular enthusiasm. The team members were awarded the Miss Chuya Rally prize of the Altai section of the Peace Fund.

According to Ellison, who has been involved in water sports for 12 years, competitions such as these—in which the expression "in the same boat" has not only a figurative but also a literal sense—are among the best methods of cooperation. You may not understand the people who are in the same boat with you; you may even disagree with them; but you have to cooperate with them in order to pass over the rapids, since sometimes it is a matter of life or death.

It was no accident that during the contest the participants lived not in separate teams but scattered, sharing warm clothes and equipment with one another and warming themselves at common campfires. As a matter of fact, the informality of sports relationships and the relaxed communication that prevailed in the tent camp in the Altai Mountains were the main prizes of the competition.

The RAFT project envisages broader exchanges of water-sports enthusiasts between the United States and the USSR and involvement in them of participants from other countries. RAFT's Soviet counterpart is the Laboratory of Adventure Cooperative, which comprises eight people who organize commercial tours for lovers of unusual travel marked by adventure and high risk.

The Altai '89 Peace Camp closed down after the competition, but...

"I hope that the Peace Cup presented to the Gorky team will become a challenge prize," said Alexei Kiselev, secretary of the Board of the Soviet Peace Fund. "Next year a peace camp will be organized in North Carolina. I hope other countries will follow this example." ■

Facing page, clockwise from near left: Leisure time activities. George Bain, American rafting coach, celebrates his birthday.

Members of the American teams. Time for a tearful farewell.



Jib Ellison, director of RAFT, selected the foreign participants; the Soviet Peace Fund financed the Altai '89 Peace Camp.



PORTRAIT OF A RADICAL

"Competent and accessible" is the voters' opinion of Sergei Stankevich, a 35-year-old people's deputy. During the elections to the Congress of People's Deputies last spring, he won a landslide victory over three more conservative rivals. His Moscow constituents hope that Stankevich can carry out radical reforms and change life for the better.



HELP FOR ALCOHOLICS

Alcoholism is a severe problem both in the United States and in the Soviet Union. Soviet specialists in addiction have learned from the experience of the American group Alcoholics Anonymous, and American specialists have borrowed some methods from their Soviet colleagues. Articles on alcoholism will appear in our February issue.

COMING SOON

A Tribute to
Boris Pasternak

CURRENT PERIODICALS
READING ROOM



The burial vault of Pahlavan Mahmud, a famous poet of Khiva. Inset: The Pahlavan Mahmud Mausoleum and the Khoja Minaret.

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Soviet Life

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**Moscow
Deputy
Sergei
Stankevich**



EDITOR'S NOTES

When SOVIET LIFE reproduced some of the works of primitive artist Yefim Chestnyakov in last November's issue, we didn't realize what a lively interest these paintings would evoke in our readers. For instance, Chestnyakov struck George Sukol, of Washington, as a painter whose characters live in harmony with one another and with nature, that is, as Mr. Sukol put it, "They live precisely as we all should live."

Our readers' letters told us at the editorial office something important. In our May and June issues we had published reproductions of works by Moscow-based artists Vyacheslav Kalinin and Vladimir Nemukhin. Their art has won a great deal of acclaim abroad, and prominent art connoisseurs and collectors in the West willingly buy their canvases. But their works did not evoke particular approval among our readers. Why did it happen that an amateur artist who died in obscurity proved to be more interesting to them than eminent members of the Soviet avant-garde?

Evidently it's because Chestnyakov possesses a distinct originality which our readers quickly noticed.

Why did I choose to speak of the original and unknown? The answer is simple: Your letters help us to overcome habits of the past. One of these habits is the tendency to choose subjects that are as close to American reality as possible. The idea was to evoke a feeling of identity in our American readers: "Look, those Soviets are the same kind of people we are." But that's a thing of the past.

There was one more letter that made us reflect on this subject. "I hope the reforms being proposed in the Soviet Union do not destroy your country's strengths," wrote George Pridemore of Ohio. He stressed that a thoughtless copying of the Western market economy may lead the USSR to undesirable consequences. He is perfectly right: In state affairs one should by no means disregard the features that make up a nation's originality. But this, you understand, is beyond our sphere of influence.

Robert Tsfasman



Fighting Crime Together

American policeman Donald Olsen was pleased with this Soviet militia cap, but he would probably be less enthusiastic about the complete set of a militiaperson's accessories. The Soviet militia's technical equipment falls far behind that of the American police, although the same cannot be said about the efficiency of the Soviet professionals themselves.

So the members of the militia and their American colleagues had a lot to talk about during their recent meeting at Moscow militia headquarters. The two countries can exchange some very useful experience in the fight against crime. And the crime rate is something we are both eager to fall behind in. ■



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Front Cover: USSR People's Deputy Sergei Stankevich is a radical young legislator, the kind of politician that makes *perestroika* move. The photograph is by Yuri Prostyakov.



Material for this issue
courtesy of
Novosti Press Agency

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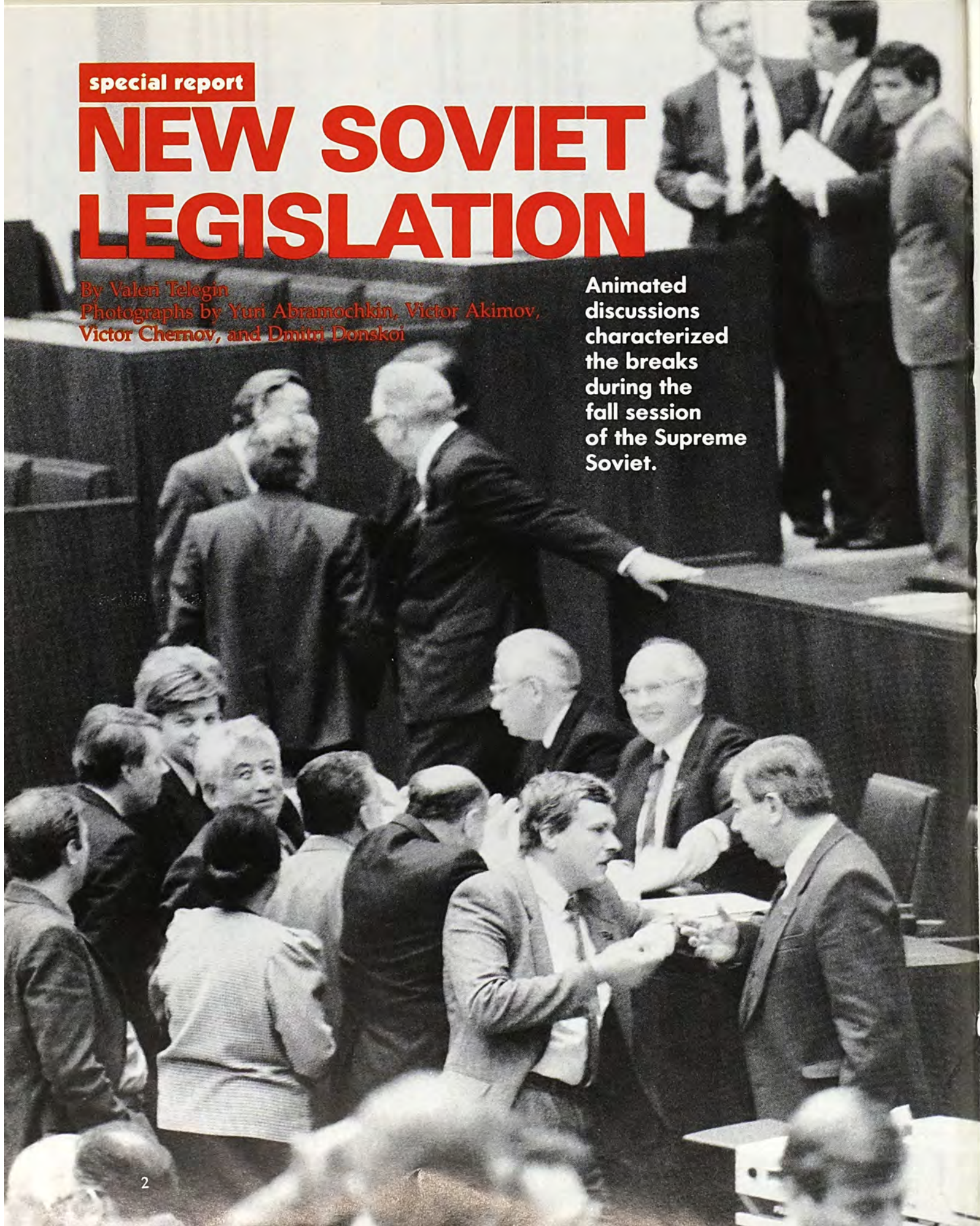
special report

NEW SOVIET LEGISLATION

By Valeri Telegin

Photographs by Yuri Abramochkin, Victor Akimov,
Victor Chernov, and Dmitri Donskoi

Animated
discussions
characterized
the breaks
during the
fall session
of the Supreme
Soviet.



The USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a series of vitally important decisions in the last months of 1989. If these decisions are all implemented by the Congress of People's Deputies, they will give a strong impetus to the restructuring drive.

What is the essence of these decisions? Conventionally they may be subdivided into three groups. The first group concerns guarantees of human rights in the Soviet Union. The second group focuses on accelerating the radical economic reforms, and the third group involves possibilities for harmonizing ethnic relations.

Let's examine the first group in more detail. The confirmation of the new fundamental laws governing the judicial system of the USSR and of the union republics was very important. The Soviet people are building a law-governed state in which an independent court system will play a special role. The new document therefore strengthens the guarantees of observance of such democratic principles of justice as competitiveness and openness, equality of all parties, and the presumption of innocence. Furthermore, in order to enhance the role of the public in administering justice, a system of jurors and specialized courts dealing with family matters, the press, patents, and so forth, is being developed. The idea of creating such a system has been widely discussed lately. Opinion polls have shown that the idea has much public support.

In the group of decisions related to human rights, special mention should be made of a specific but vitally important law regulating exit and entry procedures. The Congress adopted the law on the first reading, which means that the deputies agreed with the concept of the document and its provisions and that it will be improved in the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions and subsequently discussed at the next session of the Congress. This draft law is based on the Final Act of the Vienna meeting of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and contains a number of norms hitherto not re-

flected in Soviet laws. For instance, citizens who have had access to state secrets will not be denied exit visas for more than five years. Limitations on entry into the Soviet Union for Soviet emigrants have been removed.

Moreover, in line with the general tendency toward broadening human rights, the Congress confirmed a law on the procedure for mediating collective labor disputes, regulating the right of citizens and their organizations to go on strike. A law on the press was also adopted on the first reading. This law bans censorship of the mass media and allows any group or individual—not only state and public organizations—to set up and

register a newspaper or other media.

The second group of decisions includes the adoption of an extremely important law on leaseholding and lease relations. Juridically, such relations were not regulated in any way until recently. The session also adopted the State Plan for Socioeconomic Development and the USSR State Budget for 1990.

But the central event of the Congress was undoubtedly the discussion after the second reading of the Law on Property and the subsequent resolution to submit the amended version for nationwide discussion. This law, which many people in the USSR call Law No. 1, has not so much an eco-



Deputies at work. Left: Nikolai Konarev, Minister of Railways, responds to criticism of the rail system.

nomic as a political character. One deputy even called it the Manifesto of *Perestroika*.

In fact, the law formalizes the country's return to the principle of a mixed economy and to multiple forms of property. Many of the deputies declared the draft law a success. But they decided in a heated discussion that the public should be offered not only the version approved by most of the deputies, but also the two alternate versions.

Furthermore, since the problems of property are inextricably linked with the ownership and use of land and with local self-government, the deputies decided that the amended draft laws on land and on the general principles of local self-government and economic management should also be discussed nationwide, and due account should be taken of the proposals and amendments made during the debates in the Congress.

Finally, the third group of decisions includes the draft laws regulating the Soviet Union's new nationalities policy, which was the key issue discussed at the September 1989 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Congress confirmed the law on economic self-sufficiency of the three union republics—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—which will test the strategy of switching the union republics to regional cost-accounting methods.

The Congress also adopted after the first reading the Law on the Languages of the Peoples Living in the USSR, by which Russian is the official language. The republics have been given the right to establish state status for their national languages within their territory.

The deputies also amended the current Law on Citizenship, enhancing the equality of citizens in all republics in accordance with the federative structure of the USSR.

The emotional climate of the second session of the Congress of People's Deputies was quieter than the first, and there was no sharp confrontation between "radicals" and "conservatives." This testifies to the deputies' increased political experience. The session and its results were

also influenced by the awareness that arguments alone cannot promote *perestroika*. Only specific decisions can render the new processes irreversible and bring the expected economic and social returns.

The fresh winds of change sweeping the Soviet Union are well exemplified by the Law on the Judiciary, which was recently approved by the Congress of People's Deputies. Together with the earlier laws on the status of judges, responsibility for contempt of court, and appeals against unlawful actions of officials, the new law is another step forward in the current legal reform in the USSR.

At least two circumstances necessitated the new law. In the period of stagnation the courts became exempt from criticism—hence the numerous illegal rulings and the disregard for the principle of equality before the law. The reform aims to create guarantees against a repetition of such practices. At the same time, it attempts a larger-scale task, that of building a law-based state, wherein the law will be the highest authority on all levels of government.

The reform focuses on raising the status of the court, which is to be the supreme arbiter of social conflicts in strict conformity with the law. The new laws seek to strengthen democratic practices—openness, equality of the parties, and the presumption of innocence.

Characteristically, the laws were adopted following nationwide debates, a sign of the growing public interest in the legal sphere, with the focus on a higher quality of defense and more reliable guarantees of citizens' rights in court.

One point was aimed at wider public participation in court procedures, primarily a greater role for the non-professional people's assessors. In Soviet courts, criminal cases are heard by a judge and two people's assessors. Unlike the jury in many other countries, the assessors collaborate with the judge not only in establishing the guilt or innocence of the de-

Continued on page 41





Facing page:
Deputies Vladimir
Tikhonov (top);
Leonid Abalkin
(center left); Lev
Voronin (center

right); Vladimir
Kryuchkov (bottom
left); and
Alexander
Yakovlev
(bottom right).



**During a break, Boris Yeltsin
(right) talks with other
deputies. Above: President
Gorbachev and Yevgeni
Primakov. Above left:
Anatoli Sobchak.**



Tribute to Sakharov

Photographs by Vladimir Vyatkin and Valeri Rodionov



Late at night on December 14 Andrei Sakharov said to his wife and guests: "I'm going to have a rest. I'll have a difficult day tomorrow; there will be a battle at the Congress." Those were his last words.

On December 15, at the morning session of the Congress of People's Deputies, the deputies heard the tragic news that shocked them all: Sakharov had died. They stood for a moment of silence out of respect for him.

President Mikhail Gorbachev expressed his sympathy to the family of the deceased academician. In a telegram to Sakharov's family, President George Bush, on behalf of the American people, expressed condolences on the death of the great man.

Sakharov was a fighter all his life. He fought for truth, civil rights, human dignity, and normal relations among all peoples. He fought against the totalitarian administrative system and its crimes, against the perversion of the natural laws of development, and against the destruction of nature. The system tried to cajole him into silence by showering him with favors, and to bully him by banishing him to Gorky and stripping him of all his honors.

He did not yield to flattery and was not frightened by threats. Decorated three times as a Hero of Socialist Labor, a full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and an outstanding physicist, who made a breakthrough in the field of thermonuclear fusion, Sakharov fought for his principles to the end. Even in the bleakest years of his life, ostracized and persecuted, Sakharov believed in reason and was convinced that his appeals to our conscience would be heard.

And they *were* heard. His death left no one indifferent. Everyone wanted to pay tribute to him.

The following statements on Sakharov's death were published in the Soviet press.

Alexander Gelman, playwright:

Sakharov symbolized the revolt of the power of reason during a time of totalitarian dangers.

When another great physicist, Galileo, was put on trial by obscurantists,

"His personality embraced the whole world and many human destinies. Every human fate had a place in his mind and his heart. His mind, strong and clear, coped with the task, but his heart did not. It broke."

he saved his life by recanting. He did so not because he was a coward, but because he was convinced that reason had eternity to prove itself. He was sure that sooner or later people would realize that the earth revolved around the sun.

Andrei Sakharov knew better than anyone else that a change of epochs had taken place in the middle of the twentieth century and that reason would not have forever to prove itself. He realized that only a universal revolt of reason could save life.

It is not that he was an extraordinarily brave man. He was sensible to the end. We all know of the dangers about which Sakharov spoke, but his knowledge was final and complete, and his choice was irrevocable.

All his life he tried to convince us that it was not only his choice. We all have no other choice: It is either reason or death.

When he left us, he was worried and did not know for sure that we had heeded his warning.

Yuri Karyakin, philosopher and critic:

In December 1986 Gorbachev phoned Sakharov in Gorky. We don't know yet what resistance, external and internal, in others and in himself, the man in Moscow had to overcome, but we know that Sakharov made his return from exile conditional upon the release of others. Many of them have been released.

That was the beginning of a contentious and meaningful dialogue between Gorbachev and Sakharov, a dialogue that became one of the driving forces of our forward movement.

In his Nobel Prize acceptance speech Sakharov named the "prisoners of conscience" jailed in the USSR and asked forgiveness from those whom he could not name yet.

In the 1920s and 1930s we had dozens, or maybe hundreds, of intellectuals like Sakharov. They were all destroyed. May Sakharov's life and fate be a harbinger of revival and a symbol of courage for our intelligentsia today.

With his whole life Sakharov proved his exceptional humaneness, morality, spiritual strength, and impeccable political honesty. ►



Fellow deputies march behind the coffin.

Lev Karpinsky, writer:

Andrei Sakharov lived at the end of the second millennium, when humankind had begun to realize the simple but great truth that an end must be put to mutual strife. Enmity and intolerance must be wiped out from relations among nations and must give way to universal harmony and cooperation. Sakharov became a symbol of truth in this changing world and a moral focus of the epoch.

Sakharov was a personality of cosmic dimensions. All the harassment and humiliation to which he was subjected only made him greater. His personality embraced the whole world and many human destinies. Every human fate had a place in his mind and in his heart. His mind, strong and clear, coped with the task, but his heart did not. It broke.

Academician Roald Sagdeyev:

It is generally believed that the true dimension and significance of a human personality can only be realized with the passing of time. Sakharov is an exception to this rule. People representing many different, incompatible fields of human activity considered him their colleague, an example to be followed.

These people will hardly find a common language in the dispute for the right to be heirs of the great phys-

icist, because the areas in which Sakharov had encyclopedic knowledge are too far apart—nuclear deterrence and disarmament, world politics and public relations, and practical social and political work.

But Sakharov's main dimension was the one that made tens of thousands of different people brave December cold and snow to pay their last respects to him: It was his great heart.

The three fundamental principles put forward by the Enlightenment and then by the French Revolution were freedom, equality, and brotherhood. For a long time we emphasized equality, confusing it with crude egalitarianism. For freedom, which has now come to us as a welcome guest in the wake of *perestroika*, democratization, and *glasnost*, Sakharov fought an unequal battle with those whose domestic and foreign policies we supported, in a cowardly fashion, during the time of stagnation. Sakharov did not fight for abstract freedom; he fought for the freedom of every individual. Countless times he took up the case of an individual, never saying no to anyone.

We believed that brotherhood had been implemented a long time ago as a result of the Stalinist policy on nationalities. Cases such as those of the Crimean Tatars and other deported

nationalities we shamefully considered an exception, an "insignificant" and inevitable aberration in the historical process. But Sakharov did not accept any exceptions here.

People's deputy and a member of the Commission on Constitutionality, Andrei Sakharov left us his vision of the world and society, in which all three great principles are harmoniously combined in the interests of the individual, the country, and each and every nationality.

Yuri Rost, journalist:

I know I can't measure Sakharov's cosmic depth today. Perhaps there are cleverer people who can explain how that tall, stooping man, who stammered and rolled his Rs, could change the conscience of millions of his compatriots from blind obedience to any power to awareness of their human dignity; from the old habit of considering themselves small cogs in a huge machine that ground the destinies of peoples to a realization of the uniqueness of a human life; from the happiness of a slave getting his ration for good behavior to the sense of responsibility of a free person who suffers from the lack of freedom of those who have not yet realized the need to be free.

Justice was an absolute thing for Sakharov. He believed that the rights that humankind should possess should not depend on ideology, which, like a fog or a devastating storm or a clear sky, has only temporary control over the earth.

The last work he left for us was a draft of a new Constitution.

As he had 20 years earlier, shortly before his death Sakharov again urged the country's new leaders and lawmakers to realize the dangers that faced our emerging democracy.

Under Brezhnev, Sakharov was exiled to Gorky for telling the truth, which the government publicly acknowledged eight years later. He was banished for calling the war in Afghanistan a criminal mistake. He was the only Soviet civilian who suffered in that war for his defense of our young people in military uniform. He was stripped of all the honors he had earned.

In December 1986 the authorities

installed a telephone in the Gorky apartment that Sakharov shared with his wife, Yelena Bonner. "There'll be a call for you," they were told. Then Gorbachev called and told the Sakharovs they could return to Moscow.

A crowd of jubilant Muscovites met the Sakharovs at the Yaroslavl Railroad Station, and some time later Sakharov held a seminar at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Physics. A nameplate with Sakharov's name on it had remained on his office door the whole time Sakharov was in Gorky. Journalist Oleg Moroz and I attended the second seminar to interview Sakharov.

He was patient with us and extremely careful. He agreed to some cuts but insisted that his remarks on fundamental issues remain intact. The first fundamental issue was his demand that the Soviet Union "unpack-age" his proposals for the nuclear arms reduction talks. That was after the Reykjavik summit, at which the Americans rejected the Soviet package. His second demand was that the Soviet Government stop the war in Afghanistan and begin to pull its troops out of that country. His third demand was that all political prisoners in the Soviet Union be released.

It's hard to recount the exact course of that interview, but one thing is certain: The text went to the Central Committee of the Communist Party rather than to a printing shop. After a while someone called us and asked us to tell Sakharov that the first group of political prisoners would be released in a month and that the idea of "unpackaging" the Soviet proposals was correct. As for Afghanistan, we were told that the apparatus needed time to digest the idea.

No one apologized to Sakharov publicly for keeping him in exile for seven years. Perhaps they thought the permission to return to Moscow was a sort of reward. Secret negotiations were conducted with him about restoring his medals, but he rejected such a deal: He demanded that the authorities publicly restore all honors to those who were illegally stripped of them.

It's too late now.

There were flowers, candles, and thick notebooks filled with people's

condolences and comments near the apartment house at 48 Chkalov Street, where Sakharov lived. There were words of gratitude in the notebooks, and words of regret. And there were angry calls to find the people responsible for his death.

I also found the following note:

It is not some individual but our entire ill-fated and dark power that is responsible for the death of this great man. . . . There are words of hatred in this book too. . . . But he taught us love, not hatred. We shall never forget him. ■

As Sakharov's body stood in front of the Academy of Sciences building, Mikhail Gorbachev, Vitali Vorotnikov, Lev Zaikov, Vadim Medvedev, Nikolai Ryzhkov, Alexander Yakovlev, Yevgeni Primakov, and Ivan Frolov came to pay their last respects. Bottom: Sakharov lies in state at Moscow's Youth Center.





profile

Young, Efficient, Ready To Help

By Ada Baskina
Photographs by Yuri Prostyakov
and Oleg Ivanov

Last year's elections brought to power a body of elected, rather than appointed, "representatives of the popular will."

People's Deputy Sergei Stankevich is one of a radical new breed of public official.

He looks like a very ordinary man—there's nothing peculiar or arresting in his appearance. He is fair-haired and fair-skinned, with light blue eyes and a spare build that makes him look 10 years younger than his 35 years. But as soon as he begins to talk, one is struck by the extraordinary refinement of his speech. In conversation, one is sure to be impressed with his erudition in everything, whether it be politics, history, poetry, psychology, pedagogics, or sociology. He has an original and highly personal view on every topic under the sun. In a word, this is a man with whom it's a pleasure to talk. I recently had this pleasure. During our conversation Stankevich told me about his childhood.

"My father was a military officer, and he often got transferred from unit to unit. The family was always moving. I traveled from one school to another, and each time I had to adjust to new surroundings. I had no choice: Teenagers will ostracize you right away unless they feel you're one of them. It was good for me, the need to adapt quickly to new ways, but very difficult.

"When we lived in Latvia, everyone was cool and reserved. Latvians think it's improper to display one's feelings. When my father got his next appointment, and we went to Komsomolsk-on-Amur in the Soviet Far East, I felt I was in a different world.



The kids ran around, unkempt and perfectly happy. Packs of noisy boys had fights every day. There was no use reasoning with the other kids, as I'd been able to do so easily in Latvia—the law of the jungle ruled.

"Politics didn't interest me in my teens. I was never an activist in the Young Pioneers or in the Komsomol [Young Communist League]. My father, a well-read man, taught me to love poetry, history, and psychology. He had firm anti-Stalinist convictions, but whenever he talked about them, he first made sure the door was shut. Even in the 1970s, he had the fear of the 1930s and 1950s in him. I owe my anti-Stalinism to my father—minus the fear."

After high school Stankevich enrolled in the Moscow Pedagogical Institute. Every summer he joined a student construction team to work in Kazakhstan, Siberia, or the Far North. He gained invaluable experience there.

"I saw what our famous socialist construction projects were really like. Negligence, extravagance, don't-care attitudes—things can't be done that way. I watched a road being built in Tyumen Region, in Siberia. It was a temporary affair. A layer of expensive timber was laid on the ground and covered with sand, and then another layer of valuable logs was laid on top—it was more expensive than a permanent asphalted highway! And that's just one example—how often I

Facing page: Sergei Stankevich, speaking to the voters. Above: The poster reads: "A party that's afraid of an alternative to itself cannot be strong."

saw people acting like colonizers in their own country!"

After graduation Stankevich got a job in the sociology laboratory of the Moscow Institute of the National Economy. The laboratory worked with enterprises on contract, studying their social and psychological environments. Most often, firms approached sociologists only when labor problems were brewing.

"Sometimes our sociological research showed local industrial problems to be rooted in the over-all political situation. Once a factory manager invited our team in as trouble-shooters. We were supposed to find out the reason for the bosses' conflict with the personnel and, if possible, to help the sides iron out their differences. Our research showed that the manager and his deputies were a cocksure but thoroughly incompetent group.

"We sociologists did our best. We drew up a report with our conclusions and recommendations—and the manager hushed it up. Our team went to the regional party committee, the ministry, and the procurator's office. But the manager had friends in high places, and he knew which strings to ►

pull at the ministry and with the lawyers. So nothing came of our efforts."

Stankevich still thinks of himself as an apolitical man. He is a typical social scientist, judging from his résumé. After getting a degree in history at the Moscow Pedagogical Institute and working with the Moscow Institute of the National Economy, he taught history at several colleges, then enrolled in a postgraduate course, wrote several books and essays, and found a research position with the Institute of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences. His thesis, *Political Contention in the U.S. Congress*, was later developed into a book of the same title. Stankevich did his research in the United States, traveling in 10 states.

Many Soviet historians of Stankevich's generation had their eyes fixed on other countries—and no wonder. During that time all domestic information was kept under lock and key. Officially, Soviet history was presented as a sequence of glorious victories, and the present was touted as a realm of prosperity and unanimous opinion. In the United States Soviet scholars were welcome to study whatever political disagreement they could find—and Stankevich did.

As he studied the American system of government, he couldn't help drawing comparisons between the U.S. Congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet. Why, he wondered, had the Supreme Soviet degenerated into a rubber-stamp organization?

He did a lot of thinking, but it never occurred to him to get involved in politics until 1985, with the advent of *perestroika*. At last Stankevich saw at home the kind of political activism that he'd studied abroad. He could no longer stay aloof.

Things were changing apace in the Soviet Union. Meetings and demonstrations were no longer organized by party functionaries to mark a red-letter date or to protest against some action or other by a foreign country. Spontaneous public action no longer seemed absurd.

Rallies swept the country. People began to speak up. Crowds of speakers and listeners gathered here and there in the streets and squares. Eventually, Muscovites chose two sites for the largest gatherings—Pushkin

Square and the Luzhniki sports complex. In both places they often saw a young speaker with an unassuming appearance, a quiet voice, and a reserved manner—not somebody you'd necessarily look at twice. That impression changed as soon as he took the microphone. All eyes were glued to this outspoken young man, with his precisely worded ideas, his sound arguments, and a passionate conviction that belied his reserved bearing. It was our hero, Sergei Stankevich.

In those heady days he rarely came home before midnight. Exhausted, with his voice hoarse, he drank hot milk for his sore throat and told his wife about his opponents.

And these were never lacking. A war veteran would shout, medals clinking, his cane describing aggressive circles above his head: "We didn't shed our blood in the trenches for filthy pups to defile our sacred ideals now! In our time we'd have lined you all up in front of the firing squad!" At other times leaders of the Democratic League would make calm, scholarly speeches, quoting amply from philosophers of all schools to prove that socialism was a political dead end. It would be better, said these people, to go back to February 1917, the time of the bourgeois revolution, and start from scratch. Or a zealot of the Pamyat (Memory) Society of the extreme right would shout crazily that Russia had Freemason and Zionist plotters to blame for all her ills.

Stankevich joined the Moscow Popular Front. He was one of the front's candidates.

Like the Soviet Union as a whole, Moscow was caught unawares and inexperienced in the passions of the election campaign. The nation was used to the old, smooth patterns of formal elections. The candidates were appointed in the corridors of power, and the voters knew nothing about them. So voters slipped their ballots into the boxes without so much as reading them. Now, at last, they were having a real campaign. Everybody rushed to speak up and propose their candidates. The ends justified the means. Absurd calumny and abuse thundered nationwide.

"Beware of Stankevich, CIA agent!" "Stankevich is a KGB informer!" "Away with Stankevich, Beria's nephew!"—these are just three of the banners that Stankevich's opponents carried at the pre-election rallies. Leaflets and streamers of the same kind were circulated far and wide.

The Moscow Popular Front platform, as put forward by Stankevich and his friends, came as an invigorating contrast—simple, to the point, and clearly worded:

- Self-rule from top to bottom, with management and inspection passing into the public's hands everywhere, in industry, trade, and the service sector;
- Guaranteed civil liberties and the establishment of independent political groups; and
- The establishment of a trade union foundation to operate in addition to the existing state foundation.

This list is far from exhaustive. The long document could rarely be read in full at the noisy rallies, so it was typed and Xeroxed in many copies to be pasted on walls and lampposts in the streets.

Stankevich's wife, Natasha, busy with the couple's three-year-old daughter, had long kept her distance from the campaign. One day she said: "Enough is enough," and went out, a pack of leaflets in one hand, a jar of glue in the other. She came home late at night, dead tired but happy and with the sense of duty done. Thereafter she took part in every public debate.

At this time the party's practice of putting pressure on independent candidates was well known. One day Stankevich, a party member, was summoned to a bureau session of the district party committee. Stankevich's supporters knew that this did not bode well for their candidate.

When he reached the district party committee, his fears were confirmed. "Your latest activities are nothing but ideological sabotage," one member told him.

"You are undermining the prestige of the party," another joined in.

"You deserve expulsion," a third summed up.

Stankevich was worried but resolute. He would never give up his political convictions. When the committee people told him to withdraw his candidacy, he flatly said No.

He went straight from the party committee to the Institute of History, where he worked. A crowd had

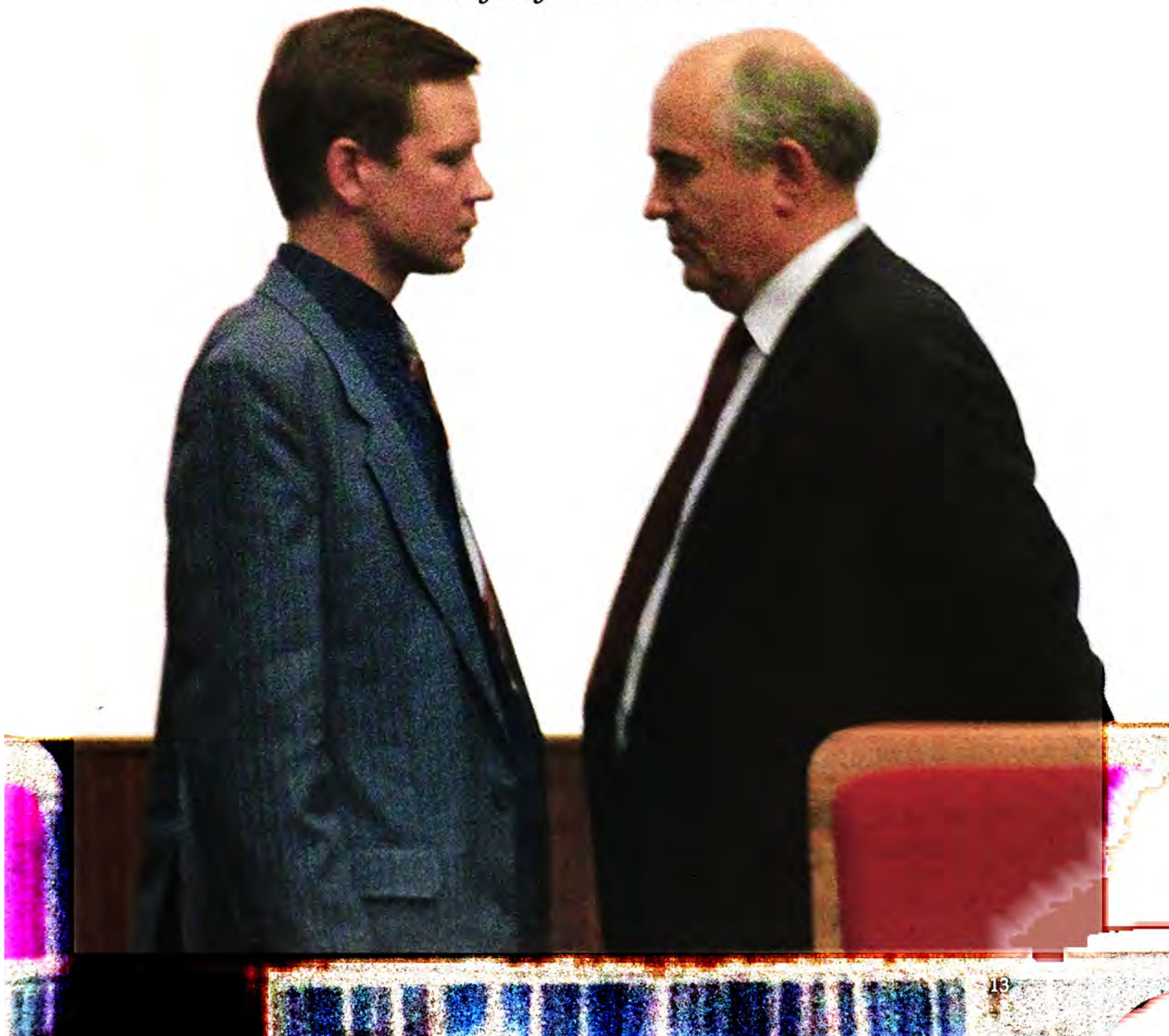
formed in front of the institute—he saw it from as far away as the bus stop. Several hundred excited people were waiting for him. They promised him their wholehearted support and every possible assistance. This show of solidarity from people he hardly knew or didn't know at all was new

and felt like a breath of fresh air. The institute gathering triggered a city-wide rally in Luzhniki. The stadium was one stormy mass of people shouting, "Hands off Stankevich!"

Stankevich was suddenly as popular as a movie star. At the elections,

Continued on page 50

"Now, after the congress, is the most difficult time. All the hoopla has died down. Suddenly it's the everyday work that counts."



THE OPEN SOCIETY: BEYOND THE "IRON CURTAIN"

Just a few years ago our country was considered a patently closed system. However, now that we are looking for a way to create a fundamentally different, democratic socialism, more and more people are becoming aware of the fact that an open society is the calling of the times.



The author, Fyodor Burlatsky, is a prominent political scientist and journalist. He is also a people's deputy and chairman of the Subcommittee on Humanitarian, Scientific, and Cultural Cooperation of the Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs.

The notion of the "open society" or "open information society" appeared during the past few decades, largely because of the processes of integration currently under way in the world. This planet has gained a fundamentally new system of communications, transportation, and information. And that has greatly changed humankind's notion of its own potential.

It is obvious that the last two or three decades have seen truly revolutionary change, first in the sphere of technology, then in the sphere of communications. As the advances in science and technology have changed all of civilization, new ways of thought and behavior have been molded, and a new philosophy of the open society is emerging. Nothing is more dangerous than a curtain between different social systems, between societies that differ culturally.

The most terrible legacy left to us by the rule of Stalin, and to a certain extent that of Khrushchev—to say nothing of the Brezhnev time—is isolation. The dominant concept was that we should be a closed, fully self-sufficient economic complex. That was even viewed as advantageous to us. Many say that Stalin is to blame for that, but in fact he was not solely responsible. Much of the reason behind the situation lies in Russia's history and also in the psychology of the Russian people.

Russia has always been open to contacts with other nations; that is why many peoples sought Russia's friendship and protection. But at the same time, there is part of the Russian national psyche that cannot easily accept anything that is foreign. Peter the Great sought forcefully to impose upon Russian society Western standards in military matters, trade, and lifestyle, especially at

the court. But this was met with stubborn resistance. The people feared change. I believe that Stalinism exploited precisely these conservative features and traditions of the Russian political culture.

Before the Second World War we engaged in practically no trade with other countries. But more dangerous still was the Soviet Union's isolation in the humanitarian sphere. To a certain extent, our isolation was due to Russia's long-cherished dream of creating a fundamentally new civilization. This civilization was to be different from both the European and the Asian civilizations, and would set an example for the entire Slavic world—or even all the other nations—to follow.

The concepts of Russian socialism are closely linked with that dream. That is one of the reasons behind the claims that the new civilization, which we called socialist, should serve as an example to the rest of the world.

Before the Second World War we engaged in practically no trade with other countries. But more dangerous still was the Soviet Union's isolation in the humanitarian sphere.

We understood democracy as decision making based on the expressed rights of the majority. But we did not see it as the inviolable rights of the individual, rights upon which no one can infringe, not even the state. In our pursuit of the phantom of universal equality, we sacrificed

freedom. The will of the majority suppressed the rights of the minority; the state suppressed the individual.

We still do not have adequate laws to ensure the realization of the concept of the open society. The United Nations has passed over 100 major documents on a broad range of human rights and freedoms, including freedom of expression, freedom of conscience, and freedom of movement. We could use those legal norms in our own legislation right away, but the adoption of the relevant laws has been delayed because of the irrational fear that the new norms might lead this society in the wrong direction.

The arguments given for this have not always been rational. For instance, some people fear a law on immigration and emigration, because they believe that it would result in a brain drain. But we should not let such fears paralyze us.

We need a new law on immigration and emigration. If a person chooses to go abroad for a while, or even to emigrate, that is normal. If an emigrant wants to come back for one reason or other, he or she must be free to do so. The opportunity to go abroad is important in itself. Travel should become part of everyone's life,

rather than being the privilege of the elect few.

There has been certain progress in that sphere. People from diverse regions can go abroad at the invitation of relatives living in foreign countries. But we are yet to become a traveling society of the kind that is to be found in European and American countries, for instance. To have an opportunity to see New York, Paris, Rome, Tokyo, or Singapore should be part of our life. Such experience changes a person's outlook and helps one embrace modern attitudes and acquire new openness. And it also means better moral health for the nation.

Our increasing disadvantage in the sphere of technology is the result of this society's isolationism. We cannot expect effective economic development until the Soviet people begin to receive comprehensive information on the great changes currently under way in the world and to gain an opportunity to compare their own work and skills with those of foreign industrial workers, farmers, and researchers.

When I met with Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy, he spoke of an international "republic of scholars," that is, an arrangement under which researchers would have passports that would enable them to go to any country at any time without a visa. That is a most promising ideal—the world is in great need of an exchange of scholars. And it is also necessary that tens of thousands of Soviet undergraduate students and thousands of graduate students have an opportunity to study abroad.

Soviet society now takes a more critical attitude toward itself than the rest of the world takes toward it. But there is one sphere that has seen little change thus far: the information broadcast by television and the accessibility of computerized information and information on world developments. The national television network does present the developments that are taking place abroad, but that is not enough. I believe the time is ripe for us to gain access to European and other foreign television broadcasts. Reception of direct broadcasts from abroad is a matter of a year or two, and the continuing resistance to it on the part of many bureaucrats seems ridiculous. The entire world should be open to the Soviet people. We must pass the needed laws and prepare the needed technical means to do so. ■

In our pursuit of the phantom of universal equality, we sacrificed freedom. The will of the majority suppressed the rights of the minority; the state suppressed the individual.

Courtesy of the newspaper *Sovetskaya kultura* (Soviet Culture). Abridged.

contacts



The Californian participants.

Peace Cruise on the Dnieper

By Aloiz Filipenko
Photographs by
Andrei Solomonov

One fine day in the fall of 1989, 270 international peace activists assembled in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, boarded a ship, and set out on a peace cruise down the Dnieper River.



Above: Former American astronaut Dr. Brian O'Leary accepts a Ukrainian welcome. Right: Alice and Howard Frazier (center), who organized the American side of the trip.





Summer was drawing to a close. As we stood on the upper deck of the *Marshal Koshevoi*, otherwise known as "the peace ship," the two prevailing colors that greeted the eye were the blue of the Dnieper River and the tawny gold of the recently harvested wheat fields on either bank.

The international cruise along the Dnieper was not a tourist jaunt. The USSR and Ukrainian peace commit-

tees had organized the trip. Social workers and peace activists from five continents had come in order to get firsthand information about the progress of *perestroika* in the USSR. The activists made many contacts every day. They talked with new people from morning till night and had to assimilate a sea of information in a short time. This kind of work is fascinating, but it requires a lot of stamina.

Meeting people and gathering in-

formation in the towns and villages of Dnieper Region was only part of the cruise participants' job. When the ship sailed after each call, the passengers continued their peacemaking activity with seminars and discussions.

The peace movement seeks to establish direct and broad-based contacts among the rank and file in different countries. The activists feel sure that governments will start to cooperate with even more alacrity when ►



Left: Jean Lloyd-Jones, state senator from Iowa and chairwoman of the Iowa Peace Institute. Right: Barbara Jessie, vice chairwoman of the Minnesota Council of Soviet-American Friendship.



they realize that the citizens of their countries have established contact.

The first evening of the cruise was memorable for everybody. The ship had just sailed out of the Kiev river port and set its course downstream. Everyone came out on deck. Suddenly, spotlights converged on a colossal female figure of light metal with a sword and shield in its outstretched hands.

"That's the Monument to Glory," explained a Ukrainian delegate. He turned to an American woman standing nearby who had just taken a picture of the statue, and asked her whether she liked it or not.

"It's quite impressive," said the woman diplomatically. "But you know, I'd rather see it holding something else instead of those weapons."

The American peace activist was not alone in her reserved attitude toward the metal warrior maiden. The statue, which was put up under Brezhnev's rule in honor of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany, is viewed by many Kievans as a clumsy symbol of the cold war and the arms race period. Now that *glasnost* is here, these people are calling for the demolition of the monument, which, on top of everything else, is pompous and has little artistic worth.

This conversation turned out to be a sort of prologue to a discussion of the problems of stopping the arms race and of disarmament. Colonel Igor Dedelev, of the General Staff of the Soviet

Armed Forces, spoke at a seminar on these topics. It was the first time that an officer from this security organization had voiced support for the peace movement.

The 12 days of the cruise were packed with many and varied events. Once, at the beginning of our trip, we decided to drop anchor at a small, uninhabited island far removed from the hustle and bustle of the cities along our route. We went ashore and basked in the warm sun, luxuriantly sifting the sand with our bare feet. We looked in astonishment at the members of our group who hadn't taken off their shoes. But we stopped wondering about this strange behavior the minute someone told us, "Chernobyl is not far upstream from here."



Some residents of Dnieper towns invited the peace activists to their homes. Above: This man is playing the kobza and singing a Ukrainian ballad. Facing page, middle: Odessa greets the peace ship.

The Pripjat River, which is close to the place that the Chernobyl disaster occurred, flows into the Dnieper a little north of Kiev. The Kievans who were with us had explained that radiation on the Dnieper was normal and that it was continually being monitored. Besides, our own ship was outfitted with equipment to monitor radiation levels. Still, we all stopped laughing at those who had decided to take their own precautions.

The members of the peace movement visited one of the new neighborhoods built especially for evacuees from the Chernobyl disaster areas. The neighborhood is beautiful, but the people are unhappy.

"Your national tragedy has become a common concern for all of Europe," said Stan Banks, a member of Great ►



Above: Boris Zrezartsev (right), vice president of the Ukrainian Peace Committee, an organizer of the cruise, and Bishop Ionafan, a representative

Britain's Green Party. "The peace movement and Green Party members on every continent should join our efforts to prevent another such 'peaceful explosion.' No one has yet proved that a similar accident could not occur at any of the nuclear power stations scattered all over the world."

At the end of the two weeks, the 270 peace workers, of different nationalities, ages, professions, religions, and political views, had come to feel as if they were one big family. On their last night on board, the passengers reflected on the peace movement's prospects.

"What is most dear to all of us?"

asked Boris Zrezartsev of the Ukraine. "Our children. If we entrust our children to each other's care, that represents the highest form of trust. Now we've seen a group of schoolchildren from the state of Iowa in one of the villages on the Dnieper, and soon a group of Soviet youngsters will go to Iowa. In 1990, more than 5,000 young Ukrainians will go to America, England, West Germany, and France, and their peers from those countries will come to the Ukraine. Both groups of children will stay with families. We hope that these families will be friends for many years to come and will visit each other." ■

of the Orthodox Church. Right: The Eternal Flame Memorial in Kiev. Below: Honoring the Soviet victims of the Great Patriotic War.



two views from the peace ship

Two Americans who participated in the Dnieper cruise discuss the impressions they came away with.

Howard Frazier, executive director of the American organization Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc.:

In recent years I've visited your country regularly as a coorganizer of Soviet-American peace cruises, and it seems to me that I'm very familiar with the local way of life. For a long time Mikhail Gorbachev's *perestroika* was called a "revolution from above." This "above" made many people doubt the radical nature of the changes. I made this trip to the Soviet Union to see whether there has been any response from "below," and I saw that this movement is gaining momentum. The public is getting politicized very quickly. People have learned to criticize your system's flaws openly and are learning to think constructively and to look for ways out of the crisis. But the people still have to learn to take the initiative.

You Soviets are living through a difficult but momentous time. The course of history will depend on the success of your *perestroika*, and we Americans want to help you. I asked many people I met in the towns and villages of the Dnieper how to do this best. The answers boiled down to three main imperatives: We need peace, a speedy conversion of munitions plants, and cooperation in the use of technology for the benefit of the average citizen. I wholeheartedly agree with all of these proposals.

I hope that citizen diplomacy, whose representatives gathered on board the peace ship, and our governments' official diplomacy come closer together and join efforts to achieve these goals.

Jean Lloyd-Jones, an Iowa state senator and chairwoman of the Iowa Peace Institute:

This isn't my first visit to the Soviet Union either. I was involved in establishing specific cooperation between

the state of Iowa and Stavropol Territory in Russia. There have been many positive changes going on in your country, but it seems that there are even more problems than changes. I was shocked by the reports about ethnic clashes in Transcaucasia and Central Asia. An upsurge of separatism is evident in the Baltic republics as well. During the Dnieper cruise I wanted to find out how tense the situation is in the Ukraine, the republic that ranks as the Soviet Union's second in economic strength.

I was very much impressed by my visit to a major shipbuilding plant in Kherson. The people that work there represent 23 different nationalities. But the group's motley ethnic composition doesn't keep the workers from pulling together to make the plant economically independent.

People are remarkably well dressed in the Ukrainian cities. And when new acquaintances invited us to their homes, we saw lots of the famous and irresistible Slavic hospitality. ■

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WITH SOME HELP FROM NEW FRIENDS

By Dmitri Marchenkov
Photographs by Boris Yelshin

*This young woman
traveled to Oklahoma
for a new artificial
leg. Along the way
she found that the
world is full of
people who are
ready to help.*

Natalya (Natasha) Kosenko-Belinskaya, 23, is impressed with the rights of the disabled in the United States.

"In America, disabled people can still be full-fledged members of society," she says. "Society tries to help them. There are special elevators, ramps, and handrails for the disabled and their vehicles. The needs of the disabled must be taken into account when any new building is constructed. And the people are really considerate and willing to help." Natasha speaks from experience. She recently returned from a two-and-a-half month stay in the United States, where American doctors helped her adapt to her own disability.

The first time Natasha felt pain in her left leg was when she was 16 years old. Her father, Yuri Kosenko-Belinsky, who was an assistant professor at the Machine-Building Institute in Voroshilovgrad, the Ukraine, told her to see a doctor. He didn't think the problem was serious—she had probably just twisted her leg. But the pain didn't go away, and it was getting more and more difficult for Natasha to walk.

Medical examination revealed a malignant bone tumor. The girl underwent both radiation treatment and chemotherapy. But nothing helped. The radiation treatment had very serious side effects. One morning, when Natasha tried to stand up, a bone in the area of her left knee broke where it had been treated.

A broken leg is usually not much of a problem for doctors. But in Natasha's case, the bone tissues that had been dried out by the radiation refused to grow together.

Natasha's father took her to specialist after specialist. But the girl's leg had been irreparably damaged. Finally, the limb was amputated.

Becoming an amputee at 18 is a terrible thing. It is especially hard in the Soviet Union, where the quality of orthopedics is very low. Kosenko-Belinsky was lucky enough to obtain drawings of an artificial knee joint that was developed at the Moscow Orthopedics Institute and never put into commercial production. Kosenko-Belinsky made certain improvements in the drawing and built the prosthetic device himself. Over the next

five years, Natasha was to go through four artificial limbs. They wore out and hurt when she walked. Only the joint her father had made served her well.

Light appeared at the end of the tunnel in 1987, when Alim Kovalenko, a friend and colleague of Kosenko-Belinsky's, returned from the United States. While he was working at Oklahoma State University in Stillwater, Kovalenko met John and Elizabeth Schillinger. John Schillinger was the chairman of the university's Russian language department, and his wife was a professor at the school of journalism. They had been to the Soviet Union three times.

Kovalenko asked them to help Natasha. Shortly thereafter, the young woman received a letter from ▶



Natasha with the doctors who made her prosthesis. From left to right: Terry VanZandt, Kevin Hill, and Garry Ogilvie. Above: With Samuel Mansur, who sponsored her trip.

the Schillingers, inviting her to be their guest in Stillwater.

In April a group of American prosthetic specialists came to Moscow. At the request of the Schillingers, they examined Natasha. They didn't like her artificial limb, but they did like her prosthetic knee joint. They suggested that such a joint be manufactured by an American firm. The Schillingers found a company to do this—Tulsa Orthotic and Prosthetic Services. The company agreed to make the limb free of charge.

It seemed that all the problems were settled. But Kosenko-Belinsky unexpectedly came up against bureaucratic difficulties.

"We needed 4,000 dollars for travel within the United States," he says. "But Soviet citizens traveling abroad are allowed to exchange only 200 rubles into foreign currency. I appealed to the Ministry of Health, the Minis-

try of Finance, and many other institutions, but to no avail."

Fortunately, there are always people ready to help. The USSR Foundation for Social Innovation (see SOVIET LIFE No. 7, 1989) helped Kosenko-Belinsky find a man who agreed to give him the money. It was Samuel Mansur, president of the British firm Star Consultancy.

Finally, everything was ready to go. Alim Kovalenko accompanied Natasha on her trip.

The Schillingers were very kind to the young woman. They wanted her to see as much as possible in the United States. The local press paid a good deal of attention to Natasha. Here's what the *Stillwater News Press* wrote on October 8:

Introducing her to life in Oklahoma, including supermarkets, movies, and horseback riding, Mrs.

Schillinger has found the young Soviet woman a warm and enthusiastic visitor. "Stillwater has been wonderful in welcoming Natalya to our country and a different way of life," said Mrs. Schillinger. "Realtor Barbara Houck, a former teacher, is giving Natalya English lessons. Local artist and sculptor Lou Hale is taking her to Fred Olds's studio near Guthrie, where Natalya is modeling for a portrait bust. And businesswoman Doris Cross introduced her to an American beauty salon."

Natasha also visited Tulsa, Oklahoma City, and New York City. She spoke at high schools and colleges and went to church with her new friends.

But the main reason for her trip was to get an artificial leg. The newspaper *Daily O'Collegian* wrote:

The leg is being engineered at Tulsa Orthotics and Prosthetics [Services]. Terry VanZandt, chief of prosthetics, said the artificial leg Natalya is wearing now is "very crude but up to date." "The new one should be more comfortable and flexible," he said. . . . "With the new leg we are hoping she will be able to walk without a cane."

"Garry Ogilvie and Kevin Hill worked with Terry," says Natasha. "I want to thank them very much—their appliance is just perfect."

It was time to say good-by to the Schillingers. The artificial leg was ready, Elizabeth Schillinger's leave was almost over, and Natasha was getting homesick. Besides, she had to get back to school—she is now a fifth year student at the Voroshilovgrad Machine-Building Institute.

Natasha returned to Moscow on October 18. The next day she met with Samuel Mansur, the man who had paid the expenses for her trip. Mansur invited Natasha and her father to his firm's office in Moscow.

"I am so grateful to you, Mr. Mansur, to John and Elizabeth Schillinger, and to the American doctors—people we didn't know before but who were so good to my daughter. Thanks to their compassion, she was able to make this trip, and happiness has returned to our home," Kosenko-Belinsky said. ■



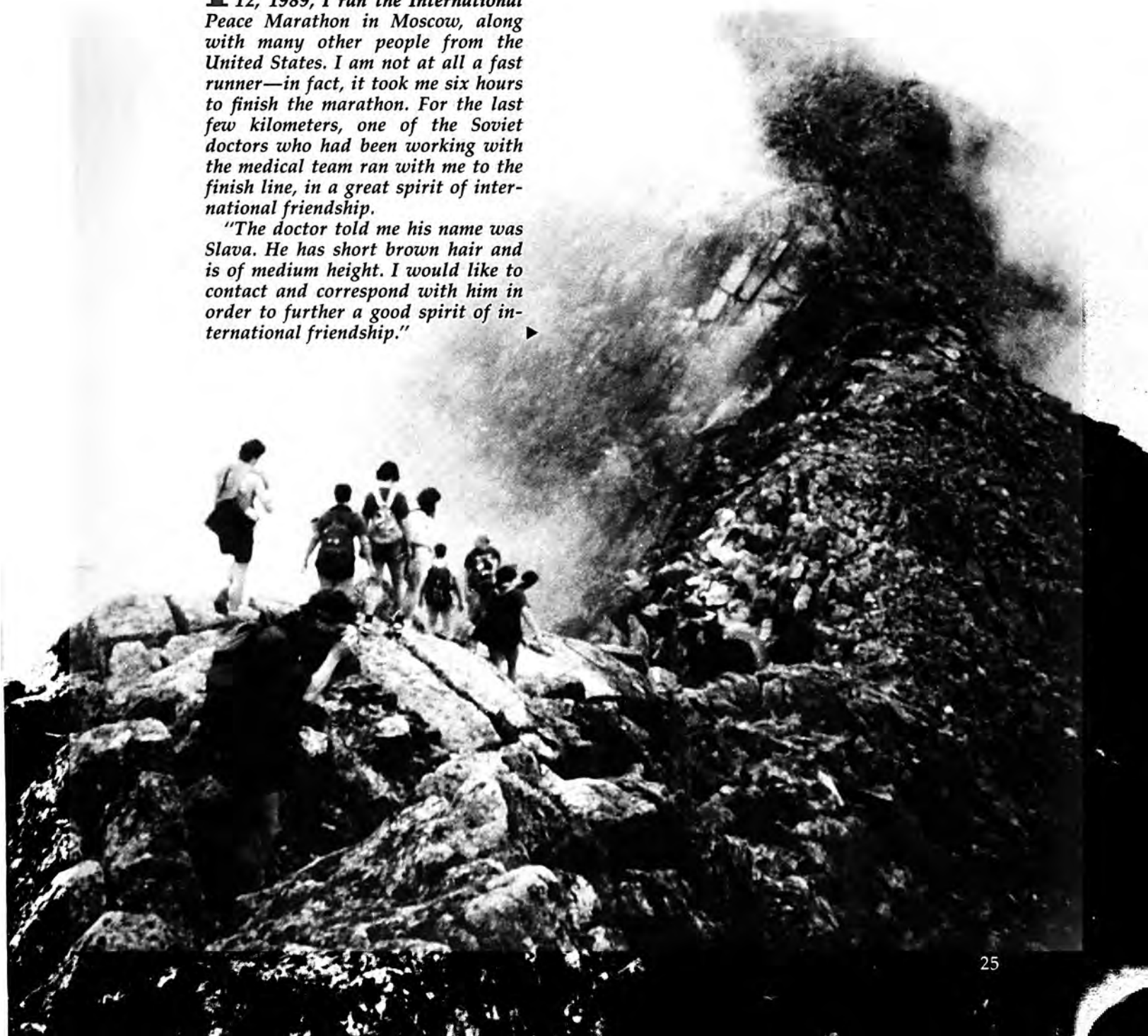
Above: John and Elizabeth Schillinger at their home in Stillwater, Oklahoma. The Schillingers were Natasha's hosts during her stay in the United States. Left: Back home with her father.

THE MAN OUR READER WANTED TO FIND

By Dmitri Vladimirov
Photographs from the Album
of Vyacheslav Onishchenko

I am writing to ask you for the help of SOVIET LIFE's resources in a very specific way. On August 12, 1989, I ran the International Peace Marathon in Moscow, along with many other people from the United States. I am not at all a fast runner—in fact, it took me six hours to finish the marathon. For the last few kilometers, one of the Soviet doctors who had been working with the medical team ran with me to the finish line, in a great spirit of international friendship.

"The doctor told me his name was Slava. He has short brown hair and is of medium height. I would like to contact and correspond with him in order to further a good spirit of international friendship." ▶





This extract is from a letter that our magazine received from Doris Cortez, of San Francisco, California. But let's start at the beginning, in the summer of 1989.

The medical team that was supervising the race had noticed Cortez earlier in the day. She was lagging behind, and it was clear that she was having a rough time. After all, a 42-kilometer race is no joke!

Vyacheslav (Slava) Onishchenko, 53, a doctor who specializes in sports medicine and who had raced in the peace marathon himself in 1988, knew how hard it can be when the other runners pull ahead and you are left alone on the track. When this happens, even if you are really exhausted, what you need is moral support rather than medical assistance. And that was exactly how Doris Cor-

Vyacheslav Onishchenko fell in love with the mountains in his youth. Right: "Welcome," the sign reads in Russian. San Diego waits to greet Soviet mountaineers. Top: A 1986 Soviet-American team at the foot of Mount Elbrus.



Hello there, Alaska!" "Good morning, Chukotka!" On a map in San Diego they are a handshake away. Below: Two doctors—Onishchenko (left) with Bernard Lown, the American cochairman of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.



tez felt at the moment that Onishchenko peeled off his doctor's smock and joined her on the track.

Several times Onishchenko suggested that Cortez drop out of the race. But Americans are a stubborn people, and Cortez just smiled and ran on—she was running in memory of her late father. Then Onishchenko took her by the hand, set the pace, and ran with her for the last few kilometers. Cortez's husband was waiting

for her at the finish line, and the doctor had to go back to his medical post. They parted ways.

Several months later, at Cortez's request, we tracked down the Good Samaritan. Onishchenko works at Sports Health Center No. 1 in Moscow. Shortly after receiving Cortez's letter, I searched him out there.

Onishchenko grew up in the family of a military pilot on an air base in the town of Podolsk, near Moscow. He was a child of the post-World War II period, when sports were extremely popular. Onishchenko was interested in sports too. He ran, skied, and played soccer, hockey, basketball, and volleyball.

In 1954 Onishchenko entered the Second Moscow Medical Institute and joined the institute's sports club. He skied in the winter and went to the mountains with his club in the summer. Mountain climbing became his new passion. After he graduated from the institute, he went to the Caucasus, worked as a doctor at a mountaineering camp for two years, and climbed mountains.

In 1963 Onishchenko returned to Moscow and took a job at Sports Health Center No. 1. He worked at or participated in a variety of ski tournaments, athletic meets, marathons, and championships. But he never forgot the mountains.

"The mountains demand well-trained people. I keep in shape with cross-country races, gymnastics, and 30- to 60-kilometer cross-country ski marathons," says Onishchenko. "I still do some climbing, although lately I've mostly been coaching. For exam-

ple, in 1986 and 1989 I was a trainer for a group of U.S. medical students sponsored by the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, before the joint Soviet-American team climbed Mount Elbrus and Mount Kazbek."

Onishchenko has climbed many mountains. In the Soviet Union he has climbed in the Caucasus and in the Pamirs. During mountaineering expeditions, he has sometimes been called upon to exercise his skill as a doctor. In 1982 he was a member of the Soviet team that climbed Mount Everest, but he himself fell ill at an altitude of 7,200 meters and failed to reach the summit.

Onishchenko has made several trips to the United States: in 1975 to San Francisco, California; in 1987, to Maine; and in 1988, to San Diego, California.

Since sports is Onishchenko's life-work, it's no wonder that his family is athletic. He met his wife, Yulia, also a mountaineer, in the mountains. His son, Pyotr, 20, is a student and also climbs. His daughter, Nadezhda, 24, a dental technician, skis, and her husband is also an athlete.

It is probably not an accident that Onishchenko is both a doctor and a mountaineer: Central to both pursuits is a readiness to help others. "A doctor can be an expert in a given field, but if he doesn't feel called upon to come to other people's aid, he's no doctor," says Onishchenko. "In the mountains you just can't not help another person, and this quality becomes part of everyday life."

Just ask Doris Cortez.

PERESTROIKA COMES TO ORLANDO

By Oleg Shibko

Photograph by Red Huber, of the *Orlando Sentinel*

This city in central Florida, known for its Disney World, has gained a rare insight into the Soviet way of life. A traveling exhibition entitled USSR: *Perestroika* was held in Orlando's Expo Centre from December 18 through January 4. For the first time in its history, the city played host to a group of about 80 Soviet people—exhibition staff and the artists and lecturers invited to the exhibition.

The opening ceremony was attended by, among others, Representative Bill McCollum; Bill Frederick, the mayor of Orlando; and Eugene Kopp, deputy director of the U.S. Information Agency. At the event Soviet Ambassador to the United States Yuri Dubinin delivered a message from Mikhail Gorbachev:

"I hope that this exhibition will give American citizens a clearer picture of today's life in the USSR and the people engaged in the restructuring of our society on the road to democratization and openness. These drastic changes are made for the individual, the promotion of certain inalienable rights and freedoms, and the pursuit of happiness as the ultimate social goal."

Braving heavy rains and uncommonly cold weather for these parts, people streamed into the Expo Centre on Christmas Eve. Between two and three thousand people from Orlando, the state of Florida, and other areas of the United States visited the Soviet pavilion every day.

"It was a shock for the people of Florida to see the other side of the Soviets," said David Volstenholme, a businessman from Virginia. Volstenholme had worked for a year to make the exhibition possible. Besides Orlando, the show will travel to Dallas, Texas, and San Diego, California. One hundred tons of exhibits brought from the Soviet Union—photographs,



Ambassador Yuri Dubinin (right) and Orlando's mayor, Bill Frederick, open the exhibition.

video recordings, books, paintings, perfumes, china, and glazed earthenware—turned the Expo Centre into a veritable museum.

A great deal of interest focused on the conversion of the Soviet defense industry. Already, civilian products account for up to 40 per cent of the Soviet defense industry's output, and the target for the near future is set at 60 per cent. The Soviet staff frankly told visitors about the difficulties involved in arms conversion.

The part of the exhibition that dealt with producers cooperatives—a new feature of the Soviet economy—also proved very popular.

Many visitors to the exhibition were intrigued by the exhibit's religious sections, by the stands with previously banned books, and by the display cases of Soviet watches, which have been so popular in the United States and Western Europe. But what attracted the most attention were the exhibits dealing with the political

changes in the Soviet Union—the efforts to build a law-based state and to promote human rights such as greater freedom of movement. At round-table talks held every morning and every evening, lecturers and exhibition staff gave detailed and unprecedentedly frank answers to the Americans present.

In general, people in the world of business do not like to waste time—they come to the point at once. It turned out, however, that neither the Soviets nor the Americans knew each other's business potential. So the small businesses of Florida organized a number of meetings with Soviet experts. These included Pavel Bunich, a leading Soviet economist and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Economic Reform.

I asked Bunich to sum up his impressions of Orlando. "What is important to me personally is the great interest in us on the part of the small-business community of Florida and the warmth and hospitality of the Americans," he said. "Frankly, I did not expect this degree of interest and good feeling. Total strangers embraced me like old friends."

Every day, when the exhibition closed, virtually the entire Soviet staff was invited to meet with school and college students, to see hospitals and religious communities, or just to spend time with ordinary American families. Those contacts were very useful indeed.

The Soviet delegation will carry home memories of the cordiality shown to them in Orlando. And we hope that the residents of Orlando will long remember their Soviet guests. Deanna and Roy Scott, from Palm Coast, Florida, wrote in the Visitors Book: "You will never fully comprehend the vast benefits and education you have given us, future generations as well as this one." ■

the return of

THE CRIMEAN TATARS

in focus

By Yuri Zaritovsky
Photographs by Valeri Shustov

In 1944 the Crimean Tatars were deported en masse from their homeland. Now they are coming back. Efforts to reintegrate them are meeting with varying degrees of success.

More and more Crimean Tatars have been leaving their homes in Central Asia to go to live in the Crimea, the land of their ancestors. To the older generation, that means returning to their homeland, to the place where they were born and spent their early years. As for the younger Tatars, many are seeing the Black Sea—not just hearing about it—for the first time.

Before the 1940s, Crimean Tatars made up nearly 20 per cent of the population of the Crimean Peninsula (Crimean Region of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic). They also had autonomous self-government—the Crimean Autonomous Republic existed at that time. During the Great Patriotic War, however, some Crimean Tatars collaborated with the German invaders. Ten volunteer Crimean Tatar battalions and 14 companies took part in Nazi punitive operations in the Crimea, in the course of

which 86,000 civilians were killed, mostly Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, Greeks, and Gypsies.

After the Crimea was liberated in 1944, the entire population of Crimean Tatars was deported to Central Asia under a decree by the State Defense Committee. Those punished included thousands of innocent citizens, many of whom had fought courageously against the Nazi invaders.

Milya Ganiyeva, 63, was a witness to those tragic events. ▶



Two different situations. Above: This group of Crimean Tatars has illegally taken over a piece of land on the Ukraine Collective Farm. The sign reads, "We have a homeland but no home."

Top: A row of new houses built for Tatar settlers at the Rodina Collective Farm.



Yevgeni Verdenko (standing, center), the party leader of the Ukraine Collective Farm, talks with a group of Crimean Tatars who have seized some of the farm's land.

"They came at night in May 1944, armed men in military uniforms," Ganiyeva said. "They woke everyone in the house and told us that we had just 15 minutes to pack before we would have to follow them. They explained that all the Crimean Tatars were being deported from the Crimea. I was 18 years old at that time, a student at a teachers institute.

"A soldier took the textbooks I had packed out of my suitcase, saying I would never need them again. Then the men led all of us, Father, Mother, my 11-year-old sister, and me—my three brothers were in the Red Army at that time—out into the street and down to the cemetery. All the people from our village were brought to the cemetery and kept there at gunpoint for two hours. Then we were loaded onto trucks and taken to the regional center, Simferopol, where we were transferred to a train, to freight cars. The journey in the train was long and horrible. Some of the people died on the way, but we weren't even allowed to bury them. The bodies were just carried out of the cars and left by the tracks.

"Finally, after a 23-day ride, we ar-

rived in Uzbekistan. Some people from the train were left in Tashkent; others were sent to rural areas. Anyway, that's how we ended up living in Uzbekistan."

Years passed, and Milya Ganiyeva's life settled into a groove. She got married and became the mother of a family. But she always felt homesick. Now she has made her way back to the Crimea, nearly half a century after she was forced to leave those parts. So far she has not yet made a permanent move—she stays with relatives who have done so.

Crimean Tatars started to come back to the Crimea after a 1967 decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet restored the constitutional rights of the innocent victims of Stalinist reprisals. There were, however, no practical followup measures to ensure that the decree was implemented properly, so only about 10,000 Crimean Tatars were able to return to the Crimea during the following 20 years. The "second wave" of that exodus began in 1987.

The Rodina Collective Farm, located in the town of Privetnoye, Kirovsky District, is one of the Cri-

mean farms that admits Tatar settlers. Rodina is a prosperous farm that has no problem attracting workers. Farmers want to work at the farm because of its efficiency and its social programs—especially the low-interest loans that it grants.

Of the approximately 140 Crimean Tatar families that have already joined the Rodina Collective Farm, most came from Uzbekistan. Some of the families buy houses from local residents. Others build houses for themselves, receiving assistance, in the form of labor and building materials, from the farm. Still others have been offered new houses built by the collective farm at a considerable discount. For instance, a house that had cost the farm 14,000 rubles to build is sold at half that price, and it can be paid for in installments over 25 years. Many Crimean Tatars have leased plots of land, which they use mainly for growing vegetables.

But the new settlers have brought the farm certain problems. Mikhail Ryamov, Rodina's chairman, told me that the farm has to create more jobs. "In order to keep everyone employed, we've encouraged the establishment of all kinds of cooperatives in our village," said Ryamov. "There's also the matter of housing. Whereas before we had no housing problem at all, we may face one soon. So we've decided to set up a shop to produce building blocks of concrete and expanded clay aggregate. Some of the Tatar settlers are already learning the skills necessary for this kind of production."

Not long ago, the Tatar Muslim community at Privetnoye gained a mullah of its own. He is 61-year-old Velisha Bakhtishayev, a retired builder. Bakhtishayev returned to the village of Privetnoye, where he was born, two months ago. The mullah told me that the Rodina board has shown that it understands the needs of the Muslim community. The farm management always complies with the believers' requests concerning the performance of various religious rites. For instance, the Muslims were recently granted 15,000 rubles to build a mosque. A Muslim cemetery has also appeared in Privetnoye.

But the local people's attitudes toward the Tatar settlers are not all pos-

itive. In May 1989, posters calling for the restoration of Crimean Tatar autonomy went up on 14 houses in the village, and that caused resentment. Such calls have failed to win any support from an overwhelming majority of the population of Crimean Region, which is inhabited by representatives of dozens of different ethnic groups. Crimean Tatars make up just 0.8 per cent of the population of the Crimea. In comparison, 68.4 per cent of the local residents are ethnic Russian, 25.6 per cent are Ukrainian, and 2 per cent are Byelorussian.

In another district of Crimean Region, Bakhchisarai, Anatoli Polshchikov, First Secretary of the Bakhchisarai District Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, told us:

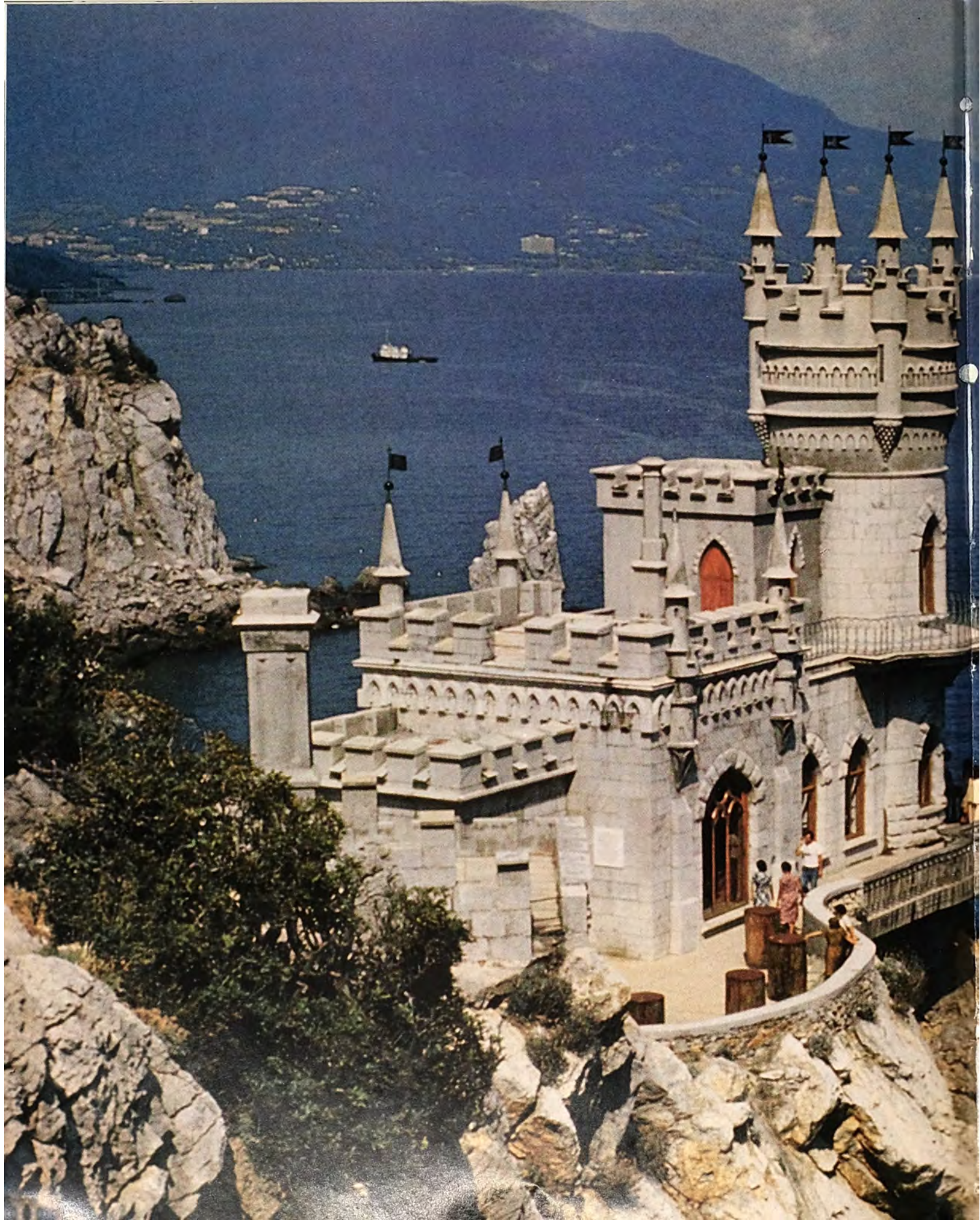
"When Tatar settlers started coming here a year and a half ago, the populace was anything but happy about it. People were suspicious. We had to explain to them over and over that the Tatars had lived through a tragedy. Resettlement has posed certain problems, of course. For instance, we've been quite alarmed by the speculation in housing that it's brought. Some people are cashing in on the Crimean Tatars' problems. For instance, there have been cases when houses that should have cost no more than 4,000 or 5,000 rubles were sold at 30,000 to 40,000 rubles.

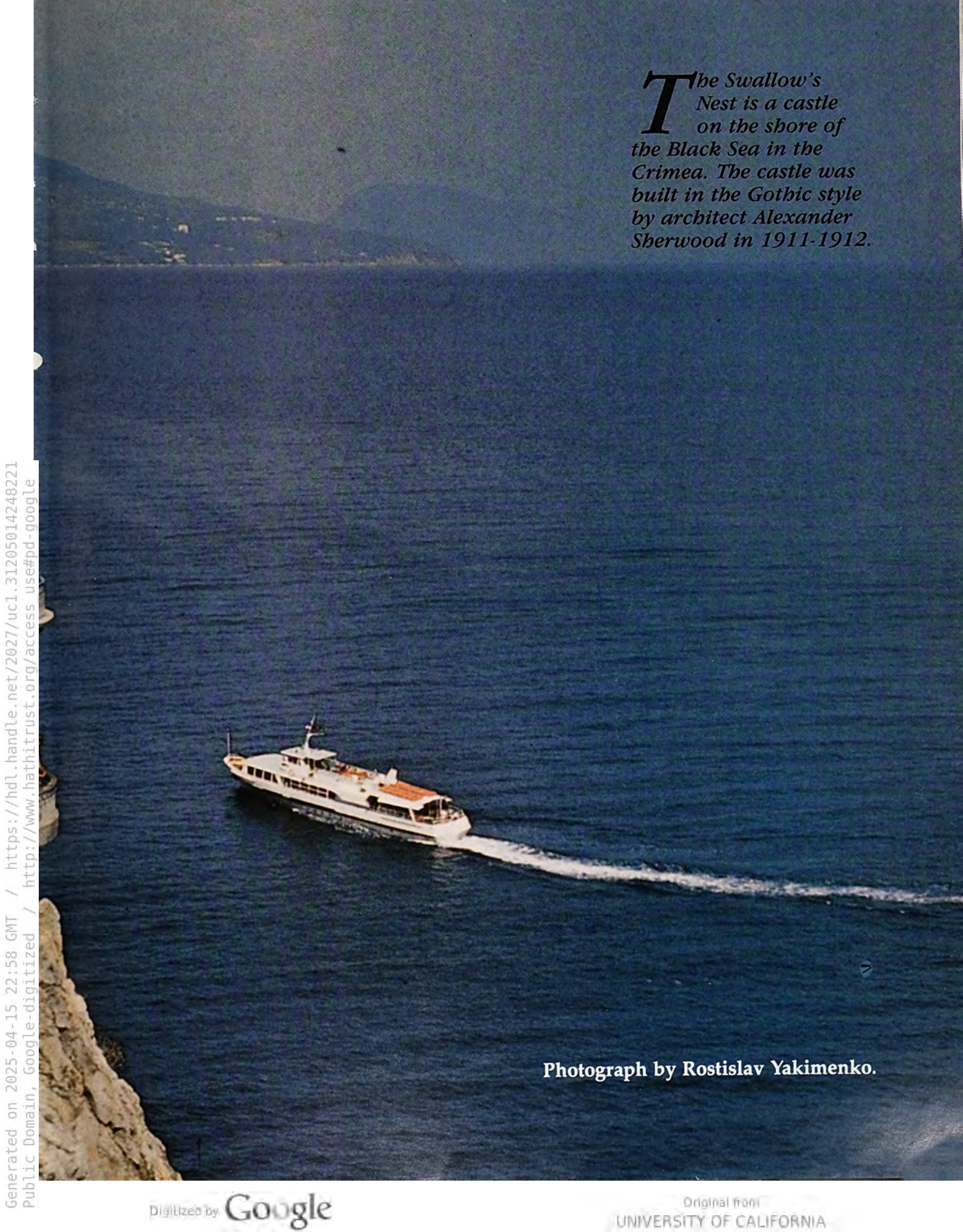
"There have also been instances of Tatar settlers illegally seizing plots of land. The local authorities are trying to end such practices by sitting down and talking with Tatar activists and the directors of local collective and state farms. Perhaps if everyone works together, we'll be able to find a compromise solution."

The district party leader holds that in such a difficult process as the resettlement of thousands of people, order is absolutely necessary. "The settlers need to be provided both with housing and with a social infrastructure that's ready for them," Polshchikov went on to say. "Some people who are in a hurry to move here will say: 'Give us this plot. We'll make a dugout or some other makeshift shelter to live in before we get a house.' Do you call that a solution? The farms need to be notified in advance of how

Bakhchisarai, Crimean Region, was traditionally inhabited by Crimean Tatars. Below: Velisha Bakhtishbayev, the mullah of the Muslim Tatars in the village of Privetnoye.

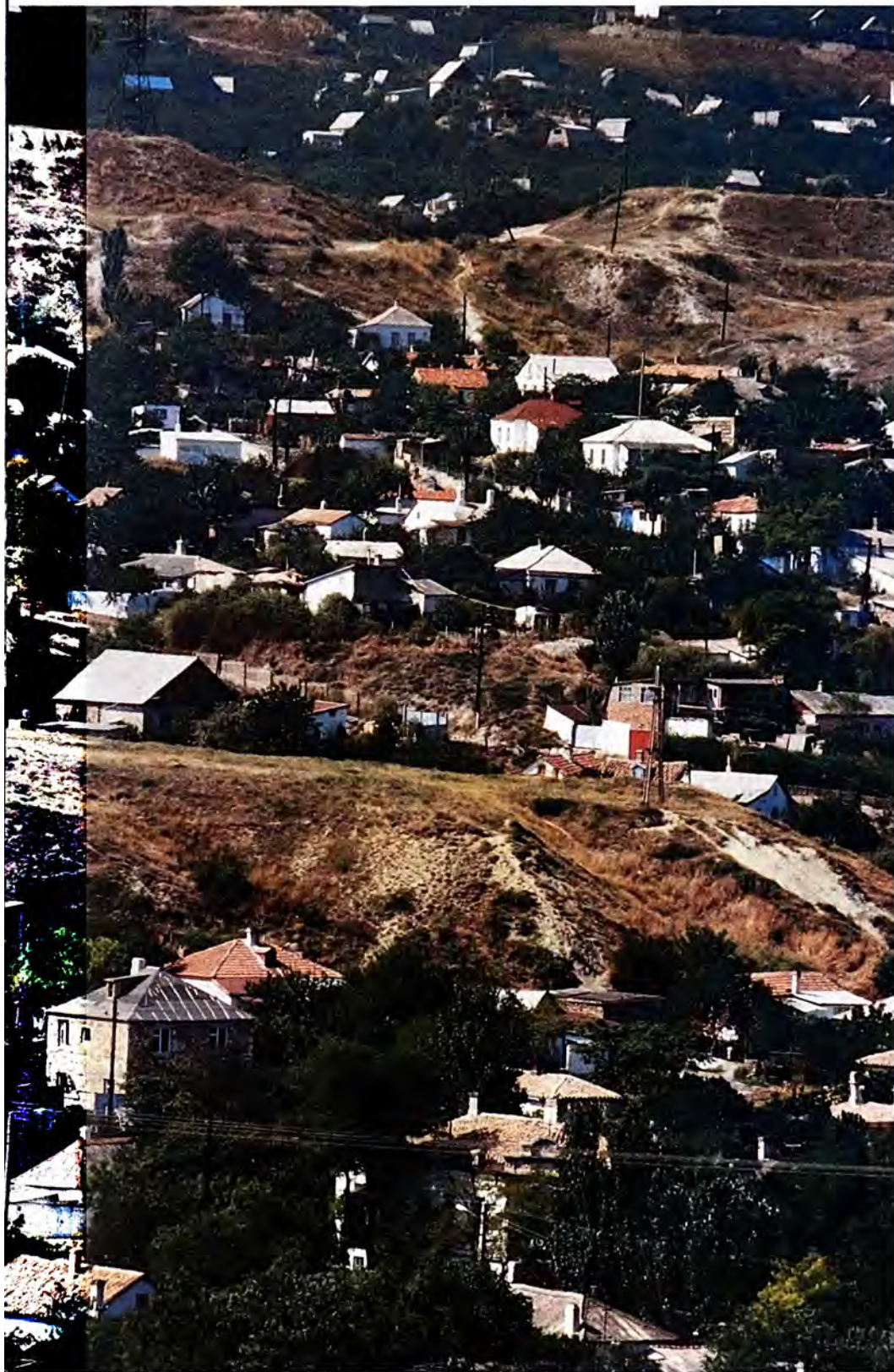






*The Swallow's
Nest is a castle
on the shore of
the Black Sea in the
Crimea. The castle was
built in the Gothic style
by architect Alexander
Sherwood in 1911-1912.*

Photograph by Rostislav Yakimenko.



A settlement of Crimean Tatars in a mountainous region of the Crimean Peninsula. Facing page: Rustam Bairamov is satisfied with life in the new region.

many settlers are coming and when. The area's growing population calls for the creation of new jobs and more accommodations at schools and day-care centers, as well as more housing.

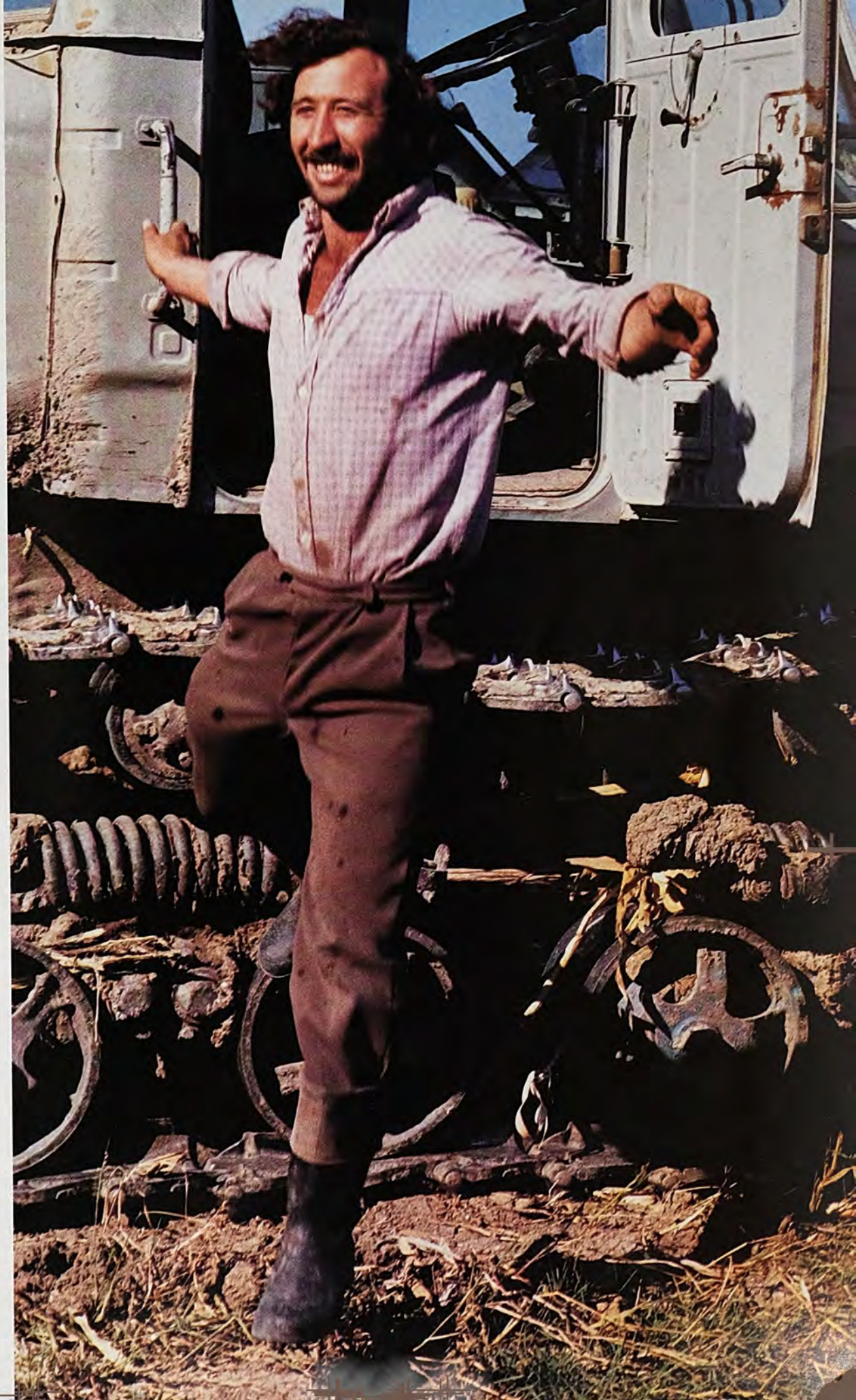
"There are other sources of friction too. Quite often Tatar settlers who have been admitted to a collective farm and allotted a plot of land soon stop working on the farm. Instead, they devote all their time to growing hothouse vegetables on the plot allotted to them and selling the produce on the private market. Under the existing rules, the collective farm has the right to reduce the plot granted to a family if at least two members of that family do not work on the farm. But when such steps are taken against the Tatars, they claim that they're being discriminated against."

After talking with Polshchikov, we went to one of that district's collective farms, the Ukraine Collective Farm, where a group of Crimean Tatars had illegally seized a plot of land.

We saw holes dug out for foundations in a field where harvesting had recently been completed. A number of people were sitting at tables made of rough boards, drinking soup from metal bowls. Not far from the tables, an oven could be seen, and also a structure without any walls but with plastic roofing, under which there were some cots. In the center of the camp, a large poster hung between two poles. It read, "We have a homeland but no home." Many of the "campers" looked tired and depressed. The atmosphere seemed explosive. As soon as we started asking questions, the squatters showered us with complaints: "The authorities won't allot us enough plots for building houses"; "The houses here are so expensive, you won't find a single one for 10,000 rubles or even 15,000 rubles"; "They say our wives should work on the farm—but how can they do that if each of them has to look after three or four children?"

Leaving the camp, we continued on our journey. We had hardly driven two kilometers before we saw more foundation pits. But this time it turned out that the Tatars building there (there were to be 50 houses in all) had an official permit from the local collective farm to do so. ■

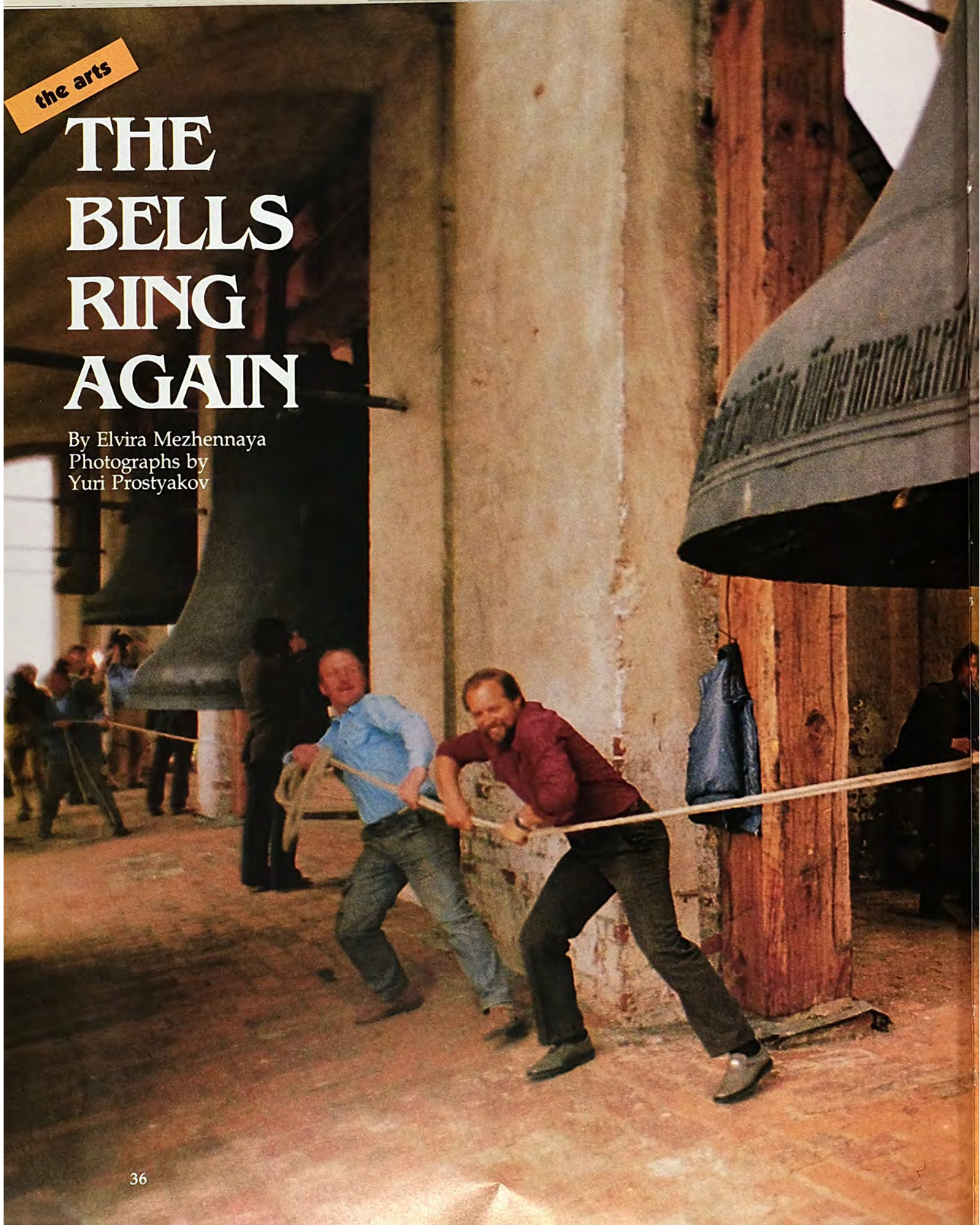
*"Perhaps if
everyone works
together, we'll
be able to find
a compromise
solution."*



the arts

THE BELLS RING AGAIN

By Elvira Mezhennaya
Photographs by
Yuri Prostyakov





Church Bells for Industrial Effort was one of the campaigns that swept the Soviet Union 60 years ago. At that time, religion was considered a harmful illusion, and church bells were seen only as a waste of valuable metal that could be used to help industrialize the nation. As churches across the country were closed and pulled down, the socialist ideological

assault put an end to the ringing of the famous Russian bells.

Everywhere, church bells were packed off to foundries and melted down. Some bells, like the unique Rostov set, were spared this fate. The Rostov belfry received the status of a state-protected cultural monument. But the bells were silenced for many decades.

The Rostov belfry, with its three

massive arches, was built in 1682 by the order of Metropolitan Jonas III, an ambitious hierarch and patron of the arts. The Metropolitan presided over his diocese between 1652 and 1690, to make it one of Russia's most gorgeous ecclesiastical centers.

The bells in the Rostov belfry were of a special cast and were tuned to the same key. The biggest, Mellow, which weighed 1,000 poods (16 tons), ►

and the 500-pood Swan formed a minor third. Metropolitan Jonas loved happy sounds, and he did not like the bells' melancholy timbre. He invited the famous master Flor Terentyev from Moscow to cast another, still larger bell, to create a major triad. No Russian bell equaled the giant at that time: It weighed 32 tons, twice as much as Mellow, with a clapper that weighed a ton and a half. The bell needed two ringers. Its booming could be heard 12 miles away. The Metropolitan was extremely proud of the bell and named it Sysoi, after his father.

In the summer of 1989, Russian music lovers celebrated the 300th anniversary of the wondrous bell. The Second National Bell Festival was timed to coincide with this date. The festival attracted thousands of people to Rostov for a week. During this time the USSR Bell Association of the Soviet Culture Foundation held its inaugural congress. The membership of the association approached 100 from the very beginning. Ringers, musicologists, ethnologists, and museum curators from Moscow, Leningrad, Vilnius, Odessa, Novosibirsk, Yaroslavl, and Rostov were represented. The group's president, Yuri Pukhnachev, is the author of several books on bells.

Among the greatest attractions at the festival was a series of public seminars. Several talks were given, including "The Therapeutic Effect of Bell Music."

One topic that interested almost everyone at the festival was the revival of bell making, an art for which Russia was renowned throughout the world in olden times. Recently, two cooperative foundries, in Moscow and Voronezh, have resumed the ancient craft. The budding association will gather performing groups together and arrange concerts. The Ministry of Culture will soon begin the registration of all the surviving bell towers and belfries in Russia. One music college will introduce a course in bell ringing. The establishment of an academy of medieval Russian music has been proposed.

This revival effort has appeared quite suddenly. There was no evi-▶



Vladimir
Petrovsky
composes bell
music, some of which
was played at the
festival. Below: The
murals in the Church of
the Resurrection in
Rostov date back to
1675. Facing page: Olga
Gromagina, a research
fellow at a Rostov
museum.



dence of it only three years ago, when I visited a schoolteacher friend of mine in Rostov. My friend, Maria Tyunina, told me about an ordeal she had had recently at the Ministry of Culture. As she was trying to prove to an official that bell ringing should be allowed—that silent bells were an absurdity—the official listened without even trying to conceal her boredom. Then the woman opened her window and said to Maria, pointing at the noisy Moscow street: “Look how many people are walking around out there. Why doesn’t it occur to any of them that bells should be ringing?”

But times have changed, and so have people’s attitudes. Here is a letter that the organizers and partici-

pants of the festival received from the same ministry: “The Ministry of Culture sends its heartfelt greetings to the enthusiasts of the bell revival in our country. Bells, which have been a precious part of Russian culture and music, and a moral inspiration throughout many generations, were silent for many years.

“This festival, a sign of the new thinking, helps us to divide the priceless wheat of our culture from the tares of ignorance and aggressive atheism, to which we owe many losses.

“Bells have always made true folk music in Russia. We congratulate you on the festival of these instruments’ revival.” ■

The Second National Bell Festival was held in Rostov’s Cathedral Square. The Cathedral of the Assumption is on the left, and the Church of the Resurrection is on the right. Below: Recording the bells.



Vestnik: Soviet Diplomacy Today

Beginning in February 1990, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs will start publishing its monthly magazine, *Vestnik MID SSSR* (*Vestnik: Soviet Diplomacy Today*) in English.

The magazine will contain many items of interest:

- Important statements of Soviet leaders and official representatives on various foreign policy issues;
- Materials of official and working visits by Soviet leaders to foreign countries: communiqués, transcripts of press conferences and speeches, and texts of the agreements signed.
- Transcripts of the most important briefings and press conferences at the Press Center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- Information on working consultations with foreign ministries of other countries;

- Reports on regular meetings of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- Memoirs of well-known Soviet diplomats and scholars;
- Documents from Soviet diplomatic archives;
- Reports on personnel changes in key positions in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and
- Biographies of new appointees.

The English version of the magazine will be published by the joint venture company Vestnik, established by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which has been publishing the magazine in Russian, and the firm Allgemeiner Bauten-Vertriebe MBH (ABV) in Vienna, Austria.

Vestnik will be distributed worldwide from Vienna as well as from Moscow.

To subscribe, please write to: Radda & Dressler Verlags GmbH Davidgasse 79, 1100 Vienna, Austria; or to the USSR—121200, Moscow, Smolenskaya-Sennaya 32/34, USSR Foreign Ministry, *Vestnik MID SSSR*. Subscription fee: \$60 per year.

LEGISLATION

Continued from page 4

fendant, but also in meting out the punishment. One proposal would increase the number of assessors for the consideration of complicated cases. Another proposal would form an independent institute of assessors, not unlike a jury, so that professional judges could not exert pressure on them.

"Strong-willed and independent assessors are what our legal system needs like air," wrote popular journalist Olga Chaikovskaya in an article in the newspaper *Literaturnaya gazeta* (*Literary Gazette*). "Let the assessors go to the conference room on their own, without the judge, and lock the door if they want to."

The new Law on the Judiciary has incorporated the best of the proposals. It has three major new elements. First, it provides for the establishment of the Institute of Assessors to con-

sider serious criminal cases, as proposed by the public.

Second, the new law greatly increases the role of the defense. Until now, the functions of the defense in Soviet courts have been rigidly regimented. Lawyers were allowed in criminal cases only upon the completion of the preliminary investigation, which naturally limited the defense's capacity to render effective legal aid to its clients. Under the new law, defense lawyers will be involved in criminal cases from the very beginning. The law also allows the services of family counsel.

Third, the law introduces a system of specialized courts—for family affairs, the press, patents, minors, and so forth. The idea has been widely supported by public opinion.

In short, the legal system is undergoing democratic transformations. The goal is to establish additional guarantees against violations of the rights and freedoms of citizens and their organizations and collectives.



a new kind of law, a new kind of lawyer

By Dmitri Marchenkov
Photographs by Nina Sviridova
and Dmitri Vozdvizhensky



From the time she was in high school, Yelena Zhukova knew that she wanted to follow a profession in the law. Now Zhukova is 25. She graduated from the school of law at Moscow State University and has worked at a law office in Moscow for the last three years.

But what makes this young woman so special? Why write an article about a Moscow lawyer? In order to answer these questions, let's look at the position that the law holds and has held in Soviet society.

The legal profession, which is so prestigious and popular in the United States, has until recently occupied a Cinderella-like position in the Soviet Union. There was no need for educated and independent lawyers when the law was only a means to back up a totalitarian regime. At that time power and social status were above the law. There were relatively few lawyers in the USSR—our country has 12 times fewer people with formal legal training than the United States.

Soviet citizens are also poorly educated about the law. It was to the advantage of the bureaucracy to keep people ignorant about the laws that were passed and the workings of the courts. That allowed the powers that be to violate the very same laws they adopted. Also, crime statistics were either not revealed or grossly distorted to create a rosy picture.

That situation has changed in a fundamental way. Society as a whole is posing questions about legal protection for citizens and the creation of a state in which the law is the supreme authority, a state whose citizens know their rights.

On November 13, 1989, the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted new fundamental laws governing the judicial system of the USSR and the union republics. The document legalized such important provisions as the presence of the defense lawyer at an early stage of an investigation and trial by jury in a number of criminal cases.

But these are just the first steps. It is also important to enhance the status of the legal profession. This has already been happening—the lawyer's prestige in Soviet society has increased lately. Today the people, who have traditionally been skeptical about the lawyers' ability to help them, are coming to law offices for assistance more often than they did in the past.

The shortage of lawyers has made working conditions very difficult for people in the legal

Left: Legal Office No. 30, where Yelena Zhukova works, is known for the cooperation and cordial relations among the members of its staff. Top: More experienced colleagues are always willing to help.

*Zhukova's legal
career leaves her
very little spare
time, but last
year she
competed in the
Miss Soviet
Photo-89
contest.*





*Zhukova at
the computer
center of the
USSR
Exhibition of
Economic
Achievements.*

profession. Yelena Zhukova told me: "My job at the law office has turned out to be much more difficult and challenging than I thought it would be. But that only makes it more interesting. I know that I made the right choice. It's not enough to know the law to be a lawyer. You have to learn to understand people's motivations, to be able to talk to all kinds of people, and to have a lot of patience. Clients often take all their disappointments and frustrations out on their lawyer. But you have to listen to everyone

very closely and come up with the right advice."

Like all lawyers, Zhukova not only sees clients in her office but also represents their interests in court. She handles both criminal and civil cases.

"When defending a person whose guilt seems obvious, I try to find whatever good there is in him or her. I don't think there is such a thing as an absolutely bad person. There are good characteristics in everybody. I think we need trial by jury badly. A judge often looks at the defendant only from the point of view of the law, and the two people's assessors who are part of the team rarely influence the judge's decision. The jury could bring more humanity to any court, reducing the number of mistakes."

These days transformations are taking place in every sphere of life in our country, including the legal field. More and more often, lawyers are called upon to handle economic and other cases that are rather new in Soviet legal practice: questions dealing with the right to own property; financial matters; and the legal responsibility and legal status of co-ops, joint ventures, and public organizations and associations. All this calls for a revision of the prevailing notion that civil law is inferior to criminal law.

"Civil cases are much more complicated than criminal ones," said Zhukova, "because very often both sides are right in their own way. Such cases can last for years. There are nuances not provided for in the Civil Code. That's why so much depends on the experience we get in court. The duty of every Soviet lawyer to work part of his or her time in court is very helpful."

During her workday Zhukova meets with clients in her office, works in court, and sometimes goes to other cities on business. Her income consists of the fees she gets for handling cases, complaints, and requests, drawing up legal papers, and giving legal advice. The amount varies, depending on how much work is involved. On the average she gets about 200 rubles a month. Every day she reads legal journals and bulletins to keep up with the latest developments in her profession. There is practically no time left for fun.

As I mentioned before, Soviet lawyers do not receive fixed salaries, only legal fees. The rates that lawyers can charge and other rules of their work are established by the Collegium of Advocates of the USSR, which until very recently was the only organization of defense lawyers in this country. Early in 1989 a lawyers union was created. This organization upholds the rights of lawyers and acts in their behalf.

What is the main thing to remember in the legal profession? I asked Zhukova.

"You shouldn't take it for granted. They say that a doctor ceases to be a doctor when he or she stops feeling the pain of the patient. The same is true of lawyers." ■



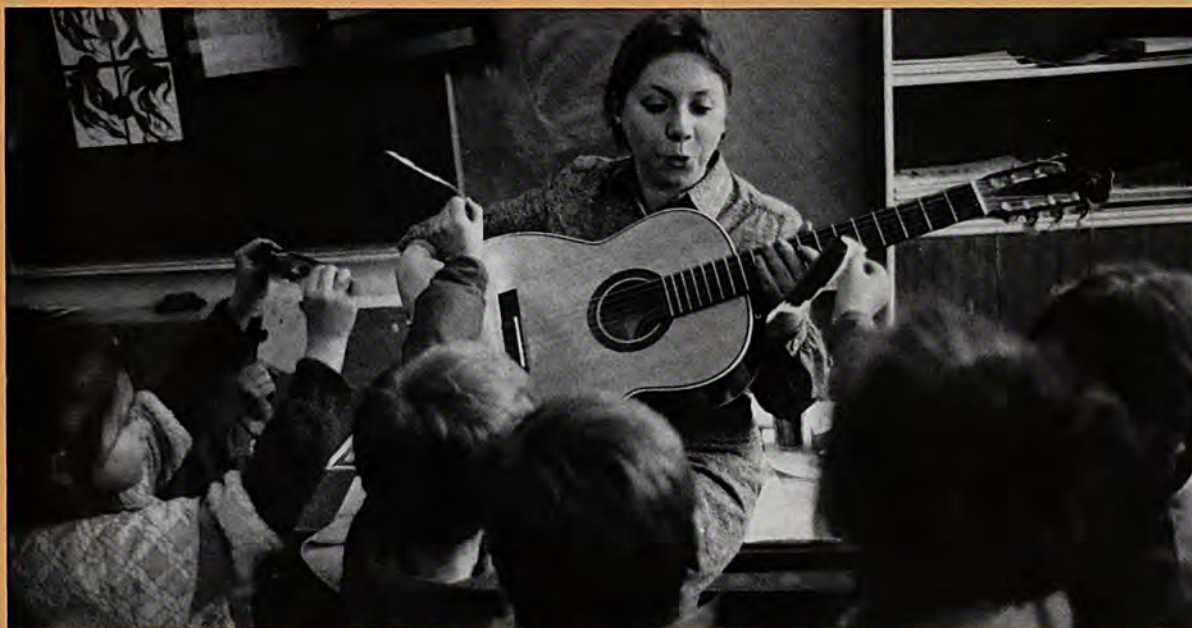
By Ariadna Nikolenko
Photographs by
Vladimir Perventsev



Above: Art teacher
Yelena Koroteyeva. A
creative atmosphere
prevails at
Koroteyeva's art
lessons.







If an artist's hands are as clean as a princess's hands, that's disgusting. An artist's hands should be covered with paints," a teacher tells her seven-year-old pupils.

The children react in a creative way—by painting each other's cheeks and noses, the kind that Balzac said that humankind had called "upturned" out of envy.

I am at a first graders' art lesson at Moscow School No. 600. It is an ordinary school that follows the same academic program that other Soviet schools follow. But after school hours, Moscow School No. 600 offers a whole range of extra courses in the arts. These lessons are purely optional. The children take only the courses that interest them.

The teacher I'm observing is Yelena Koroteyeva, Candidate of Science (Pedagogics). "This is our last lesson of the semester. You'll all go on your vacations after this," she declares in a solemn voice.

"No! We don't want to!" the children chorus. A surprising reaction, indeed, to hear instead of the age-old, expected "Hurray!"

As I watch the lesson, I experience a mixed feeling of admiration and envy. I can't help but think back to the recent, dreary school life of my own daughter.

Meanwhile, Koroteyeva is trying to get one of her pupils to join the group. "Come on—do it for me," she cajoles him. The usual image of the adamant and inaccessible teacher is destroyed.

"What have you been doing over the past week, since we last met?" she asks the class.

A host of hands springs up:

"I hit some people. On the nose."

"That's a mean thing to do, but I think you're joking," replies the teacher.

"I drew the smell of fried potatoes."

"Oh, that's great! I doubt I could do that," says the teacher, in a tone of regret.

The ability to draw the smell of fried potatoes is certainly something most professional artists would envy. But Koroteyeva is lucky, in a way. Her job is to preserve and develop that inimitable vision of the world with which only children are endowed.

The school where Koroteyeva teaches is used as a kind of open laboratory by the Institute of Esthetic Education of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR. The principle of admission into the school is very democratic: All the little residents of the area are welcome.

The school is staffed with institute associates. Besides drawing, there are classes in cinema, television, and music. The institute-designed curriculum, "Art and You," is aimed at, as formulated by Koroteyeva, "making creativity a person's—a child's—natural state of mind. Because if art is part of your life, you won't be lonely."

Now the teacher is picking up an accordion. She plays a popular melody, then plays the same tune on a guitar. "What's the difference between the sounds of these two instruments?" she asks, then answers her own question. "The accordion has a low, dense, dark sound. The guitar has a light and transparent one." Then the children try to capture their impressions of the music on paper.

"Wonderful!" exclaims the teacher. "An orange-purple-black sound! What a range! May I have it for myself to hang on the wall?"

Every picture is looked upon as an asset. Everyone's effort is noticed and taken seriously.

The lesson I'm sitting in on is a real holiday. I think that maybe it's never too late to try to draw the smell of fried potatoes. ■

Facing page,
far left:

Koroteyeva's
pupils believe
that a painter
should be
smeared with
paint. Left:

Inspiration.
Artwork,
clockwise from
bottom left:
Abstract
design. An
imaginary bird.

"My friend
Vaska." Above:
Music is very
much a part of
the art lesson.

The teacher
plays a tune,
and the
children
draw it.



New Minister of Culture

The position of Minister of Culture was vacant for five months. During that time artists and others began to believe that the position had no significance. But when Nikolai Gubenko, former director at the Taganka Theater, was nominated for the position, almost all of the Supreme Soviet deputies voted for him.

"I think that the ministry's main function is to provide favorable conditions for creativity. It shouldn't issue prohibitions or permissions," said Gubenko.

Gubenko himself worked hard to ensure the return of Yuri Lyubimov, now once again directing plays at the Taganka Theater. When Gubenko was asked by journalists if he would quit his job at the theater, he replied: "Of course, I won't be able to direct plays any more because it takes so

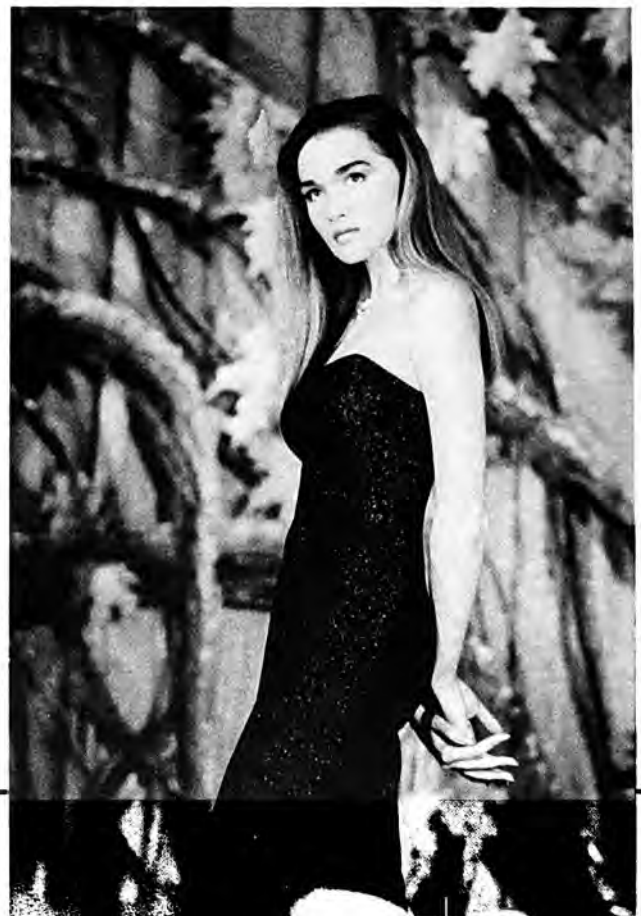


much time. But I won't give up acting altogether so that I won't lose my skills. Who knows, I may not work out as a minister and then I'll be unemployed in a year."



At the Miss Soviet Photo-89 exhibition the country's leading photographers displayed the pictures of 30 young women who had made it to the semi-finals. Twelve of them made it to the finals. The winner was Irina Ganya, from Kishinev. Photographer Algis Krikstopaitis of Lithuania won the prize for best picture. The purpose of the contest was to establish photographic modeling as a profession, a must for advertising, in the USSR.

Models and Masters





Shellfish Save the Black Sea

Scientists say that the Black Sea is on the verge of an ecological crisis. Pollutants take the form of chemicals and waste from industrial enterprises, municipal sewage, and shipping.

This critical situation is the result of thoughtless actions by different enterprises and departments and poor control over the implementation of nature conservation measures. For example, in Krasnodar Territory, which includes part of the Black Sea coast, control was exercised by 16 different committees and departments.

Obviously, one master was needed. This function has been assumed by the Nature Conservation Com-

mittee, created in Krasnodar Territory to protect the land, water, air, and forests in the area. The committee also studies the potential sources of pollution.

The committee's energetic measures are yielding results. One example is that shipowners now equip their vessels with pollutant collectors. Another example is the cleaning of oil tankers. After a tanker is unloaded, up to one per cent of the oil cargo remains in its reservoirs, and when the ship is cleaned, this water gets into the sea. At the port of Novorossiisk, mollusks are now used to clean the wash water because of their ability to filter oil products.

Figure-Skating Stars in Moscow

Moscow was the site of a picturesque performance—a championship co-sponsored by Nutrasweet and Moscow News. The one-day competition of figure skaters drew a constellation of outstanding skaters who had performed for years in world and European championships and at the Olympics. Many of them have long since become professionals.

The sports palace could not seat all of the people who wanted to see the performance.

It's great that the stars are coming back. We look forward to seeing the winners again—Kitty and Peter Carruthers of the United States (pair skating); Natalya Bestemyanova and Andrei Bukin (dance); and Denise Beillmann and Brian Boitano (singles).





LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

I too am sorry to no longer be a subscriber. I have been a subscriber for more than 10 years. Your new format—both page size and number of pages—and less interesting articles have been the reason that I no longer subscribe.

I had the extreme pleasure of visiting your country in 1970. Your travel agency Intourist could not have been better. I will never forget that wonderful trip.

Stanley Evans
Detroit, Michigan

[I'd like] to congratulate you on the excellence of the articles and the choice of subjects treated in your new format. I have been reading Soviet magazines, on and off, since the end of World War II. The heavy-handed, propagandistic articles were utterly boring, but the photographs were generally beautiful and interesting. It was the only way to satisfy to some extent our curiosity about your country, particularly during the years when we studied the classic Russian authors. This must be our third year of subscribing to SOVIET LIFE, since our trip to the USSR, and we have noticed a remarkable improvement in your magazine. Keep it up!

Charles M. De Mets
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

In the December 1989 issue, I was very surprised to read about the drug problem facing your country. It is far larger than I would have ever imagined, though it is still far, far less than the drug abuse problems we now have in the United States. Perhaps our two countries will be able to share their resources and knowledge, and work together to reduce the problems of drug use and abuse together. I would like to make one observation on an aspect of the drug problem that was not mentioned in the article. This is

the way in which both of our nations' drug wars target only illegal drugs, while neglecting the "legal" drugs, which cause far more problems. For example, on page 42 of the December issue, the photograph of Lieutenant Colonel Roshchin, who heads the antidrug force of the Moscow militia, shows him with a cigarette in his hand. I am sure that in your country, just as in ours, cigarette smoking causes disease, suffering, and death far more than any illicit drugs, yet the governments virtually ignore tobacco use in the wars on drugs. In America, for example, cigarette smoking kills approximately 400,000 smokers every year. . . . Yet our government virtually ignores this carnage, preferring to spend billions of dollars fighting the illicit drugs, which do far less health and economic damage. I am sure that in the Soviet Union tobacco use takes a similarly large toll on your people and economy but is probably similarly ignored by the government. I would like to hope that in your country, if the government were to be made much more aware of the devastation that tobacco use causes (both in smokers and in the nonsmokers who are forced to breathe the drifting smoke), that it would take strong, effective measures to greatly reduce the incidence of smoking in the Soviet Union. After all . . . in the Soviet Union, the government and public health organizations would not have to be fighting against an extremely wealthy and powerful tobacco industry that will stop at nothing to protect its profits, regardless of how many people its products kill and injure each year. Perhaps you could feature an article in a future issue that discusses the health problems in the Soviet Union caused by the so-called "licit" drugs, and what steps the government is taking to minimize the use and abuse of those drugs.

Willard T. Wheeler
Upland, California



Deputy

Continued from page 13

he scored a landslide victory over his three opponents. Now he was a people's deputy.

"Now, after the congress, is the most difficult time," Stankevich told me. "All the hoopla has died down. Suddenly it's the everyday work that counts."

Stankevich is a member of the Legislative Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet. While working on another commission, he visited Tbilisi after the tragic events of April 9, when soldiers put down a demonstration and several people were killed.

Muscovites saw Stankevich on television during the live broadcast of the latest session of the City Soviet. In his heated address he demanded that Moscow, with its population of 10 million, be granted the status of a constituent republic. It was the only chance for the capital to solve its housing and environmental problems, he said.

Stankevich often meets with people from his constituency, the Cheryomushki District. Many of them come to him for help.

"At first I was at a loss," he said. "This one wanted a new apartment, that one needed help adopting a child. Another was unlawfully dismissed from his job and demanded to be reinstated. Little by little, I saw what to do about this sea of problems. I positively couldn't intercede directly for all these people. What I could do was teach them how to defend their rights. They must stop feeling like miserable supplicants."

He repeats this message at all the sessions of the Bitsa Environmental Protection Society. He says it at the rehearsals of the Benefit Performance Amateur Drama Society, at the gatherings of the Tyoply Stan Literary Club, and the meetings of the newly established League of Large Families.

"Self-rule and initiative are bringing luscious fruit," he told me.

"How would you describe Sergei Stankevich?" I asked him.

"I would like to think of him as an up-to-date community leader— young, efficient, and ready to help." ■

medicine

ALCOHOLISM: THE HIDDEN DISEASE

Alcoholism has long been a problem in the Soviet Union. But only recently has society begun to realize that alcoholism is a disease, not a moral weakness. These two articles and interview about alcoholism were written and conducted by Vera Kondratenko. The photographs are by Sergei Solovyov.

It is hard to imagine what happy changes would take place in our lives if people stopped drugging themselves." These words belong to the great Russian writer Leo Tolstoy, but they sound very topical today. The lamentable statistics show that 4,625,000 people suffered from alcoholism in 1988. And this number includes only those who have come to the attention of experts in chemical dependency. In reality, the number of alcoholics in the Soviet Union may easily be double that figure.

Soviet sociologists recently conducted a poll to find out how much the Soviet public knew about alcohol's effects on the body. The results were quite unexpected. It turned out that alcoholics know more about the dangers of drinking than do many people who do not drink, and could discourse on the harm they were do-

ing themselves as knowledgeably as a physician.

And yet they continue to drink. The consumption of alcoholic beverages rose significantly during the period of stagnation. The people's isolation from political activity, the prevailing atmosphere of passivity and indifference, and the people's sense of helplessness undermined moral values. Many resorted to drinking as relief from dissatisfaction with their lives. Although public opinion did not actively encourage drinking, it did not really censure it either.

It isn't easy to fight alcoholism today. A successful campaign will require the combined efforts of physicians, society as a whole, and, naturally, the alcoholics themselves. But here we come up against a number of complications.

One of these is the tendency of

alcoholics to deny that their problem is serious or that it warrants medical attention. This denial is reinforced by the fact that in society the term "alcoholic" is regarded as a stigma, not an illness. People are ashamed to admit that they are alcoholics, so they shy away from treatment.

At a meeting with American colleagues, Academician Levon Badalyan said: "There's a big difference between Soviet and American alcoholics. Americans who stopped drinking long ago still call themselves alcoholics. People who are addicted to alcohol in the Soviet Union continue to drink and don't think of themselves as alcoholics, let alone refer to themselves as such."

Today the physician's first job is to overcome denial, to help patients realize they are ill, and to awaken in them an urgent desire to gain control ▶



over their lives. Only then can the patients start on the road to recovery.

Hospital No. 17 in Moscow is the Soviet Union's central treatment facility for victims of alcoholism and other forms of substance abuse. The hospital can take in 6,620 patients simultaneously and is the largest of its kind in all of Europe.

The center is relatively new. It began as a substance-abuse clinic and was reorganized into a hospital in 1982. Since then, thanks in large part to Dr. Eduard Drozdov, its founder, head physician, and specialist in the treatment of chemical dependency, the hospital has been greatly expanded. Today it has branches not only in Moscow but in other towns as well. Of course, alcoholics were treated before, but they were treated in psychiatric hospitals.

These patients hope for help from the hospital and for understanding from society. Below: Dr. Alexei Bobrov's department at Hospital No. 17 develops individual treatment programs for patients.



Today Hospital No. 17 is a model treatment facility. Five hundred beds have been allocated especially for women, and there are also special wards for teenagers. The hospital also has an outpatient department, several medical laboratories, emergency rooms, and a center for education about alcoholism.

Dr. Drozdov is to be credited not only with founding the hospital but also with working out a system called "work therapy." This system enables a person to take a course of medical treatment without quitting his or her job. Here's how it works: In the morning the patients take a special bus to the hospital. After having breakfast, taking the necessary medicine, and undergoing various procedures, the patients are taken by bus to the Likhachev Automotive Plant. Every day about 4,000 people come to work at the plant straight from the hospital.

After work the same buses take the patients back to the hospital, where they have dinner and again take the prescribed medicines and undergo the necessary procedures.

Of course, the work at the factory is not easy. But it helps solve a very important psychological problem—the alcoholic's isolation from society. Patients in the work-therapy system get the chance to work under normal conditions and feel that society needs them. And what is just as important, they earn money—60 per cent of their normal salary. The remaining 40 per cent goes to pay for patients' meals and treatment at the hospital. (The 40 per cent only partially covers expenses for the treatment.)

Says the hospital's assistant director, Sergei Alexeyev: "Some of our patients have degenerated to such an extent that they've lost their working skills. Work therapy helps them get these skills back. Treatment at the hospital may last from 45 days to six months. In that period, anyone who wants to can acquire a new specialty. What's more, if a person has been fired or wants to work somewhere different, he or she can get a new job at the automotive plant once the course of treatment is completed. Many of our former patients have done that."

Anatoli Dudoladov's addiction to alcohol once controlled his life. But those days are long gone. Now Dudoladov can say **BACK FROM BONDAGE**



The public should understand that alcoholism is a disease and that people who suffer from it should receive medical treatment and support. I learned this from my own experience," said Anatoli Dudoladov, an electrician at the Moscow Transmash Plant.

At 43, Dudoladov is a jolly, gregarious man of medium height and with a strong build. "I began drinking when I was in high school. For us teenagers, it seemed like the sophisticated thing to do. We were just trying to act grown up. Needless to say, the pocket money my parents gave me didn't last long, even though my family was quite well off: My father was an officer, and my mother was a homemaker.

"After school I served in the army and then worked and took a correspondence course at a communications institute. Ever since childhood I'd been interested in radio and radio engineering, and I decided to go into that field as a profession. But another desire—the desire to drink—turned out to be much stronger. After a while

"I realized that I should stop drinking, but I couldn't do it on my own."



it overshadowed everything: my family, the education of my little daughter, and my career. This happened almost without my noticing it. I simply liked to celebrate every happy event with old friends. It could be a good grade on an exam, a new appointment—I could always find an excuse. Things were going pretty well, or at least it seemed so at that time. Then the bottom fell out from under me—before I knew it, I was fired. During the next few years I couldn't stay at any one job for long. I went from one place to another. The reason was drunkenness.

"Family troubles began. My health deteriorated. It was a terrible time for me. I'd never known where my heart was located before, but now it started to make itself felt. My liver too. I realized that I should stop drinking, but I couldn't do it on my own. I decided to get medical treatment."

Dudoladov went to a doctor, who sent him to the substance-abuse department of Suburban Psychiatric Clinic No. 5. His treatment lasted for two months, but nothing came of it. The drinking continued. ▶



"I felt as if I were dying," Dudoladov said, recalling his state at that time. Then he heard from some acquaintances that there was a medical center in Moscow where alcoholics were treated. He decided to give it a try. In 1987, pale, sick, and very thin, he visited the center for the first time. The doctors welcomed him cordially and spoke with him in detail about their technique. Dudoladov was intrigued and decided to stay. He applied for treatment and promised to follow the program.

The treatment began with several days in residence at the center. In less than a week—using electrostimulation and other procedures—the doctors detoxified him, restoring him to a functional level. Then he was given a recommendation to work at the Transmash Plant, located next to the Moscow center. The center had long ago established close contacts with that enterprise.

"Why didn't you stay at your last job?" I asked Dudoladov.

"Everybody would have thought of me only as an alcoholic there," he answered. "But at the Moscow Transmash Plant the management made sure that people like me felt at home. About half of the patients at the center make the same choice."

"How does the course of treatment proceed?"

"It lasts up to four months. Like all the other patients, I lived at home, except for the first few days. Before work in the morning I dropped by the

Dudoladov's relationship with his wife, Lyudmila, has improved dramatically since he had his last drink. Below: Dudoladov at the treatment center.



center, and a doctor examined me. If everything was all right, I went to work. But if I hadn't followed the program, which happened twice, I had to go through detoxification before I could go to work.

"During the lunch break I also dropped by the center, and after work, at 3:30 P.M., I went back to do the basic program.

"Now that I've gone through the treatment, I have no desire for alcohol. I haven't touched a drop in more than two years. I've gotten out of the habit so much that even the smell of vodka or wine is unpleasant to me.

"Everything at the center is based on honesty. People like me are trusted, and we try very hard not to betray that trust. The only thing that's required of anybody who applies

there for help is an urgent desire to stop drinking."

With his treatment long completed, Dudoladov leads a healthy life and is satisfied with his job. Still, almost every evening he can be seen at the complex. What does he do there?

"The center has become a kind of club for us. I meet people who think the way I do—people who have stopped or are eager to stop drinking. The doctors and the whole staff—which isn't large—are my friends. We feel that we're a single, democratic team, and we can discuss our problems or talk about anything. We arrange parties fairly often and invite our families. Now I know that a person can relax without drinking and have just as much fun.

"For instance, recently we wanted to show our support for one of our new friends who's been sober for several months. So we threw him a party, where we presented him with a homemade medal. These occasions are festive, and they also serve a real purpose: The guest of honor at the party is not only pleased, but he or she also feels our support."

"Where else do you spend your time?"

"Now I live a normal life. I go to movies and concerts, and I help my wife at home. Before, when I drank, my wife did all the chores, but now I've taken a lot upon myself. I'm also pretty good at working with my hands."

In fact, Dudoladov is a jack-of-all-trades. He is one of the people entrusted with repairing used instruments and other equipment that's been donated to the center. This is generally equipment that has exhausted its service life in hospitals and has been written off. The patients not only repair the equipment but also modernize it.

The center plans to expand. But even at this point quite a lot has been done. In addition to repairing the electrical equipment, the members have fixed up the whole building.

The members of the center have a message for everyone who is still engaged in alcohol abuse. It is a simple truth that they have learned, unfortunately, the hard way: Life is worth looking at through sober eyes.

TOWARD A SOBER SOCIETY

Q: How severe a problem is alcoholism in Moscow today?

A: It is still a very serious one. About 145,000 patients are registered in the city's substance-abuse treatment centers. Of these patients, 95 per cent are in the most acute stage of the disease. We are also worried by the recent

upward trend in problem drinking among women. About 10.2 per cent of all registered alcoholics are women.

Q: What medical assistance is available to people who want to quit drinking?

A: There are two inpatient and 12 outpatient specialized clinics in Moscow. There are also 14 centers where people can receive treatment anonymously. These centers treat about 35,000 patients. One in 10 people who request anonymous treatment is a teenager.

Q: What about the abuse of illegal drugs?

A: In Moscow, the situation is not that bad. The number of illicit drug users is relatively small because these drugs are difficult to obtain and because, fortunately, this pitiful tradition is not deeply rooted in our society. But glue sniffing is a real problem here, especially since it is widespread mostly among young people.

Q: Many changes are taking place in the Soviet Union. Do you feel their effect in your field?

A: We see that a growing number of people have come to realize that it's impossible to curb substance abuse without a national program of social assistance and a reorientation of the public consciousness. We must not punish the sick.

Prohibitive legislation won't solve the problem; laws won't keep people away from alcohol and other drugs. The ill-famed measures to

combat excessive drunkenness and alcoholism that the government passed in 1985 have proved this quite clearly. True, legal measures have worked where they were appropriate. Drinking in the workplace has either noticeably declined or stopped altogether. But in other instances those administrative measures had no teeth, or they even had an opposite effect. Illegal alcohol production increased sharply, with 40 per cent of the moonshine being made in the cities.

Measures by fiat can only drive the disease deep underground. We have to learn to understand the pain that alcoholics and other addicts feel and the difficulties they face.

The experience of Alcoholics Anonymous in the United States has been very helpful to us. There was also a Soviet-American conference on alcoholism in Moscow in the spring of 1989. We visited the Moscow Patriarchy with some American priests in order to discuss ways of helping alcoholics. We in Moscow want to cooperate with the Church on a permanent basis. We want the Church to help the needy. Priests and nuns should come to hospitals and talk to patients. The patients need to feel that they are not alone. Cooperation between medical doctors and the clergy can also play a large role in helping recovering alcoholics and people addicted to other drugs to readjust to life after treatment.

Q: What methods of treatment can modern medicine offer, and which of these methods are used in Moscow's Hospital No. 17?

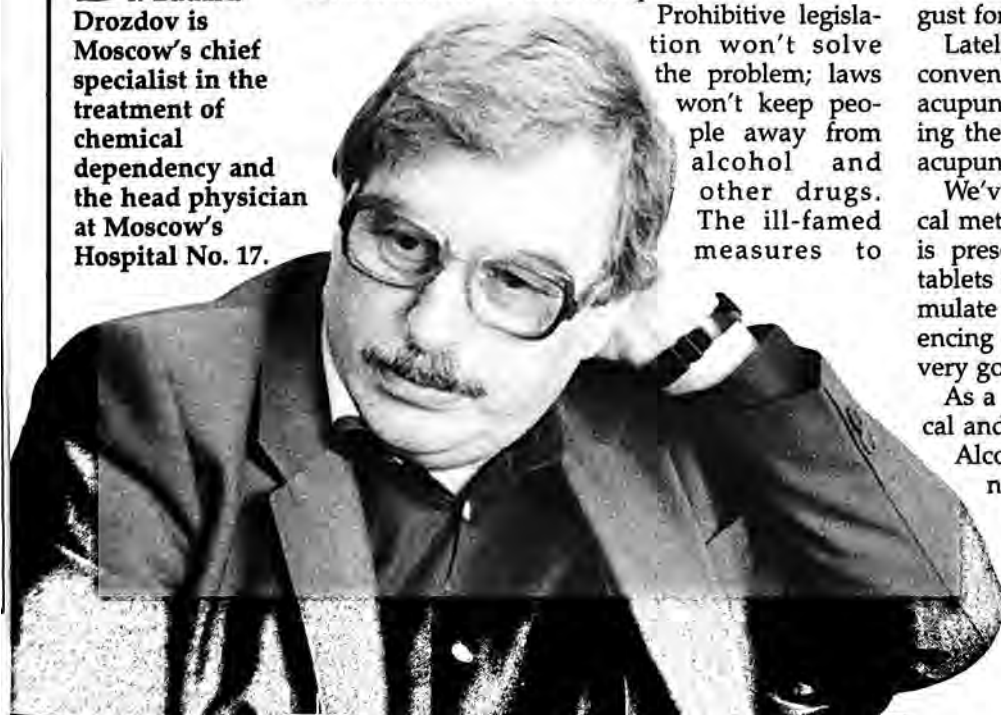
A: In our hospital and in hospitals across this country, we use practically all the methods known to medicine today. For a long time we have been using counseling. This helps to strengthen the will of the patient and to streamline the treatment. We also use several methods that are designed to arouse in the patient a disgust for alcohol.

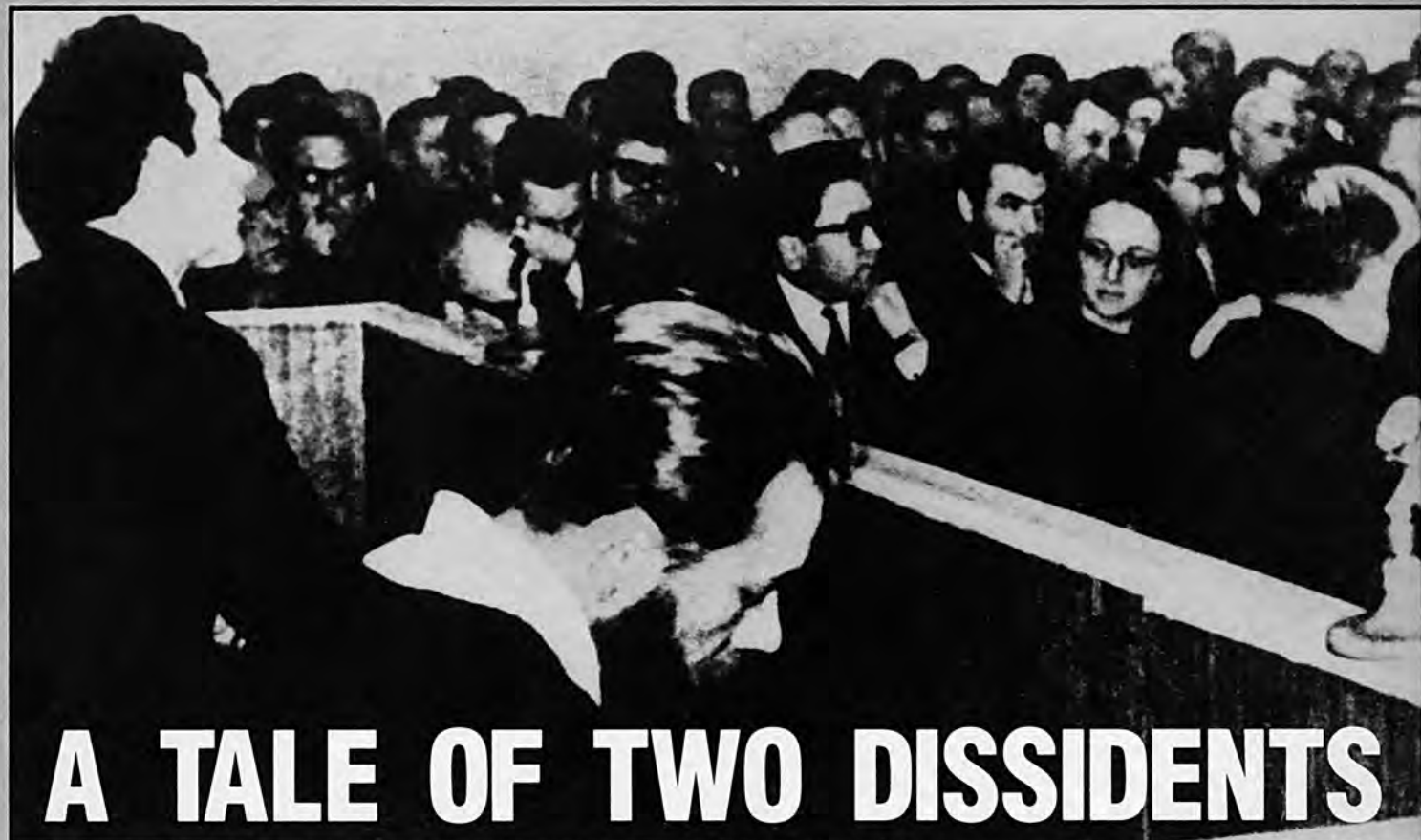
Lately we've been making extensive use of unconventional methods of treatment, including acupuncture, herbs, folk medicine, stress-relieving therapy, and a combination of hypnosis and acupuncture.

We've also developed and patented a biological method called "sparing therapy." The patient is prescribed groups of amino acids, either in tablets or in powder form, which always accumulate in certain quantities in the body, influencing its biochemical processes. This method is very good because it produces no side effects.

As a member of the National Center for Medical and Biological Problems of Drunkenness and Alcoholism, our hospital has many opportunities in this field. We also maintain contacts with our American colleagues and are searching together for ways of solving our common problems.

Dr. Eduard Drozdov is Moscow's chief specialist in the treatment of chemical dependency and the head physician at Moscow's Hospital No. 17.





A TALE OF TWO DISSIDENTS

By Gennadi Yevgrafov and Mikhail Karpov

It was September 8, 1965, and the first literature lecture of the new semester at Moscow's Art Theater Drama School was canceled. None of the students knew why. The man who was to deliver the lecture—a research fellow from the Institute of World Literature and, according to poet Alexander Tvardovsky, one of the best literary critics of his generation—was arrested on his way to the school. The man's name was Andrei Sinyavsky, but he was also known by his literary pseudonym, Abram Tertz.

Four days later, poet and translator Yuli Daniel (also known by his literary pseudonym, Nikolai Arzhak) was arrested at Moscow's Vnukovo Airport. Both men were charged with publishing "anti-Soviet" literature abroad.

The foreign press reacted strongly to the news of the arrests. Many commentators wrote that every writer had the right to express his or her views about society, and that only a sick society could consider this right a crime.

**"I believe that you
cannot apply juridical
formulas to fiction."**

Andrei Sinyavsky

The reassessment of Soviet history now under way in the USSR has affected not only the Stalin era, with its notorious show trials, but also the more recent period of persecution of "dissidents." One of the first dissident trials was that of Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel. The two articles that follow were published in the magazine *Ogonyok*.

Many Western cultural personalities sent letters and telegrams to Alexei Kosygin, then Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, questioning the right of the authorities to persecute people for their literary activities. The messages urged the Soviet leaders to demonstrate tolerance and expressed the hope that the arrested men would not be prosecuted.

The Soviet public learned about the arrest only on January 13, 1966. By that time all the evidence of the "illegal" actions of the defendants had already been collected, and the scenario of the trial had been written. There was no longer any need to conceal the affair from the public.

"I should explain why I decided to publish my work in the West rather than in the Soviet Union," Sinyavsky wrote in the Soviet magazine *Inostrannaya literatura* (*Foreign Literature*) in February 1989. "As a professional critic, I knew that my style—nothing else—was out of place in the Soviet press of that time. It simply did not fit in with the tradition and circum-

stances of that time. So I sent my writings to the West in the hope that their publication there would save them for a better time. No one knew when this time would come. Generally, I think artists cannot be persecuted for political reasons."

On February 10, 1966, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation met in Moscow to hear the case. Sinyavsky and Daniel were charged under Part I of Article 70 (antigovernment activities) of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation.

In the press it was claimed that the trial was open to the public, but one had to have a special pass to attend the hearings. Pass cards of different colors were printed for every hearing. Who issued those passes, and where, was not known to the public. Only the wives of the defendants were allowed to attend all the hearings. Nobody else could get a pass to more than one hearing.

At the trial Sinyavsky tried to explain that in his works *Lyubimov*, *The Trial Begins*, and *The Ground Covered with Ice*, he was not expressing his political views and that hyperbole, irony, and the grotesque were elements of his literary style. One of the procurators cut him short, declaring that a courtroom was not the place for lectures on literature. The judge supported the procurator. "We are not having a literary discussion; we are studying the legal aspects of the case," the judge said.

The trial was coming to an end. After the witnesses and the defendants had been questioned, it was time for the state and public procurators to make their closing statements.

Here is a passage from the statement of the state procurator, Oleg Temushkin, which was made on February 12, 1966: "I accuse Sinyavsky and Daniel of antigovernment activity. They wrote and published as works of literature dirty lampoons calling for the overthrow of the Soviet system, and they spread slander disguised as fiction. Their actions were not an accidental mistake. They are tantamount to treason. I ask the court to sentence Sinyavsky to seven years in prison and five years in exile, and Daniel to five years in prison and three years in exile."



Facing page: Freedom of expression on trial, 1966. Poet and translator Yuli Daniel (left) and writer and literary critic Andrei Sinyavsky in the dock. Above: Sinyavsky (front) and Daniel bear the coffin of officially disgraced poet Boris Pasternak, 1960.

Then the defendants' lawyers took the floor. Sinyavsky's lawyer said that the court had failed to provide any evidence of anti-Sovietism in Sinyavsky's works or to prove that he had any intention of subverting or damaging the Soviet system. Daniel's defense lawyer spoke in the same vein.

"The arguments of the prosecution have not convinced me," Sinyavsky said in his concluding statement. "I haven't changed my views. . . . The position of the prosecution is this: Fiction is a form of agitation and propaganda; agitation can be either Soviet or anti-Soviet, and since our works are not Soviet, then they are anti-Soviet. I don't agree with that."

"We are told to evaluate our works ourselves and to admit that they are sinful and slanderous," Daniel said. "But we can't say that. We wrote what we thought was right. . . . No articles of the Criminal Code and no charges will prevent us from consider-

ing ourselves men who love their country and people. That's all. I am ready to hear the verdict."

The court ruled in favor of the prosecution, and on the next day Soviet newspapers announced to the Soviet people and the whole world, "The slanderers have been judged."

Daniel served his full term. He loaded logs onto trucks and made gloves and mesh bags. And he wrote poetry. After his release he lived in Kaluga, where he worked at a factory. He was subsequently given permission to move to Moscow and do translation work. However, he had to publish his translations under the pseudonym "Y. Petrov."

Many years later, when a correspondent of the weekly *Moskovskiy novosti* (*Moscow News*) asked him why he had not left the Soviet Union, Daniel said: "I stayed in my own country because I belong here. I did not know what I could do if I emigrated. Why did Sinyavsky emigrate? Well, everybody is free to make their own choice. He did what he thought was right. I did then what I thought was right. My conscience is clear."

Sinyavsky spent six years in a prison camp. He wrote three books there: *A Voice from the Choir*, *Strolling with Pushkin*, and *In the Shadow of Gogol*. In 1973 he emigrated with his family to France. His monograph about the Russian writer, essayist, and philosopher Vasili Rozanov and the novel *Goodnight!* were written and published in the West.

Now Sinyavsky is a professor at the Sorbonne, and his wife, Maria Rozanova, is the editor and publisher of the independent Russian magazine *Syntax*.

This is what Sinyavsky wrote in 1989: "With my soul and my heart I am linked with Russian culture. But I think it is absolutely unimportant where a writer's body is officially registered. So when I am asked if I am going to return, I say: 'Let my books return.'"

Yuli Daniel died on December 31, 1988, after a long illness. But he lived to see his works published in the most popular monthly literary magazines in the Soviet Union. Andrei Sinyavsky's works have also been published in the USSR.

A PASS TO SEE THE TRIAL

By Yevgeni Yevtushenko

Shortly before his death, Yuli Daniel gave an interview to the newspaper *Moskovskiye novosti* (Moscow News). The interview was published on September 11, 1988. "Strange as it may seem," Daniel said, "in the courtroom there were many well-wishers who sent out a warm wave of sympathy. I remember Yevtushenko's anxious face and other faces, all of them expressing sympathy."

Before the 1966 sedition trial of Yuli Daniel and Andrei Sinyavsky, I had not been well acquainted with those authors' books. I had read only Sinyavsky's foreword to a one-volume collection of Boris Pasternak's works, and some of Daniel's translations. The pseudonyms Nikolai Arzhak and Abram Tertz (who turned out to be Daniel and Sinyavsky, respectively) were familiar to me. But frankly speaking, I didn't much like what they wrote and even thought that it was mere fiction invented abroad rather than original literature. The disclosure of the pseudonyms, as well as the arrests of Sinyavsky and Daniel, shocked the Soviet intellectual community.

When I heard about the arrests, I met with Pyotr Demichev, then a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and asked him not to prosecute Sinyavsky and Daniel. Demichev said he personally was against the trial. He added that Brezhnev had been informed of the arrest after the fact and had decided to discuss with Konstantin Fedin, then head of the USSR Writers Union, the question whether to begin a trial or to organize an informal investigation within the union. Fedin, however, had waved his hand in disgust and said that it



The author (left) with Robert Kennedy in New York.

was beneath the union's dignity to deal with criminals.

A group of intellectuals wrote a letter protesting the contemplated trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel. There were other letters of this kind. One of them bore my signature. However, despite all the protests, the trial did take place. We were given free passes—one free pass per person.

After the trial, a new word was coined: *podpisant*, meaning someone who has signed a letter in support of dissidents. *Podpisants* were blacklisted on television. Their trips abroad were canceled, and some of the offenders lost their jobs. Since I was among them, I've had a lot of troubles too. But, unlike many of my colleagues, I felt protected by my popularity at home and abroad.

When I was in the United States in November of 1966, Senator Robert Kennedy invited me to his New York headquarters. Our meeting lasted for several hours. During our conversation he led me to the bathroom,

turned the shower on, and told me confidentially that, according to his sources, the pseudonyms of Sinyavsky and Daniel had been revealed to the KGB by a representative of a Western secret service. I was much more naive at that time, and I did not understand what could have been the purpose of such a disclosure. Kennedy smiled bitterly and said that it was a rather strong propaganda ruse, which would move the bomb attacks in Vietnam into the background and focus attention on the persecution of intellectuals in the Soviet Union. I asked Kennedy for permission to pass on the information to the Soviet Government. Kennedy agreed, but on condition that I not mention his name.

I met with a member of the Soviet Mission at the United Nations, whom I will call N.D.—Noble Diplomat—and told him what I had heard. N.D. did not even try to find out who the source of the information was—for him my gentlemanly description, "an

influential American politician" was enough. N.D. asked me to write a telegram so that he could encode it and send it to Moscow.

The next morning, at about 7 o'clock, the telephone rang. A male voice said that a car had been sent for me from the mission and asked me to come downstairs. I told my wife that if I did not return or phone before 1 P.M., she must call a press conference. There were tears in her eyes, but she behaved courageously. In the lobby two men with meaty and unimpressive faces were waiting for me. When I asked what the matter was, one of them said, "You'll find out soon enough."

The room I was taken to was almost empty. There was only a table, two chairs, and a lamp. I was offered the chair at the table. One of the men stood behind my back. The other, following the classical Hollywood formula, took off his jacket, threw it on the back of the chair, sat on the table, and leisurely crossed his legs. Staring at me with what he thought was a piercing look, he asked, "Who was the political leader you mentioned in the telegram?"

I decided to stall for time: "Which telegram?"

"The telegram that defames the KGB," the man behind my back roared.

"I'm not trying to defame anyone," I said, seeing that that game was useless. "I only wrote what I had learned from an American politician. If this information is correct, those who have arrested Sinyavsky and Daniel have put a slur on our country's prestige and have simply fallen into a trap."

"It's slander!" bellowed the man sitting on the table.

"If it is, I'm not responsible for it. In Moscow they'll soon find out the particulars."

Then, at machine-gun speed, the two men began to name American politicians I had met with. Among them was Robert Kennedy. Trying hard to keep my cool, I said that there were laws of decency that I would never break.

Then I heard a phrase which sent chills up my back. "New York is a city of gangsters," one of them said.

"If anything happens to you, *Pravda* will publish a sentimental obituary about a poet killed in the stone jungles of capitalism."

I suddenly felt that my fear was gone. "This is brazen extortion," I thought. I spun around sharply, grabbed the investigator who had been standing behind my back by the tie, and fired a volley of the most spicy four-letter words I could think of. Taken aback, my "investigators" fell silent and, exchanging glances, left the room.

When I found myself alone, my fear returned. I cannot say how much time I spent there—it could have been five minutes or half an hour. But

"New York is a city
of gangsters," one
of them said. "If
anything happens
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publish a
sentimental
obituary about a
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stone jungles of
capitalism."

when I came to my senses, I walked up to the door and pulled the handle. The door opened easily. I found myself in an empty corridor not far from an elevator. I pushed the button and rushed inside, nearly knocking down a maid.

N.D. sat on the sofa, reading a book on Eastern philosophy. Not a single muscle in his face twitched as I narrated my story. He did not ask me a single unnecessary question and only asked me to describe the "investigators" in more detail. This was difficult to do, because their chief characteristic was that they had no distinctive features.

"You have a good friend here, Pro-

fessor Albert Todd. Go see him immediately, and tell him what you have just told me," said N.D. "You can use my car, and please trust the driver completely."

Half an hour later I was at Todd's home. I phoned my wife and then told my host about the interrogation and about the extortion attempt.

Todd went pale when he heard my story. He rushed out of the room to make a telephone call, closing the door behind him. He did not ask me who had told me about Sinyavsky and Daniel. Like N.D., he was a gentleman. Two hours later, a car stopped at the building's entrance. Two men, also without distinctive features, but American-style, got out and stood in front of the entrance. Todd went downstairs, said something to the Soviet driver, and shook hands with him. The latter drove off. For some time those silent men accompanied me through the "gangster-blighted" city of New York.

Then Todd and I set out on a provincial tour, without guards. We were back in about a month. The Soviet Mission at the UN organized a grandiose reception in my honor. N.D. stood at the door.

"Your two obtrusive admirers have been sent home," he whispered to me.

Shortly thereafter, then KGB chief Vladimir Semichastny was deposed. Unfortunately, however, the trials of the dissidents after that of Sinyavsky and Daniel gradually acquired the inertia of an avalanche. The dissident trials of that period certainly undermined our country's prestige abroad. But more importantly, they had long-lasting effects on the Soviet people, destroying in us our sense of human and civic dignity.

Perestroika is the process of restoring dignity. To confirm legal dignity in our laws, it wouldn't hurt to recall the trials of dissidents—an ugly way of humiliating people.

Yevgeni Yevtushenko is a well-known Soviet poet. His works are widely read in the Soviet Union and have been translated into many foreign languages. Yevtushenko is also a People's Deputy to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

the arts

GZHEL

a 650-year-old art

Photographs by Alexei Sverdlov

In celebration of the 650 years since Gzhel ceramics came into being, an exhibition was held recently in Moscow. The show featured the best of what has been created by Gzhel craftspeople. It was a tremendous success.

Visitors at the exhibition found themselves in a fairy-tale atmosphere. On display were about 500 unique exhibits, which included tea services, pitchers, vases, plates, and various small decorative articles.

Gzhel is an ancient village 60 kilometers southeast of Moscow. It is also the birthplace of the old Russian craft of the same

name, a craft that was first mentioned in one of the decrees of Muscovite Prince Ivan Kalita in the fourteenth century. The year 1339, when the first written mention of Gzhel appears, is generally considered to be the official date of the craft's birth.

Until the eighteenth century Gzhel artisans made plain and enameled pottery and toys. Later, the craftspeople mastered the art of majolica. In the nineteenth century they switched over to the production of faience, semifaience, and porcelain—the local clay is of an extremely high quality and, if properly treated, turns pure white.

Today the Gzhel factories produce mostly a special kind of ceramic, in white and blue. This art has been passed from generation to generation and has a style all its own. Its grace, originality, and delicate decorative appeal are very distinctive. The pottery is painted by hand, so Gzhel pieces are quite expensive. Nevertheless, the demand for them is great in the Soviet Union and in more than 20 other countries. ■



Left: Ceramics by Vladimir Petrov.
Above: Nineteenth century pitcher.
Top: Eighteenth century pitcher.
Facing page: Olga Talagayeva's work is ingenious and laconic.



Wanted: Pen Pals

Lucas Ginn was leafing through the January 1989 edition of *SOVIET LIFE* when he noticed a new feature, "Readers Want to Know." The very beginning of the article was about finding a pen pal in the Soviet Union. The 16-year-old Ginn had been trying to do just that since he was nine years old, but with no success. Encouraged by the specific list of places to write, he selected the last name, *Studenchesky meridian* (*Student Meridian*), a publication of the Young Communist League (Komsomol) and the USSR State Committee for Education, and wrote to the address given. He assumed that someone in the editorial office of *Student Meridian* would match him up with a Soviet teenager of similar interests. Several months went by without a response, and Ginn was beginning to lose hope. Then in August he received a letter written in Russian, which he does not know how to read. The following day another letter arrived, this one in both English and Russian. The next day Ginn and his parents and brothers went away on

vacation. When they returned home, 42 letters from the Soviet Union were waiting in the mailbox! Ginn has personally replied to several of the letters and plans to ask other students at his school to respond to the others.

Soviet young people are extremely anxious to correspond with students in the United States, as Lucas Ginn's experience demonstrates. A new organization, Soviet-American Penfriend Exchange (SAPE), established by Michele Cervoni of New York and Marina Prokhorova of Chelyabinsk, intends to make it easier to find someone with whom to correspond. The goals of SAPE are to promote world peace and to contribute to the new American Field Service U.S.-USSR Student Exchange Program, which just began this year. The first exchange, in February 1989, involved 20 students from the Soviet Union who spent a month living with American families and attending school. The 1989-1990 academic year is the first full-year exchange, involving 50 students from each country.

The initial response to information about SAPE was quite overwhelming.

Pionerskaya pravda, the newspaper of the Young Pioneers, printed an article about SAPE in August, and in the first eight weeks, the responses totaled more than 5,000, with 25 to 50 new letters arriving every day. Most of the young people who responded are between the ages of 10 and 16 and are able to write in English, German, French, or Spanish, although some can only correspond in Russian.

If you wish to request a pen pal through SAPE, please send a short letter addressed to Soviet-American Penfriend Exchange, P.O. Box 1828, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013 U.S.A. Give your age, sex, hobbies, and languages you can write. Please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope and a check or money order for \$1.00. At the end of each year half of the profits from SAPE will be donated to the American Field Service U.S.-USSR Student Exchange Program; the remainder will be reinvested in the expansion of the program. For further information contact Michele Cervoni at (212) 925-9599 between the hours of 10:00 A.M. and 7:00 P.M. EST. ■

DO YOU KNOW THIS MAN?



In our November 1989 issue, we printed an article entitled "Rescue of a Soviet Navigator," based on the reminiscences of retired Lieutenant General Mikhail Machin. As you may remember, the commander of the flying boat that rescued the Soviet navigator was an American lieutenant. Unfortunately, Machin had forgotten the name of the brave American pilot, but he, Machin, gave us this wartime photograph. At the left is Machin. At the right is this unknown lieutenant. Maybe he is alive, or perhaps his relatives or friends can identify him. Please let us know if you have any information about this man.

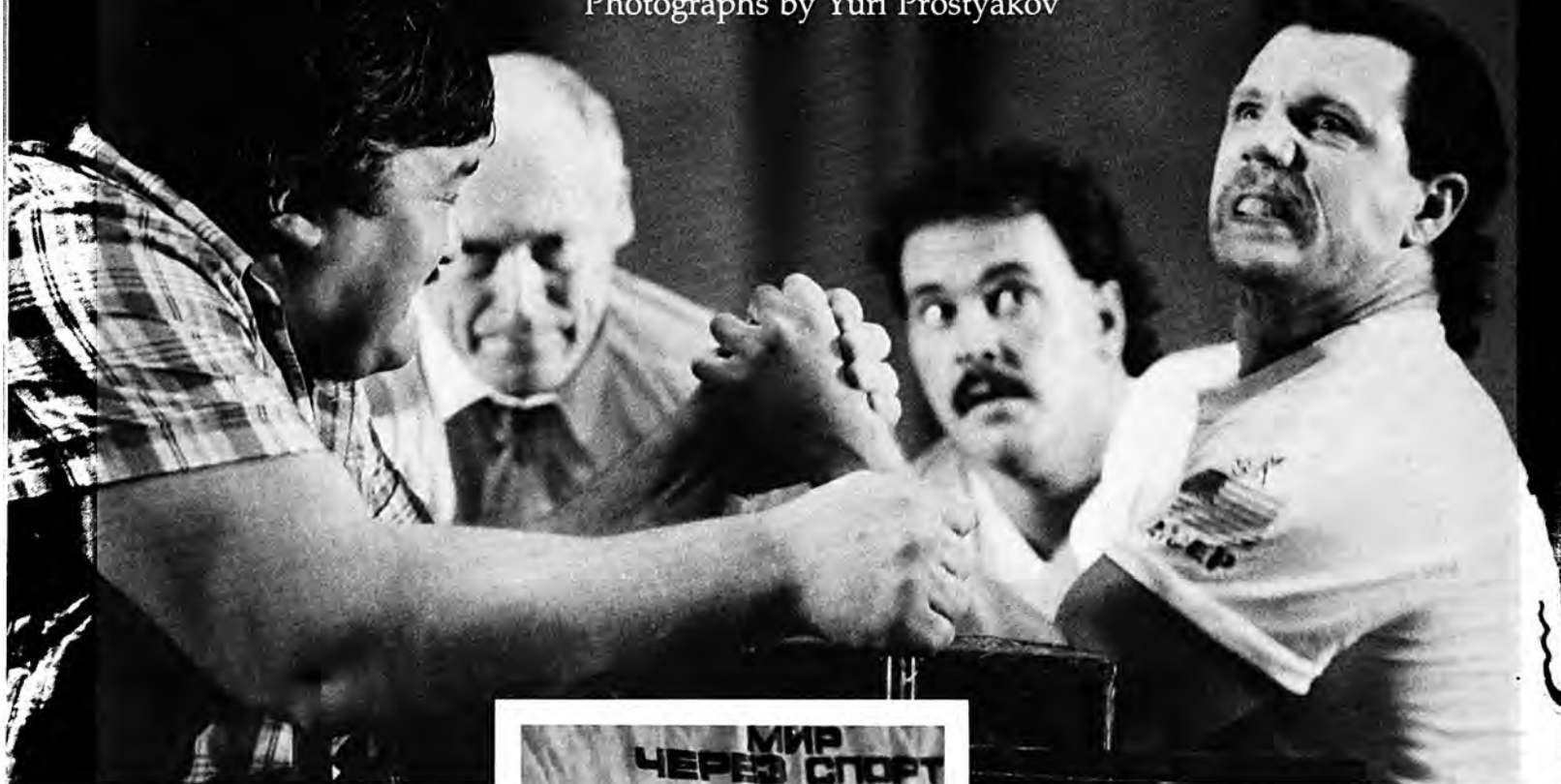
HUMOR



Cartoon by Alexander Pronichkin

PULLING FOR PEACE

By Oleg Goryunov
Photographs by Yuri Prostyakov



From time immemorial, men all over the world have arm-wrestled as a test of strength. Until recently, though, most Soviet sports fans were probably not aware that arm wrestling is a real sport, with its own rules and international tournaments.

But not long ago Soviet, American, and Canadian arm wrestlers gathered in Moscow for a three-day competition. The teams that came to Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Federation of Dumbbell Lifting and Power Show Programs were composed of national and world champions. For lack of arm wrestlers of its own, the federation entered on its team weight lifters and body builders. The Rovesnik International Initiatives Center became the spon-



sor of this first tournament.

Of course, the Soviet competitors lacked international experience and had more than their share of losses. Seventy-kilogram Ray Taglean, of the United States, seven times a world champion, quickly defeated Mark Bogorad of Moscow, who weighs 110 kilograms.

The Soviet athletes' arms ached so much that the wrestlers had to replace one another in subsequent clashes or wrestle with their left arm, which was also allowed by mutual agreement. The guests always graciously honored their hosts' requests.

But the Soviet team also scored its victories. Sultan Rakhmanov, Olympic champion in weightlifting, rose to the occasion, winning one bout and drawing in another with a

A new twist on the arms race: Arthur "Badger" Drewes gives Oleg Tarasenko a run for his money. Left: A special "Peace Through Sports" T-shirt, signed by the Soviet team.



Above:
Ray Taglean,
seven-time
lightweight
champion of
the world, in
action. Left:
The referee
checks to see
that the grip is
correct.

friendly smile. Valeri Kuznetsov, national champion in power lifting, also competed on a par with the experienced visitors.

The public showed a keen interest in the tournament. Soon afterward, the Moscow Physical Training Institute held an arm-wrestling championship for its students from different countries. Soviet athletes are to pay a return visit to the United States in March.

Arm wrestling is now rapidly gaining in popularity in the USSR, along with baseball and American football. ■

**NEXT
ISSUE**



THE PHENOMENAL PASTERNAK

To mark the 100th anniversary of Russian poet Boris Pasternak's birth, the March issue contains a block of articles, including an essay by Lev Ozerov, a poet and historian who knew Pasternak intimately; a review of a new Soviet-British film, *Boris Pasternak*; and a sampling of the great poet's works.

THE GREAT LAKES AND LAKE BAIKAL

Scientists from the Center for Great Lakes Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, traveled to the shores of Lake Baikal last fall to study the water of the lake, together with their colleagues from the Limnology Institute of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in Irkutsk. Baikal, more a sea than a lake, contains one-fifth of the globe's fresh water, and it can provide invaluable data on improving the plight of the Great Lakes.

COMING SOON

**Moscow: The City and Its People
A Special Issue**

Merry-Go-Round, by Vladimir Petrov, is an example of the ceramics produced in the ancient town of Gzhel. See the story on page 60.



Soviet Life

March 1990 • \$2.25

NEW JOINT
SOVIET-BRITISH
MOVIE
PRODUCTION
**BORIS
PASTERNAK**



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SANTA COMES TO MOSCOW

This past winter in the USSR has truly been the winter of our discontent, with ethnic, political, social, and economic strife flaring up again and again. But we are all human on our far from perfect, yet beautiful, planet Earth, and we did pause from the cares and woes to celebrate Christmas and New Year's Day. The warmth of the decorated fir trees beckoned all of us to forget

our troubles and the complexities of the present-day world, even if only for a time.

This year, in the best spirit of citizen diplomacy, 200 Americans donned Santa Claus suits and crossed the ocean. The Santas descended on Moscow's streets, bringing Soviet children holiday cheer and post cards from their peers in the United States.

SOVIET LIFE photographer Alexander Melnikov caught the smiling Santas in front of St. Basil's Cathedral in Red Square. ■

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Front Cover: Actress Darya Khudyakova, a star in a movie about poet Boris Pasternak's life. See story on page 54. The photograph is by Alexander Grashchenkov.



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EDITOR'S NOTES

In Editor's Notes in December, I mentioned that 1989 had been a difficult year for the Soviet Union, replete with dramatic events that were quite unexpected in many respects.

The year 1990 has opened on a similar note. A blood bath occurred in Transcaucasia, leaving a number of people dead or wounded and forcing others to flee. Not long ago, in December 1988, the Armenian people suffered a devastating earthquake, and seismologists haven't ruled out the possibility of a recurrence. The most recent calamity to hit this area had nothing to do with the blind force of nature. But it was a force blinded by material hardships, national prejudice, and a tendency to make scapegoats of your neighbors. Dark forces interested in undermining *perestroika* had a hand in it too.

It's really a shame that this calamity could not have been foreseen, however, even though events pointed to its coming last year both in Transcaucasia and other regions.

The fighting left many people doubting whether we were right to criticize the past so zealously. Any way you look at it, they say, the outrages of today would never have happened yesterday.

But people who are so nostalgic for the past forget it *was* the past, with its lawlessness and abuse of human rights, particularly in Central Asia and the Caucasus, that gave birth to the aggressive, destructive forces with their disrespect for law, with their intolerance toward people of different nationalities, different faiths, or different philosophies of life.

But blaming everything on the past isn't right either. We aren't yet prepared to live democratically. Bodies of state power and legal institutions have been losing time, while many local leaders haven't managed to mend their ways. Ordinary citizens also must bear some responsibility for what is going on in the country. Rights and responsibilities do go hand in hand. Meanwhile, democracy continues to put us to a difficult test.

Robert Tsfasman

MAKING PROGRESS

The second session of the Congress of People's Deputies met in Moscow from December 12 to December 24, 1989 — two days longer than planned.

The people's deputies discussed major issues of concern for the entire country, including constitutional changes and economic reform. SOVIET LIFE correspondent Pavel Antonov reports on the major results.

Mikhail Gorbachev confers with
People's Deputy Mikhail Bocharov.



The state of the country's economy was the most important question discussed at the second session of the Congress of People's Deputies. The discussion on a program for economic recovery proposed by Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolai Ryzhkov, on the stages of economic reform, and on the principles of drawing up the thirteenth five-year plan took seven days.

Chairman Ryzhkov said that he had three reform strategies on his desk. The first envisaged gradual and partial reforms in the economic system. Some saw this as slow. The second called for an immediate switch to a market economy. However, Ryzhkov warned, a headlong rush to a market economy might have serious economic and social repercussions, such as inflation and unemployment.

Members of the Inter-Regional Group meet during a break in the session.

The third option, which had government support, detailed a program that combined vigorous efforts to deepen the reform with realistic and balanced actions at all levels of management of the economy. But the program rejected the legalization of private ownership of the means of production and of land and the large-scale denationalization of state-owned property.

Although the government plan seemed to incorporate all constructive proposals, it came under strong criticism at the Congress. The reformist radicals proposed that it be rejected. Another group of lawmakers urged that it be neither approved nor rejected and thusly the Congress would not have responsibility for it. A third proposal called for approval of the government plan after a series of amendments were made in it.

After much discussion the deputies demanded a roll-call vote. The final tally was as follows: 1,532 for approval of the government-sponsored plan; 419 against. Forty-four deputies abstained.

Many of the deputies who voted for approval later stated that they had endorsed the government plan mainly because no one had offered a constructive alternative. Gavriil Popov, the economic leader of the Inter-Regional Group of more than 350 deputies, did suggest that as an alternative a comprehensive rationing system be introduced that would guarantee consumers a certain minimum of goods. However, when pressed on how to implement the plan, he hesitated for a long time and finally never gave a straight answer.

The program for economic recovery that was approved is projected for six ▶



years. It is to be implemented in two stages. During the first stage, from 1990 to 1992, the government intends to sharply reduce the budget deficit and halt the collapse of the consumer goods market. These objectives will be achieved through tough administrative measures combined with the introduction of more and more market mechanisms.

Industries manufacturing consumer goods are to increase their output by 7.6 per cent, whereas growth in the basic industries is planned at 0.8 per cent. This is a very significant change in Soviet economic strategy.

Investments in industrial construction in 1990 will be reduced by 27 billion rubles, as compared with the earlier approved plan, while budget allocations for social programs will grow by five billion rubles. The following year, 1991, output of con-

sumer goods will amount to 66 billion rubles, a fourfold increase in the average annual production during the past five years. At the end of 1988 the budget deficit totaled 120 billion rubles. By the end of last year it had dropped to 92 billion rubles, and this year it is to be further reduced to 60 billion rubles. A price reform is to be carried out, and a single taxation system is to be introduced.

During the second stage of the reform, covering the period between 1993 and 1995, major changes are to be made in the economic system. Different forms of property ownership will be introduced, new management structures will be created, and a market mechanism will be built. The way to the second stage of reforms will be opened by the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is to act on a series of economic laws, includ-

ing a law on ownership rights, a law on land, a tax law, and a law on state enterprise.

The government intended to implement its program through a variety of means, including the conversion of defense factories and plants to civilian production. Under this plan, which is also projected till the year 1995, 420 defense plants will be switched over to the production of consumer goods.

Other business on the agenda had to do with amendments to the election laws. Discussion on this issue took two days. The stumbling block was Article 95 of the USSR Constitution as amended in December 1988 by the Twelfth Special Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This article states that one-third of all seats in the Congress of People's Deputies be elected from public organizations, such as the Communist Party, the

Politburo member and People's Deputy Yegor Ligachev (right) at the Congress.



Komsomol, trade unions, cooperatives, and professional unions.

At its regular autumn session a month earlier, the USSR Supreme Soviet had voted to strike this clause and recommended that the Congress of People's Deputies—the sole legislative body empowered to amend the Constitution—endorse this change. Supporters of this change claimed that Article 95 violated the one-man, one-vote principle because it enables one person to vote four or five times—for example, as a member of the Communist Party, as a trade union activist, and as a member of different professional organizations.

These deputies also argued that the clause violated the principle of equality: The trade unions, with a membership of 140 million, have 100 seats in parliament, while the Writers Union, with 9,000 members, has 10 seats.

Economist Gavriil Popov (left) looks over a congressional resolution.

Elections from public organizations were seen, too, as a means of securing seats for candidates who would almost surely fail to obtain the required votes in a territorial district.

After heated debate a compromise solution was adopted: A segment of the deputies in the union and autonomous republics may be elected from public organizations if a republic's constitution permits election from public organizations.

The compromise decision of the Congress set into law the election laws of two republics, Kazakhstan and Byelorussia.

Another item on the agenda dealing with the draft law on constitutional compliance unexpectedly provoked heated debate. Deputies from the Baltic republics added fuel to the controversy. They vehemently ob-

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Thank you for "Editor's Notes" in the January issue of SOVIET LIFE. I've been a reader for some time now; a friend used to pass the magazine on to me. When, in 1988, you published "Documents and Materials" from the Nineteenth All-Union Conference as a special supplement, I decided I really should subscribe but procrastinated—until one day my friend moved away!

When I did subscribe a year ago, I expected to find in-depth articles of the caliber of the "Documents and Materials" supplement. For the most part I have been disappointed.

I don't mean you should limit the magazine to analytical articles or only to those discussing problems. I do think, though, that the informative articles should be more "in-depth."

Julia Lutsky

Woodside, New York

This letter is about the article "Crime Without Punishment: Philosophy and Genetics" that appeared in the January 1990 issue.

Thank you for publishing this article and allowing us to see a little about the thwarted development of Soviet genetics.

I would be interested in seeing other articles that deal with the application of philosophy to various areas in the USSR. I would like to see not only articles dealing with where things went wrong in previous decades but also articles dealing with how things are being correctly analyzed and dealt with now by applying philosophical principles to their understanding.

Mark E. Ritchey

Columbia, Missouri



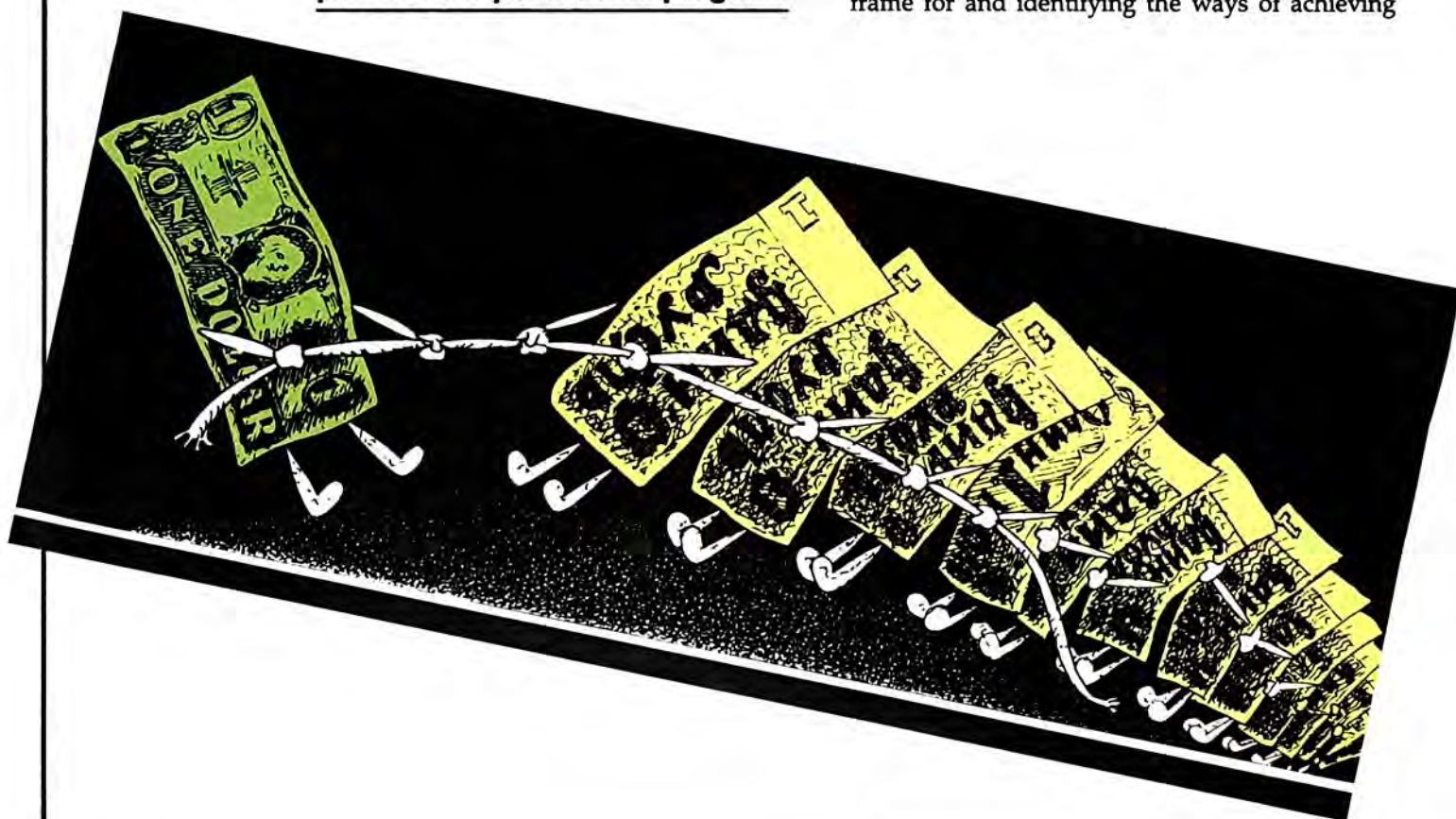
What are the chances for a **CONVERTIBLE RUBLE?**

By Nikolai Shefov
Candidate of Science (Economics)

At the center of debate among economists, both Soviet and others, is how to make the ruble convertible. Even at this point objective conditions exist for partial ruble convertibility in the context of direct transactions, free economic zones, and currency auctions. Of crucial importance, though, is the success of Soviet economic reform, which is the main plank of the *perestroika* program.

Most Soviet and foreign economists now accept the need for a convertible ruble, which they believe would make it possible to bridge the gap between the domestic and foreign markets, to effect de facto commercial and self-financing arrangements in foreign trade, and to open up economically to the outside world. A convertible ruble would allow a meaningful comparison between product quality and productive inputs both within the country and with world indices. It would boost business transactions and the development of joint ventures and international tourism, and would be instrumental in collating and calculating Soviet lending and borrowing with respect to other countries.

The merits of a convertible currency are beyond doubt. The problem lies in setting the time frame for and identifying the ways of achieving



full convertibility. Given the uncertainty of the current Soviet economic scene, views on the issue vary.

Indeed, is the Soviet Union ready to go whole hog at this juncture? Some economists say Yes, others are not so sure. Several Western experts claim that the only hurdle to convertibility is the traditional Soviet national pride. If the official exchange rate of the ruble were to be abolished, they argue, the ruble would drop sharply against the dollar, and convertibility would come about naturally.

But it is one thing to publish actual exchange ratios; it's quite another to introduce the free exchange of the Soviet currency and to guarantee its proper standing in the world.

Count Witte, a leading public figure and Minister of Finance in prerevolutionary Russia and the man behind one of Russia's more successful monetary reforms that assured the ruble's convertibility into the gold equivalent for almost 20 years, said that the prestige of the nation depended on the strength of its national currency, not on its military troop strength and fire power.

Surely, a country cannot possibly have a strong national currency while it has a budget deficit of 100 billion rubles—11 to 12 per cent of its gross social product (GSP)—and while it has savings deposits accounting for more than four times the total value of its retail trade commodity stocks.

Should the ruble be made convertible overnight, it would automatically drop against other world currencies. So what, some say; devaluation has often served to stimulate exports—witness the development of the Federal Republic of Germany and postwar Japan and, more recently, South Korea. But, others argue, given the experience of the past few years, Soviet producers wouldn't be able to step up exports of competitive manufactured goods, not to mention raw materials, which are cheap even now.

And again, would foreign partners, such as leading banks and firms engaging in foreign trade, be willing to buy Soviet rubles? What these counterparts view as the basic condition for a currency to meet is that it should be backed by an adequate amount of quality products. And this is something the USSR still lacks.

We may well imagine how Soviet enterprises and consumers would rush to convert their hundreds of billions of depreciated rubles into, say, dollars. The situation wouldn't be very different from the regular crush and lining up for scarce goods in Moscow shops.

It's not difficult to foresee the implications. To balance demand and supply, the ruble will plummet even further, and there's no telling where it would stop.

A healthy economy means a healthy currency. So, if full convertibility is to be achieved, we need more than common desire and governmental resolve. The important thing is to sort out at least some of the current domestic economic problems.

The monetarist concept regarding money as the universal regulator is hardly applicable to the specific Soviet setting. For one thing, there's not much to regulate. There's no free flow of goods and services, with most of the goods being centrally allocated rather than sold. Then again, stocks are nowhere near the amount necessary for a normal market balance.

That said, the economists who favor a phased-in transition to convertibility appear to be right. The first priority is to saturate the domestic market so that rubles could be easily converted into any goods. This is the objective we are working for at the moment.

The purchasing power of the ruble varies from region to region and from one sector of the population to another. Workers in different industries or trades may receive equal pay, but they may not always have equal access to the same range of commodities, the supply of which, simply, is limited. The system of various benefits, perks, privileges, and social benefits affects the value of the ruble. Then again, the old economic machinery of total administrative regimentation puts constraints on not only the development of commodity-money relations but also a free market.

These factors underline the necessity of doing at least two things at this point—of saturating the domestic market and of putting new economic machinery into place. An overhaul of the financial setup unbacked by economic successes would hardly be effective.

History shows that periods of major economic troubles are not the best times for a rapid transition to full convertibility. Suffice it to remember that during World War II and immediately after it all Western currencies were inconvertible, with the exception of the American dollar, the Swiss franc, and the Swedish krona.

And it wasn't until the Western countries had rebuilt their economies and saturated their markets with quality products that they made their currencies freely convertible. But even today these nations still have in place certain restrictions on operations with foreign currency.

Even at this point, many Soviet producers need hard currency to import equipment and consumer goods and for other purposes. The Law on State Enterprise and other government resolutions offer economic executives ample opportunities for establishing direct links with foreign markets. Enterprises that earn foreign ex-

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Guns for Butter CHANGING PRODUCTION

By Vasili Petrov

Announcing a 14.2 per cent cut in its military budget and a 19.5 per cent cut in munitions production, the Soviet Union has launched a large-scale program of switching defense plants to civilian production.

The T-22 tank can be modified into a cross-country vehicle for use in remote areas where roads are scarce. Below: This former gun mechanism is now hard at work sinking construction piles.



A plant in Odessa mounts its truck cranes on the chassis of the SS-20 missile.

The conversion of defense plants to civilian production has evoked wide discussion of the pros and cons among economists, defense-industry representatives, government officials, and shop-floor workers. Some people argue that the switchover of defense production to civilian production can play the role of a fire brigade by subduing the emotions fired up by shortages in consumer goods. Others counter that if conversion does not lead to a bustling retail trade, price reform, and other similar things, if the converted factories do not embark on a healthy competition for consumers, the converted plants will lose their present advantages and become indistinguishable from the rest.

The fact is, however, that consumer goods production has long ceased to be "alien" to the defense industry. "Practically every defense plant is involved in the manufacture of some type of consumer goods and has developed its own specialization," notes Igor Belousov, vice chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Commission for Industry and the Military. "Most of the goods are produced by independent shops, factories, and

subsidiaries. In making defense factories produce consumer goods, we rely on their time-tested and highly organized work collectives that have experience in filling major orders for military hardware. Years will be lost if consumer goods production is organized outside the defense industry."

Leonard Vid, deputy chairman of Gosplan, the State Planning Committee that also deals with conversion, agrees. Vid believes that scientists and engineers in the defense sector, who are accustomed to working with the most sophisticated equipment, will ensure the development and manufacture of new, high-tech competitive products for the civilian sector. "But," Vid states, "the conversion program will take time and money."

How will the conversion plan be introduced? Key areas have been designated for development as follows: agriculture and related industries, consumer goods production, retail and public-catering centers, medical equipment, informatics (electronics, computers, and communications), passenger planes, cruise ships, and ocean-going fishing vessels. Other promising areas are high-speed magnetic-levitation (maglev)

CONVERSION: FACTS AND FIGURES

☐ In 1990 Soviet defense factories will produce 1.4 times more nonfood items than in 1989.

☐ At present 40 per cent of Soviet defense plants are engaged in civilian-oriented production. In 1991 the figure will be increased to 50 per cent and in 1995, to 60 per cent.

☐ Soviet defense-related ministries also specialize in consumer goods. The USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry, which formerly made heavy-duty tractors, diesel engines, offshore and overland drilling rigs, motorcycles, photographic equipment, movie cameras, washing machines, refrigerators, and sporting guns, is now involved in the manufacture of packaging machines; equipment for the brewing, soft drink, food concentrate, canning, and sugar-refining industries; and potato-, fruit-, and vegetable-packing lines.

☐ The USSR Ministry of Medium Machine Building is actively retooling the dairy industry.

☐ The USSR Ministry of the Aircraft Industry has started producing baby carriages and strollers, and the USSR Min-

istry of the Electronics Industry has begun manufacturing videorecorders, videocameras, microcalculators, electronic watches, and microwave ovens.

☐ The USSR Ministry of the Means of Communication Industry is making TV sets, tape recorders, and radios.

☐ Over-all, with the exception of light industry, the defense sector at present accounts for one-fifth of all nonfoods output.

☐ The Soviet defense industry is producing all of the country's television sets and household sewing machines, over 97 per cent of its refrigerators and tape recorders, over one-half of its motorcycles, and approximately 70 per cent of its home vacuum cleaners and washing machines.

☐ By 1995 the defense sector will produce 2.3 times more, or nearly 50 per cent more in comparable prices, equipment for the consumer industries than it produced over the past 20 years.

☐ By 1995 the Soviet defense sector will manufacture 17.5 billion rubles' worth of equipment and spare parts, in addition to 3,000 new items, for use by agriculture and related industries.

☐ Converted defense factories are concentrating on expanding their current output of civilian goods or on developing totally new products. In 1990 the

Tomsk Polyot, a firm under the USSR Ministry of General Machine Building, will manufacture 35 million rubles' worth more automatic washing machines than in 1989. The Leningrad firm Bolshevik will speed up consumer production and begin making wheelchairs. Aircraft makers in Ulyanovsk and in Tashkent will cut their warplane production to build more TU-204 airliners and new IL-114 passenger planes.

☐ Votkinsk machine builders in the Urals have switched from making SS-20 missiles to heat-insulated containers. The five-axle trucks, which were formerly used to transport missiles, will carry milk, juice, and other beverages. Votkinsk's machine-building neighbors in Izhevsk have switched over to manufacturing compact automatic ice-cream machines.

☐ From 1990 to 1995 defense-sector production on medical equipment will more than double. The output of artificial-kidney machines, respirators, X-ray equipment, operating room tables, surgical and bactericidal lamps, pressure chambers, sterilizers, pacemakers, and disposable syringes will also increase.

☐ As in 1989, this year, too, the converted defense factories will have all profits made from expanded consumer production at their disposal.

passenger transport, gas-pumping units for pipelines, and equipment used in gas and oil production.

The state conversion program for the 1991-1995 five-year plan period, which has been developed jointly by the State Commission for Industry and the Military, Gosplan, the USSR Ministry of Defense, and other related ministries, will soon come up for approval. Two schedules that have been drawn up for the manufacture of civilian products in the military sector will involve 345 factories and over 200 leading military research institutions and design bureaus in the production of consumer goods and food.

What are the snags? According to Belousov, the defense sector provides other economic sectors with up to 100,000 sets of technical papers annually. However, no account is kept of how or even whether the technology is ever implemented, so it is hard to know if it is used to the best advantage. Most likely not, since the introduction of new technology requires time for adaptation and documentation. But recipients are too busy handling their own production problems.

Other people claim that for too long the defense sector's know-how was veiled in a cloak of secrecy, which prevented many useful technologies from being assimilated into mainstream industry. Greater openness, they say, is now changing the situation.

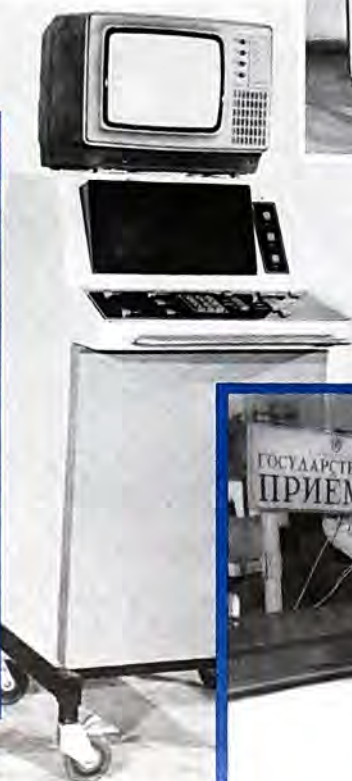
According to economist Sergei Blagovolin, two roadblocks now stand in the way of conversion: First, statistics on the number of defense plants and the size and qualifications of their personnel, as well as data on their equipment, feedstocks, and materials, are still inadequate. Second, in expectation of rapid

conversion, people are too eager for immediate results and fail to understand that conversion will involve a complete restructuring of a large part of Soviet industry and its administrative apparatus.

Also, there are the problems inherent in changing defense plants over to a cost-accounting basis. For factories that are used to unlimited funding and supplies, producing consumer goods comes as a great surprise. To be self-sufficient, the factories have to raise prices to cover costs.

In equipment, personnel standards, and production discipline, everyone agrees that the defense sector is ahead of the civilian. Defense plants have received the best of everything. However, as an increased share of production is assumed by the civilian sector, the defense sector's priority supply and, hence, the quality of its output will eventually diminish, economist Alexei Izyumov maintains.

Too many problems still exist for one to be overoptimistic. But one thing is clear: A tremendous saving of funds will result from the release of the enormous resources consumed by the Soviet military industry. Initially a costly undertaking, the conversion of factories from "guns to butter" will more than compensate for the expense.



Some munitions plants are now producing a wide variety of goods like TV sets (below). Others are making medical devices like the microwave irradiator (far left); the Rhythm machine (center), used in diagnosing heart disease; and the Palma blood analyzer (above).



HIGH TECH AND DOCTORS

By Vadim Savvin

Medicine will most likely experience the greatest benefit from the application of military technology to civilian production.

More than 25 years ago, in 1964, the Altair Research and production Association in Moscow, specializing in sophisticated military electronics, turned out its first civilian goods—the first Soviet-made electronic cardiac pacemakers. Today, approximately 11,000 pacemaker implants are performed annually in the USSR, with practically all of the devices produced by Altair technology.

Professor Sergei Grigorov, a leading authority on conduction system disease and heart rhythm disorders, heads the Cardiac Surgery Department at the A. V. Vishnevsky Institute of Surgery of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. He believes that the number of pacemaker implantations could easily be increased to 30,000 a year, if more surgeons could be trained and patients' fears could be alleviated.

With the estimated demand for implants running from 100,000 to 150,000, doctors are looking with great interest at the new generation pacemaker being developed at Moscow's City Hospital No. 4. Working together, experts from Altair, members of Grigorov's staff, and specialists at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Control Problems, headed by Professor Yuri Fatkin, have already come up with instruments and software that can simulate the conduction system of the heart and a method for stimulating it.

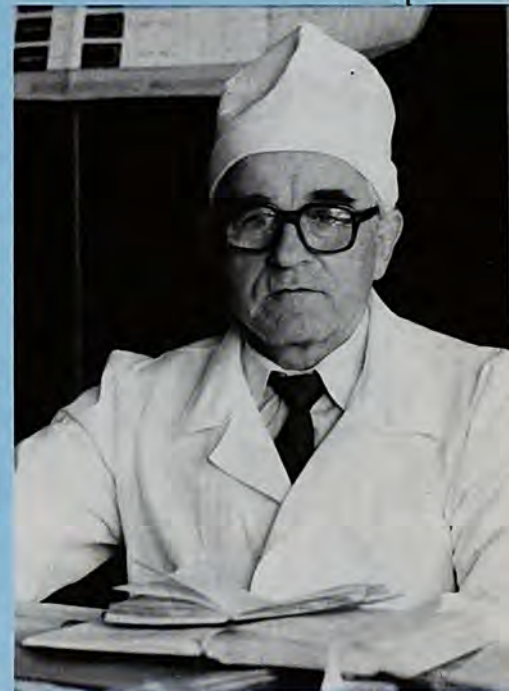
Since 1964, Altair has developed and put into production a whole class of medical equipment, including instruments for electric, thermal, and vibrational acupuncture, which allow for operations to be performed without anesthesia.

One instrument already in series production can record electrocardiograms from 64 points on the heart simultaneously. The data, which are processed by the instrument's built-in computer, provide the doctor with a clear picture of the condition of the anterior wall of the patient's heart.

Another instrument, that has already undergone clinical tests is the Palma, which is designed to analyze blood serum in a strong magnetic field. The Palma device can determine deviations in normal cell division in the body, which can be of enormous value in the diagnosis of cancer in its earliest stages. Fast and reliable, the Palma takes just 10 minutes to screen the



Currently some 11,000 implants of these cardiac pacemakers are performed annually in the USSR. Right: Sergei Grigorov is one of the people working on a new generation pacemaker.



blood of 32 people. An updated model of the instrument will soon be available.

All medical equipment produced by Altair is state of the art and, in some ways, unique. The production association is geared to developing only prototypes, which are then put into series production at other plants. This system, however, has its drawbacks.

Vladimir Izmailov, 52, general director of the Altair Production Association, thinks that a likely solution might be to build a new plant to manufacture solely Altair products. But that costs money—money that Altair doesn't have. Another solution might be to automate that part of the association's production setup that is now designed for consumer goods.

Medical instruments are just one of Altair's interests. The production association is also involved in developing portable radio stations, burglar alarm systems, and other devices.

"We have a ways to go before we're ready to jump into the world market," says Izmailov. "A lack of marketing expertise is just one of the hurdles we'll have to leap in order to launch profitable ventures both at home and abroad."

SOCIALISM

Where is it headed?

By Nikolai Shishlin

Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania have entered a period of radical reforms. It is noted everywhere that the Soviet Union not only hailed and supported the revolutionary changes happening in the Warsaw Treaty countries, but also encouraged them by its policy of *perestroika* and its unconditional denunciation of the Stalinist model of socialism.

It is more or less clear what the Eastern European countries want to break with. They have said No to the administrative-command system and the one-party monopoly on power. They have said No to ideological dogmatism and the system of power that ignore the fundamental laws of economic and political development. They have said No to dishonest, corrupt, and immoral leaders who usurped the right to declare what was right and what was wrong on behalf of the party and the people. They have said No to many things, so, I repeat, this is more or less clear.

Other questions are far more difficult to answer: Where are the Eastern European countries heading? How will their social systems develop? What factors will dominate the development of what has recently been referred to as the "socialist community" and the "nucleus of the world socialist system"?

Answers to these questions are coming both from people who are directly involved in the stormy process of renewal and from sideline spectators who are watching the swift change of characters and events.

In a nutshell, the points of view fall into several categories: First, socialism has suffered a defeat. Communist ideology is dead. The only possible fu-

ture is a return to the bourgeois-democratic system. In other words, onward to the past.

Second—a less categorical opinion. In the international dispute between the Communists and the Social-Democrats, who were so zealously and ardently condemned and discredited during Stalin's time and later, the Social-Democrats have won. That is why, they say, social-democratic methods should be used to cure the ills of the Eastern European countries.

Third, the revolutionary changes in Eastern Europe will cleanse the socialist ideal and rid it of the tragic follies of barrack-room socialism. Newly found freedom will enable Eastern Europeans to make a quick recovery, to discard false values, and to embrace the true values of socialism.

All these points of view have a right to exist, but I don't think it's correct to attempt to map out a single course for all of the socialist countries that are breaking away from their past. Drawing up a single reform program for all of these countries, which have different histories, conditions, and traditions, is futile. Each socialist country must find its own solutions to its own problems.

At the same time, such principles as democracy, regard for human rights and liberties, promotion of universal human values, establishment of a self-regulating economy, and respect for the moral and cultural values of each people will dominate the activities of the public forces, which are playing a key role in the present situation in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. I don't think that socialism has lost its appeal.

Today the socialist countries are in a state of turmoil. Alongside honest citizens wanting life in their countries to change for the better are dishonest

and self-serving individuals seeking to further their own political ambitions. But intolerance justified by the desire to solve all problems at once can lead to new, bitter disappointments. The political struggle in my country bears this out.

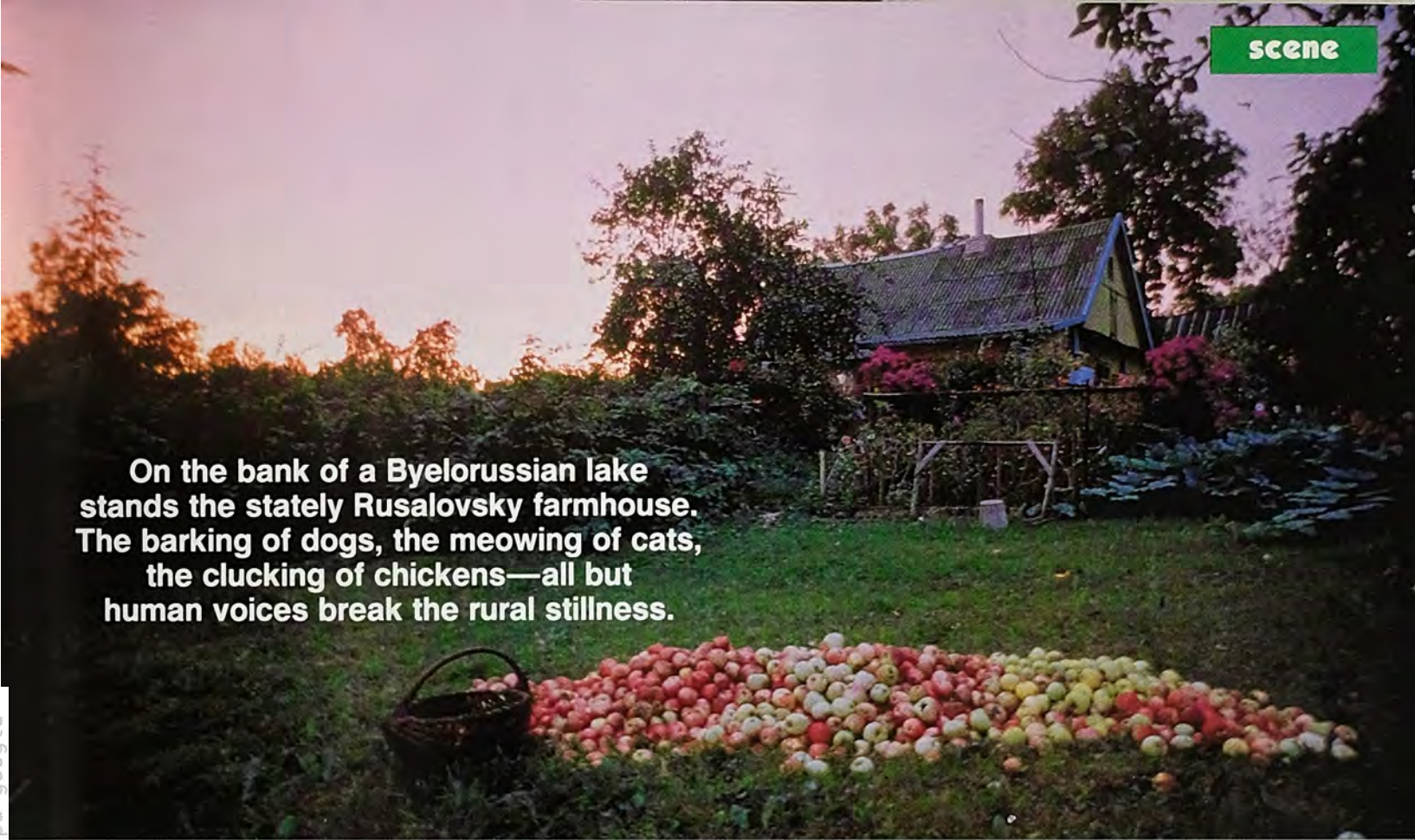
A break with the past is always dramatic, and sometimes tragic. People who have committed crimes must be punished. Public anger against those who so solemnly held the public trust for years is justified. But it is dangerous for society to waste people's energy on revenge.

Among the members of these parties of the countries of Eastern Europe are courageous and honest people—people who awakened the public by their ideas and actions. It isn't fair to paint these people with the same brush as the bankrupt political leaders from the upper echelons of power.

Only a society in which constructive elements prevail and in which common sense and justice govern public actions is capable of making progress.

I am convinced that 1990 will be a tumultuous year for the Soviet Union and for our friends and allies in the Warsaw Treaty countries and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. We are in for many surprises, including unpleasant ones. Yet, I am sure that further movement toward democracy and progress based on human rights and dignity will be easier if our countries succeed in establishing more balanced, diverse, and meaningful relations among them.

We have already begun to restructure our relations in keeping with the new realities, based on full respect for the right of every people to decide its own destiny. Free choice is best, and cooperation is the most constructive way to implement this choice.



On the bank of a Byelorussian lake stands the stately Rusalovsky farmhouse. The barking of dogs, the meowing of cats, the clucking of chickens—all but human voices break the rural stillness.

SOUNDS OF SILENCE

Pimen Rusalovsky poses in front of the woodpile.

By Natalya Lapayeva
Photographs by Yuri Ivanov

Pimen and Irina Rusalovsky have been living on a farmstead in rural western Byelorussia for the past 37 years. Here they have reared their family, raised their crops, and tended their menagerie of farm animals and pets. All this might not seem so remarkable, except for the fact of how it all came to be.

Pimen, now 70, has been hearing and speech impaired since birth. In 1953, concerned that this fine young man was unmarried and living alone, Pimen's relatives started an all-out search to find him a suitable mate. Their quest took them to the neighboring village of Rogomishki, Lithuania, where Irina, who is also unable to speak and hear, lived. According to Irina, now 63, it was love at first sight. After spending one day with Pimen, she knew he was the one for her, and she has been with him ever since.

Far from any village, the Rusalovsky farm stands on the bank of a picturesque lake teeming with fish. Pimen and Irina seem to grow everything, and their farm is prospering. There are potatoes, all sorts of tomato varieties, juicy apples, and an abundance of pears and plums. And a sea of flowers and plenty of animals—dogs, cats, chickens, piglets, rabbits, and a cow. Pimen takes special pride in the apiary and the pure, sweet honey that it produces.

Pimen is a jack-of-all-trades, and his workshop is filled with carpenter's and turner's tools. He not only dug the farm's well but also, about 15 years ago, assembled a tractor with his own hands.

The amazing harmony of the Rusalovsky farm is not disturbed even by the human voice. I, too, gradually fell silent. At first I was self-conscious of my ability to talk; later I fell into the natural rhythm of the place. In some inexplicable way, the people and the animals understand each other without a sound, and a oneness with nature is achieved.

Despite our being unexpected guests, photographer Yuri Ivanov and I were welcomed with warm hospitality. The Rusalovskys presented us with a bouquet of freshly cut flowers and treated us to fresh, warm cow's milk with honey.

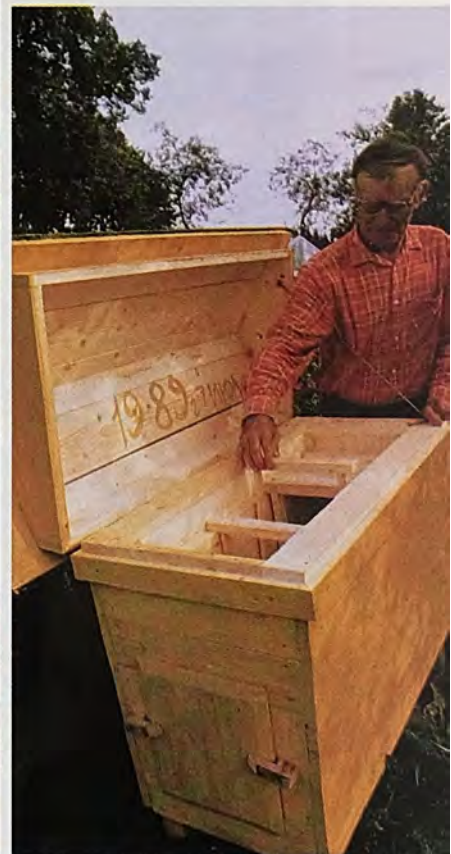
Irina and Pimen proudly showed us the family album and the pictures of their two daughters, who can speak and hear. Both girls are now grownup and have families of their own. They live in different corners of the country, but once a year, on the twelfth of August, they gather to celebrate Pimen's birthday. ■



Pimen and Irina were married in 1953, not long after they met. This wedding photograph is from the family album. Top: Every August the family gathers to celebrate Pimen's birthday.



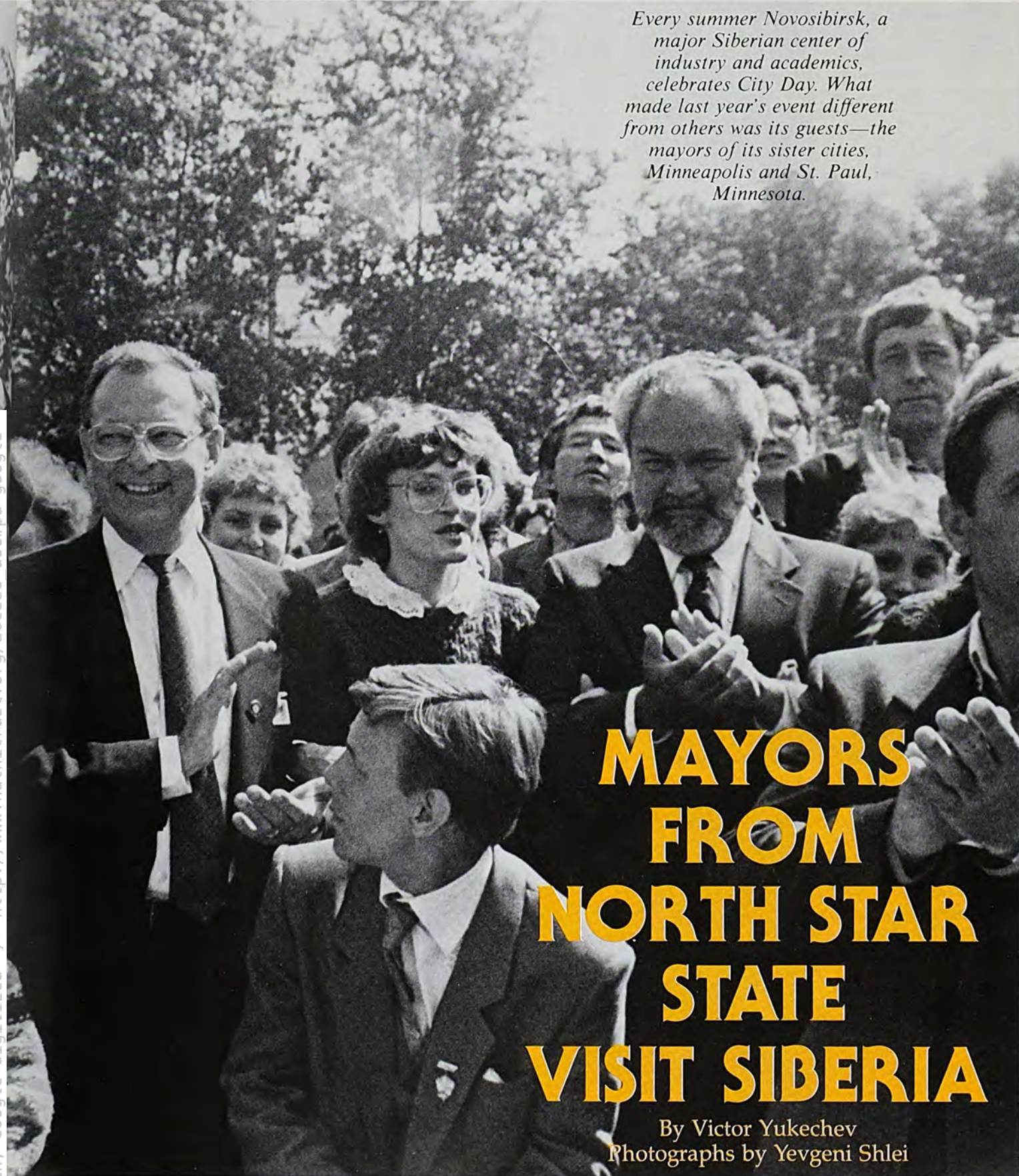
Left: One of the grandsons helps in the orchard. Below: The apiary and its deliciously sweet honey is Pimen's special pride.



Above left: Irina feeds the chickens. Left: Pimen assembled this tractor with his own hands 15 years ago. It is still the farmer's reliable friend.







Every summer Novosibirsk, a major Siberian center of industry and academics, celebrates City Day. What made last year's event different from others was its guests—the mayors of its sister cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota.

MAYORS FROM NORTH STAR STATE VISIT SIBERIA

By Victor Yukechev
Photographs by Yevgeni Shlei

George Latimer (right) meets with students from Akademgorodok. Below: The guests at an exhibit titled "For Peace and Cooperation Between the Soviet and American People."



Right: A visit to the Ascension Cathedral and a talk with Father Dmitri (second from right), a Russian Orthodox priest. Above right: A discussion at the Institute of Nuclear Physics.





Susan Hartman (left), of Connect/US-USSR, with Gennadi Radayev, deputy mayor of Novosibirsk, at a press conference. Top: The mayors with newlyweds at a wedding palace.

Mayors Donald Frazer of Minneapolis and George Latimer of St. Paul were in Novosibirsk on a reciprocal visit. In February 1989 they had signed an agreement with Ivan Indinok, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Novosibirsk City Soviet (a position similar to mayor) establishing a sister city relationship between the three cities. (See SOVIET LIFE, July 1989.) Also attending the City Day celebration was Susan Hartman, executive director of Connect/US-USSR, an organization instrumental in setting up twin-city ties.

Mayor Frazer arrived in Novosibirsk from Moscow, where he had been received by Mikhail Nevmosenko, representing the recently established Novosibirsk Foundation, an organization similar to Connect/US-USSR. Mayor Latimer, Susan Hartman and Chairman Indinok flew in from Tashkent, Uzbekistan's capital, where they had attended the first conference of representatives of Soviet and American twin cities. (See SOVIET LIFE, November 1989.)

Several areas in Novosibirsk, the American guests said, reminded them of back home in Minnesota, including the guest residence in the woods where they stayed and the nearby town of Akademgorodok, 25 kilometers away. Akademgorodok, with a population of 70,000, has 30 research institutes and design offices.

Among the City Day festivities were pageants, fairs, exhibits, sports competitions, and performances by professional and amateur musicians, singers, and dancers. The guests and the host joined in a traditional round dance, and in general had a grand old time. But the visit by the mayors was not confined to the City Day celebration alone. They also met with scholars, schoolchildren, and people in the arts and industry. These contacts laid the groundwork for many fruitful projects and exchanges. Among the future projects are festivals featuring Siberian and American musicians, joint film productions, and exchanges of art exhibits.

In their address to residents of the sister cities, the three city officials wrote:

"Our meetings with representatives of various strata of public life both in Minneapolis/St. Paul in February and here in Novosibirsk in June indicate that citizens of the sister cities are ready for an open and sincere dialogue, as well as for business and cultural cooperation.

"Our future is in the hands of those who are willing to make a difference. May the development of mutually beneficial partnerships between Minneapolis/St. Paul and Novosibirsk help our communities become more perfect and humane."

UNFINISHED MUSIC, or the life they've never lived

By Igor Drobyshv

The writing on the wall reads in Russian: "People, we love you."

"Wow!" said Ellen when I translated the four words lost in the realm of graffiti in the Rotunda—a two-story, spiraled-staircase tower, a hallowed place among Leningrad's underground artists. In a wink of an eye, the petite American woman pulled out a pen and scribbled: "Hi, Soviet hippy. I'm with you! Old American hippy, Ellen, Bowling Green, Ohio."

Ellen Berry, together with her companions Kent Johnson and Steve Ashby—scholars from Bowling Green State University—had come to Leningrad for a specific purpose.

"We're here to participate in the first international conference on problems of world culture, poetics, and poetry," Ellen explained. "We'd like to gather material for a volume on new cultural studies and poetics in the Soviet Union. The volume will include the most interesting essays of the conference. I think it could be quite interesting because it will reflect the processes occurring in Soviet culture since the advent of *perestroika*."

The conference, called the Summer School by participants, was held last August. It brought together poets and literary critics from the United States, France, Poland, and a number of republics of the USSR and involved poetry readings, discussions, and presentations of essays on culture and poetics. Sponsoring the event was the Soviet Culture Foundation in conjunction with Poetic Function, an unofficial group of experimental, avant-garde writers.

Avant-garde poets Michael Davidson, Lyn Hijinian, Ron Silliman, and Barrett Watten from the San Francisco Bay Area represented poetry of the so-called Language School.

"That's what 'enemies' of our poetry call us," Ron explained. "They wanted to find a short term to describe something they didn't like, but it's misleading. It presumes that we're doing something different from other poets, which is true, but only in that we use language consciously, rather than unconsciously."

Leningrad seems to be a city of road projects and construction sites. Sometimes we jump over one ditch only to find ourselves in another. The

peculiar thing about it is that nothing seems to be near completion.

"*Unfinished Music*," I recalled John Lennon and Yoko Ono's avant-garde debut album. Very much to the point.

Strange, these Americans, I thought. They seem to be loving it all. Why?

"It's a ghost of the life I've never lived," Lyn told me.

Could it be that simple? "Enjoy the life you've never lived," I jokingly reminded them whenever they came across a lack of comfort or another shortcoming of day-to-day Soviet life.

The conference was held in the USSR Composers Union on Herzen Street, in a beautiful carved wooden hall. Kafkaesque irrational landscape outside: construction ditches, bricks scattered on the ground, an overcrowded small café in a basement, and practically nowhere to go for a snack. All that wouldn't have been much of a problem, if it had not been for a catastrophic shortage of time. The number of people on the list itching to have their say had doubled by the end of the conference. But some of them never got a chance to speak.

In spite of everything, the Ameri-



cans always looked like a million dollars—smiling, making friends—still loving it all.

I was impressed by Barrett's essay formulating the problem of "negative social space"—about how modern life destroys the human personality. In an industrial area, he writes, "There's a particular thrill about being in a place that's so intensely manmade and that at the same time excludes any thought of habitation."

That problem is vital for us in the Soviet Union, too, you know, and not only in terms of industrial areas, but if we speak, for instance, about newly built urban areas, which absorb personality, suppress it.

"The Summer School brought together what I would consider the progressive movements in poetry of four nations—the Soviet Union, the United States, France, and Poland—many brilliant critics and scholars," noted Ron. "Not everybody's doing the same things, and it's interesting to see what the differences are. As for today's Russian poets, I'm impressed by Ivan Zhdanov's poetry. [See SOVIET LIFE August 1989 for one of Zhdanov's poems.] His recitation is

something you'd never hear in the United States. It's quite amazing. I'd call it otherworldly. He's like a man from Jupiter, a planet with different arts.

"It's hard to separate my feelings about the Summer School and Leningrad. It's a great city and for an American very, very strange."

"World culture is not a frozen entity," said Arkadi Dragomoshchenko, one of the organizers of the Summer School. "The essays presented by the foreign guests show that. It is very interesting to hear the different trends being articulated. We're glad that many people—poets, critics—had a chance to get acquainted with each other. That was one of our goals. We hope the Summer School will become a good tradition. Michael Davidson has told me that he's going to try to organize one in the United States. Also, we're probably going to start publishing a joint Soviet-American magazine on problems of world culture both in English and Russian."

Arkadi mentioned another project involving five American avant-garde poets and five Soviet poets. The USSR Writers Union offered the 10

Participants in the Summer School walk along the bank of the Neva River. From left to right: Michael Davidson, Barrett Watten, Ron Silliman, Lyn Hijinian (preferring to remain incognito), Arkadi Dragomoshchenko, Ellen Berry, and Steve Ashby.

poets the opportunity to stay at its recreation center on the Black Sea coast for two weeks working together and then traveling around the country for a week. And hopefully they'll do the same thing in the United States.

Several American publishers have shown interest in publishing a book—a bilingual edition of American and Soviet poetry—that would reflect the collaboration of the 10 poets. The Kniga Publishing House in the Soviet Union has also shown a desire to do such a book.

Summer school is now "out," and the participants have gone home. All have taken with them a myriad of impressions and the knowledge that they've made a number of new friends. ■

WOMEN OF CONSEQUENCE USA/USSR

Portraits from a Traveling Exhibition



"As 1990 is the Year of the Woman," wrote Marylu Raushenbush, the creator of the photographic exhibition "Women of Consequence, USA/USSR," in a letter to SOVIET LIFE last November, "it is a perfect time to run an article on this East-West cooperation and exhibition." The editors agreed. Here and on the following pages are Raushenbush's article and a sample of her photographs.

Between hugs of greeting with my friend Nina Andreyeva of Leningrad, I discovered that Valentina Matviyenko, whom I had photographed as the vice chairwoman of the Executive Committee of the Leningrad City Soviet, had recently been elected to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and, furthermore, was appointed to head the

Commission on Women and the Protection of the Family, Maternity, and Childhood. Nina and I were excitedly exchanging news in Madison, Wisconsin, in the fall of 1989. Only a short time before, in the summer of 1988, Vivian Day of Weston, Massachusetts, and I had been in the USSR at the invitation of Zoya Pukhova, president of the Soviet Women's Committee, to photograph women of consequence.

Two years before, I had begun photographing American

women of consequence—women whose lives reach beyond themselves, who celebrate life, and who symbolize our hope for peace. Vivian and I had the idea that similar photography should be done in the USSR, where women do such important work in many fields. Too many Americans had images of Soviet women as Raisa Gorbachev and dowdy old women. With the help of Vivian's Soviet contacts and the impression made by examples of my photographs of ►



Kay Clarenbach's body language suggests her exceptional blend of civility, intellect, and assertive force. She is the founder and first chair of NOW, the National Organization for Women.



Medea Dzhaparidze is a very well-known and highly respected Georgian stage actress, who has been at the center of what's happening in the arts and literature in the USSR.

WOMEN

American women, our welcome invitation was received.

In the USSR I received every assistance in photographing significant women from Moscow, Leningrad, Tbilisi, Tallinn, and Pyatigorsk. What I found and what I hope my photographs portray are warm, intelligent, generous, and successful women, for whom I developed an immediate affection and admiration.

In the woman's home or workplace, I looked for that unique something that spoke of the person.

Victoria Siradze heads the trade unions in the Georgian Republic. She is also a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of Georgia, and the Deputy Prime Minister of the republic.

Even meeting a woman of this importance was a privilege. The room was magnificent, with huge bouquets of fresh flowers, silk shirred drapes, and a long board-room table surrounded by handsome chairs. Victoria Siradze looked marvelous and was completely charming, warm, and gracious. I wanted to include everything. I often think of what a nice person she is and of her quote, "I am the daughter of a professional revolutionary. That determined my future."

Each of the 32 Soviet and 32 American black-and-white photographs that make up the exhibition contains a short biography and a quote furnished by the woman on a subject of her own choosing. The range is interesting: from

V

WOMEN

alentina Matviyenko, as photographed in her office at the Leningrad City Soviet. She has since been elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet and appointed to head its Commission on Women and the Protection of the Family, Maternity, and Childhood.

attorney Alice Popkin, "You can have it all, but you can't have it all at once" to playwright and author Lyudmila Petrushevskaya, "When I found myself deep at the bottom of life, I heard shouts from underneath."

In the United States I photograph alone. In the USSR I had the help of Vivian Day and of our interpreter, Maria Lebedeva, from Moscow, who quickly became a trusted and beloved friend. Maria told stories of adventure when she was the principal of a school on Sakhalin Island near Japan. We exchanged anecdotes of our

children and our lives as we flew on Aeroflot planes and at dinner in her home in Moscow.

Maria is everything you want an interpreter to be. She honestly believed in the project and worked very hard for its success. Maria, Vivian, and I, with our hostess for each city, would struggle up innumerable flights of steps toting bags of camera equipment. The woman to be photographed would meet us and offer a hand. The scenario was similar, with slight variations, everywhere we traveled. Maria would show the subject samples of my American handmade folio of ►





American award-winning writer/producer Fay Kanin, who was president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences when the first Soviet actor was admitted and who has worked with the Soviet film community.

photographs, biographies, and quotes. Then she would explain what we wanted to do and take down biographical information and a quote from each woman. She'd also point out that Vivian and I were unpaid volunteers, doing something we believed in on our own initiative. This fact had much impressed Maria, as it did the women I photographed. Next we would do one of two things. We'd either set up, deciding whether we could bounce available light into the picture or we needed to set up the quartz light; or we'd sit down and talk about what the subject did and what her concerns were. I preferred photographing first, as it was easy to get carried away talking and then need to rush to our next photographic commitment.

At Friendship House in Leningrad, I encountered one of my greatest challenges—seven distinguished women to be individually photographed in one short afternoon in one

Larissa Malevannaya is a prominent actress on the Soviet stage and screen. With her husband, Malevannaya is producing a play about returning Afghanistan war veterans.



WOMEN



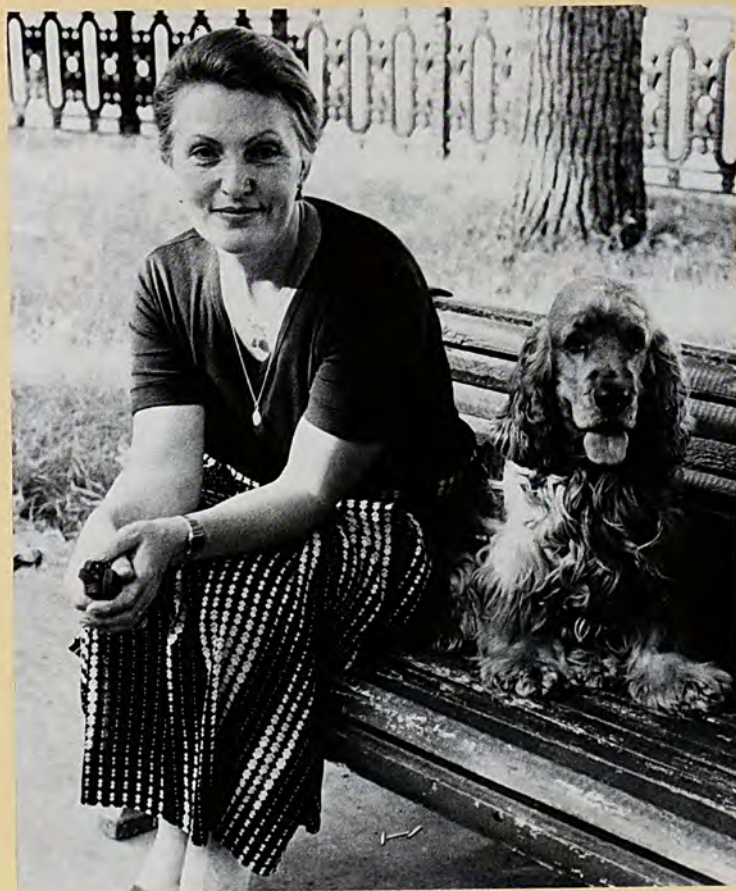
Attorney
Yvonne
Brathwaite
Burke was
California's
first Black
woman to be
elected to the
U.S. Congress.
She is now a
partner in a
large law firm.
Below: Dr. Larissa
Nezhinskaya is
a senior
criminologist
in the USSR
Procurator's
Office.

All these Soviet women not only allowed me to photograph them but showered us with warm hospitality.

All over the world food is a symbol of welcome. Medea Dzhaparidze, an actress, entertained us with a multicourse Georgian meal. We were told that she was once considered the most beautiful woman in Georgia. From photographs on her wall, I felt she looked like the legendary actress Vivian Leigh, star of the movie *Gone with the Wind*. Artists are wonderful to photograph; Medea let me shoot in her photo-studded bedroom with pink shoes, parasol, and intriguing paraphernalia found only in an artist's room. Once we started photographing, she and I became as one, both eager to achieve. While the others ►

building, in places symbolic to them. This was preceded by a lunch of special dishes prepared by these and other women, and lots of conversation. Happily, Vivian, Maria, and I formed an efficient team. I posed the actress in stage lighting, the colonel in shadows of the past, the worker in front of the Soviet flag, the writer with her book in contemplation, the young porcelain-skinned engineer with a marble statue of Eve. Most memorable was the taking of snapshots of the musician as she played Russian classics.

The women in Tbilisi and Tallinn, all photographed in their homes or offices, had prepared a lovely table of refreshments: tiny cakes, every imaginable fruit, tea or coffee in china cups. Life became a bit more American when we reached Moscow and were served instant coffee from an electric samovar.





been placed over a glass of vodka at the time of her mother's death. By mealtime that night the vodka had all disappeared, on schedule.

Imagine my surprise when Dr. Nino Dzhavakhishvili, internationally acclaimed anatomist and director of the Institute of Experimental Morphology of the Academy of Sciences of Georgia, told me of her visit to my home town of Madison, Wisconsin, where she had attended a medical meeting.

Two of the Americans I photographed are well known for their peace efforts. Linda Smith Kapstein, the founder of Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament, was inspired to set up this peace organization in April 1985, when she took her

worried that it was late, Medea performed like the star she is, under my one lone light.

In the USA I photographed the much-honored actress of stage, screen, and television, Julie Harris, and Oscar-winning writer-producer Fay Kanin, who was president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences when the first Soviet actor was admitted and who has worked with the Soviet film community.

Attorney Larissa Nezhinskaya of the Procurator General's Office met us on our arrival and later took care of us during our final days in Moscow when we no longer had a driver and car furnished by the Soviet Women's Committee. With Larissa we saw art exhibits, found hard-rock tapes, and were introduced to her family. Our last dinner in Moscow was with Larissa and her family. It was the fortieth day since Larissa's mother's death. The traditional crust of bread had

Nina Zhvania (second from left), the vice chairwoman of the Tbilisi City Soviet for the past 24 years, poses with (left to right) Marylu Raushenbush, Maria Lebedeva, Vivian Day. Right: Maia Leosk is the vice chair of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic.

WOMEN





four daughters to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., and saw their frightened reaction. Betty Bumpers, wife of a U.S. Senator, founded and is president of Peace Links International, which is committed to expanding education about nuclear war and to people-to-people contacts with the USSR.

The result of my black-and-white photographs is a traveling exhibition [examples of which are presented on these pages], many magazine articles, and the possibility of a book.

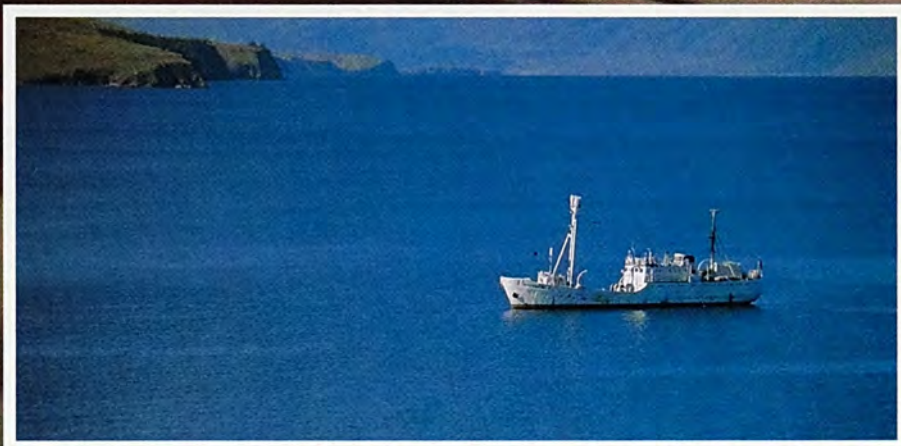
I hope these 64 photographs, titled "Women of Consequence, USA/USSR," will help viewers see the people behind the

politics. Included, for example, are Natela Lagidze, deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Republic, and Maya Leosk, deputy chairwoman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia. They are women involved in the political life of their nation, just as U.S. Representative Patricia Schroeder and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor are. Representative Schroeder fights for hearth and home in the halls of the U.S. Congress. In her office hangs a large woodcut of Eleanor Roosevelt with the inscription, "It's Up to Women." Mrs. Roosevelt herself was involved with Soviet women in the quest for peace. ■

U.S.
Representative Patricia Schroeder introduced the historic 1985 legislation calling for a mutual moratorium on nuclear testing. Right: Tatyana Shurgayeva is a Leningrad professor. Her portrait is now in the International Permanent Collection of the Polaroid Corporation.



**The giant Siberian lake may hold
the answers to ecological questions.**



LOOKING TO BAIKAL FOR HELP

By Alexander Batalin
Photographs by Pyotr Malinovsky



Soviet scientist Yuri Kusner (left), deputy director of the Institute of Limnology, with Kenneth Nealon of the Center for Great Lakes Studies.



Another participant in the expedition, Dr. Giles Mead, aboard the research vessel Vereshchagin (also shown inset, facing page). Left: Molly Stone Nealon, an administrator and secretary of the American expedition.



Ye glorious sea, ye sacred Baikal is a line from an ancient song, which is still sung in Siberia today. And scientists are sure that it's not an overstatement.

"It's true," said Kenneth Nealon, a professor at the Center for Great Lakes Studies, a research institute of the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee. "Baikal is more a sea than a lake. The metals and organisms—the object of our studies—found in the Baikal's water prove this." Nealon was one of 13 American researchers to visit Lake Baikal last autumn.

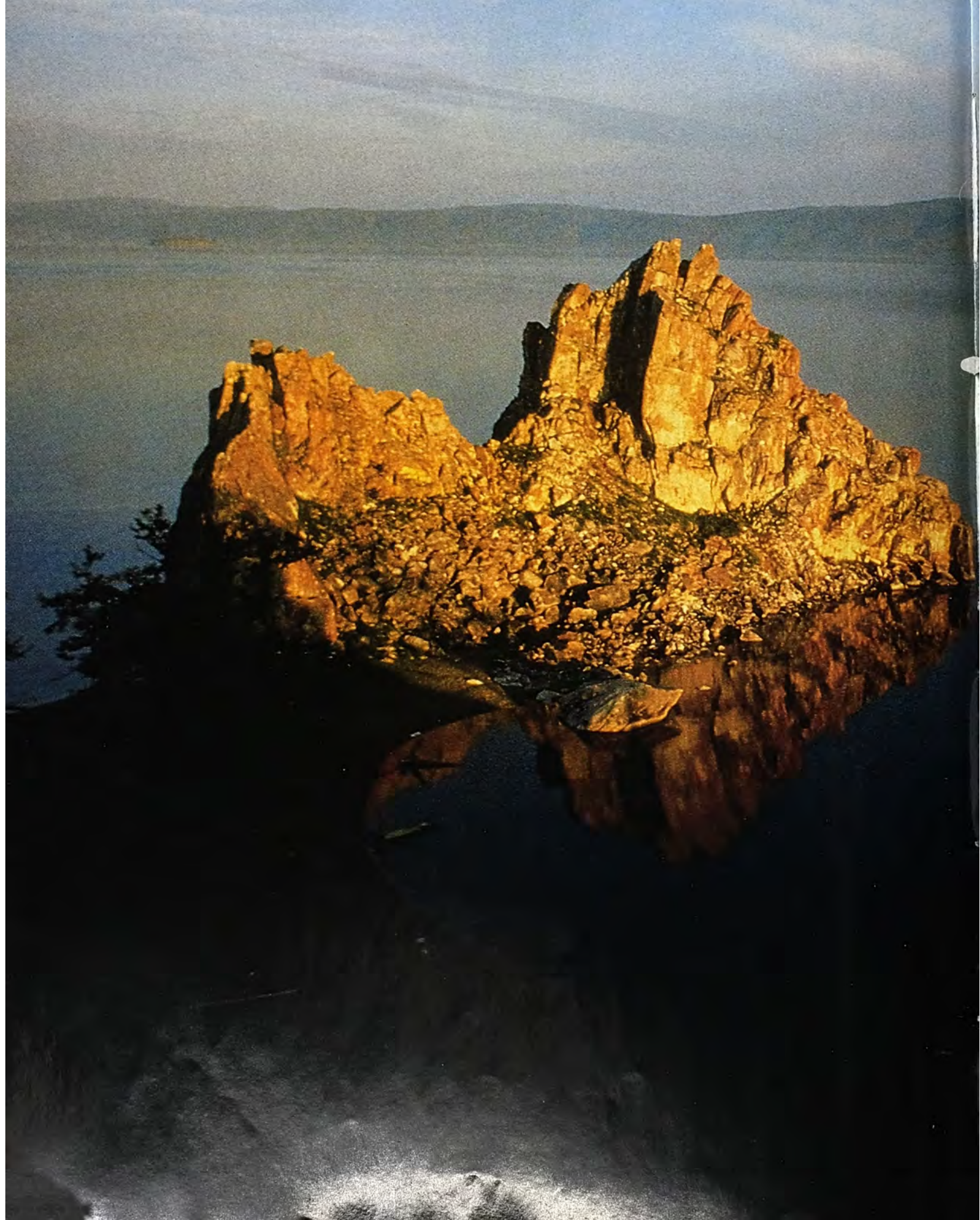
"Baikal is the only big lake in the world that still remains unpolluted," the American scientist continued. "We are hoping to restore our Great Lakes to the same degree of purity. We expect our joint studies to bring forth interesting results. The Great Lakes and Baikal will both benefit."


Contacts between the Center for Great Lakes Studies and the Institute of Limnology of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Irkutsk were established in 1988. Since then, Soviet scientists have visited Lake Michigan in the United States, and their American counterparts have been to Baikal. The cooperative effort of microbiologists from both countries has already started bearing its first fruit. An article, which was written jointly, aroused great interest among biogeochemists.

At the end of 1989 the first conference of oceanologists devoted to Lake Baikal took place in San Francisco, California. This coming summer another American-Soviet expedition to the Siberian lake is planned. The National Geographic Society is sponsoring this new and broad joint research project, and it promises to be exciting. The scientists will include studies of Baikal's phytoplankton and the circulation of metals in its water.

The promise of this ambitious project is sufficient to convince the most ardent skeptic about the benefits of cooperation between Soviet and American researchers. But there's still more to the story.

Dr. Yuri Kusner, deputy director of the Limnology Institute, said: "We are also planning a Soviet-American ex-▶





*Throughout time
legends have cloaked
Baikal's Shaman Stone
in mystery.*

Photograph by Yuri Kaver



pedition to Africa to study Lake Tanganyika. The resemblance between Lake Tanganyika and Lake Baikal is striking. Besides having outlines that appear to be mirror images of themselves, the lakes have geological evolutions that are very similar too. Yet the interesting thing is that no life exists in Lake Tanganyika. If we can find out why, discover what has happened, perhaps we'll learn how to go about preserving both lakes."

What's so intriguing about Baikal? "Baikal is of particular interest to scientists," explains Mikhail Grachev, director of the Limnology Institute and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. "The lake has an isolated ecosystem, like that of the Galápagos Islands—the studies of which, remember, brought Charles Darwin to his theory of the evolution of the species. On Baikal, where more than 2,000 unique species of flora and fauna are found, this theory can be studied on the molecular level. If we compare the biological data of the lake with our geological knowledge of it, we can draw interesting conclusions."

Because of its significance to world science, Baikal was considered the ideal site for an international research center for conducting fundamental ecological studies. The first steps toward the realization of the center were taken last fall at a scientific conference in Moscow. The conference resolved to establish a center on Lake Baikal to promote joint research between Soviet scientists and scientists of all countries.

On the shores of Baikal, near the village of Listvyanka, the research center has found its home. Though several facilities are still to be built, the groundwork for joint research has been laid. ■

A colony of ringed seals lazes on the shore of Lake Baikal. Over 2,000 unique species of flora and fauna are found on the lake. Above left: Members of the Soviet-American expedition head for Selenga Delta.

PROGRESS

Continued from page 5

jected to the proposition to set up a national committee for constitutional compliance, arguing that such a committee would rule unconstitutional their republics' laws limiting the action of national laws on the territory.

Objections to the draft law were also voiced by others. "The main thing that prevents me from supporting the proposal," said Deputy Alexander Minzhurenko, a teacher from Siberia, "is that our Constitution has become obsolete. A revolution is taking place in this country, and here we are, in the fifth year of the revolution, creating a body to protect our prerevolutionary constitution."

A parliamentary commission offered an alternative: a committee on

constitutional compliance be set up to see that no decision taken by the bodies of executive power violates any law or the constitutional rights of citizens. This proposal had Mikhail Gorbachev's support.

In a roll-call vote, the deputies approved the Law on Constitutional Compliance as amended.

The most impressive result of the second session of the Congress of People's Deputies concerns international relations. The Congress denounced the secret protocols to the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement and characterized the decision to send Soviet troops into Afghanistan as immoral and politically unjustified.

"The development of civilization is inconceivable without such moral purification," said historian Alexander Yakovlev, a member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. ■

DEPUTIES SPEAK OUT ON MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT

By Felix Alexeyev

Proving once again that *glasnost* is thriving in the country, the second session of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR handily approved the report by a commission, headed by Politburo member Alexander Yakovlev, denouncing the secret protocols to the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement.

This was the first time in Soviet history that the existence of the secret protocols to the agreement was admitted. One confirmation of their existence presented to the Congress was a note referring to the secret additions to the agreement, made on August 23, in Russian and in German. The note was signed by Molotov's closest aides.

Yakovlev's commission concluded that the agreement, from the legal point of view, did not in itself violate existing treaty obligations or domestic Soviet legislation. However, that was not the case with the secret protocols, which were in violation of Soviet leg-

islation and international commitments. From the outset they were legally invalid and amounted to a conspiracy.

"In carving up the spoils with Hitler," Yakovlev emphasized in his report, "Stalin began to threaten and deliver ultimatums to small neighboring countries." The secret protocols reflect the essence of Stalinism, and are only one of the time bombs that it is so difficult to defuse today.

The commission noted in its report that on June 22, 1941, when Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union, the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement became null and void.

I asked some people's deputies for their opinions:

Nikolai Neiland, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Latvia: "I was on the commission that looked into the protocols, and I must say that Yakovlev's report was absolutely correct and reflected the commission's opinion.

"The commission's findings were a ►

collective effort, although, of course, some members contributed more than others. We had at our disposal a vast amount of material from Soviet and foreign archives, especially from the Federal Republic of Germany, which sent us diplomatic memorandums and the copies of the secret protocols.

"One thing that our commission showed is that the new political thinking is not just hot air but a desire to find the truth and to admit that a criminal mistake was made in 1939."

Roy Medvedev, historian: "I believe that a few conservatively inclined historians still have a blind spot when it comes to August 1939. They continue to claim that since the originals of the secret protocols have never been found, their actual existence cannot be proved.

"However, the protocols did indeed exist, and they were destroyed on Hitler's orders. Stalin also ordered the destruction of similar secret documents. But expert scientific analysis of the copies shows that they are of the originals. Also, the criterion of proof depends not only on the copies of destroyed documents but also on the practical course of subsequent events. Look at it this way: Paleontology is the study of extinct animals and plants from their traces. In school, for example, we learn about the mammoth, and no one questions whether or not it ever existed. The same goes for the secret protocols. They, too, have left their mark for posterity. There is no doubt that bringing the crimes of Stalinism to light will make a deep public impression in the USSR."

Igor Gryazin, department head at the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law of the Academy of Sciences of Estonia: "Producing the report wasn't easy for those of us on the commission. We had to consider not only every word, phrase, and thought but every comma and period as well. The most important thing is that we conducted our work in an atmosphere of good will, and we achieved consensus. I'm absolutely convinced that the report truly does give an accurate historical picture.

"I believe the commission was discussing not only a point of history but also the credibility of the country." ■

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CONVERTIBLE RUBLE?

Continued from page 7

change are permitted to spend one-third of the sum on social programs for their workers.

The rules of the foreign economic activities of enterprises will eventually give work forces greater say in how hard-currency earnings are used.

Far from all Soviet producers are at present in a position to go international and, thereby, to have direct access to hard currency. Yet, many of these same producers have large amounts of rubles in their bank accounts. To enable such enterprises to make good on their rubles, currency auctions are being planned.

To ease the way toward ruble convertibility, experts have long been thinking about establishing free economic zones in the Soviet Union. Admittedly, the successful performance of these zones would depend on tax rebates, the accessibility of easy term loans, the guaranteed supply of raw materials, and the availability of skilled workers.

Currently, the relevant experience of China is receiving careful consideration. Of course, in addition to the yuan, China has a convertible yuan, which is commonly used in free economic zones, and is now increasingly being circulated outside the zone too.

The first step toward convertibility was the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers on a 10-fold reduction in the exchange rate of the ruble against the dollar and other freely convertible currencies. This special exchange rate will apply to what is termed "nontrade operations," such as the sale of currency to Soviet citizens going abroad on personal business or tourist trips and the purchase of such currency by Soviet banking institutions. The old exchange rate for the ruble remains valid for foreign trade operations.

All nontrade operations account for less than one per cent of the country's currency turnover. No wonder leading financial experts described this measure as "a small step" toward a convertible ruble.

However, some American experts believe that, before long, this devaluation will be followed by comprehensive changes in foreign trade transactions. Time will show whether their predictions are correct. But whatever may happen in the future, the 10-fold reduction in the exchange rate of the ruble lays the groundwork for further change.

As part of its efforts geared to invigorating its economy, the Soviet Union is exploring ways of

setting a more realistic exchange rate for the ruble with a view toward eventually making it convertible. Western economists have joined in to solve the problem.

Under a plan drafted by a group of experts from the United States, Canada, and France, hard currency will be available at auctions first to Soviet public-sector establishments, then to Soviet cooperatives and joint ventures, and later to anyone wishing to buy it.

In an interview with the national daily *Izvestia*, American banker Wayne Angel proposed giving the ruble a fixed gold content, thus making it convertible into gold and, thereby, convertible into other currencies.

Theoretically, Angel's plan is possible. However, given the present economic situation in the Soviet Union—the huge budget deficit and the upset consumer goods market—the gold would most likely act as a blotter absorbing surplus money.

Furthermore, this move would inevitably lead to the depletion of our national gold reserves, given the wide gap between supply and demand. Western estimates put Soviet gold reserves at some 2,000 metric tons. Assuming that Angel's plan is accepted and the price of gold is set at 45 rubles a gram, then the money now on deposit in Soviet savings accounts alone (estimated to be in excess of 300 billion rubles) would be sufficient to buy up all the gold.

Between 1897 and 1914, both gold and paper money were in circulation in Russia. That "peaceful coexistence" came to an abrupt end with the outbreak of World War I and the subsequent shrinking availability of commodities. Rising prices and shortages of goods quickly forced gold money out of circulation, with paper money taking its place. The result was an unprecedented inflation. Since then, with the exception of short periods in the 1920s, gold money has never been in free circulation.

And again, for stability, the ruble depends on worker productivity, industrial performance, and the availability of quality products. Therefore, reliance on gold in the absence of other essential supports would be rather precarious.

Be that as it may, Angel's advice is interesting. It underlines the importance of an early solution to the problem of ruble convertibility to Western business as well as the Soviet Union. Significantly, the American Firth Foundation has announced a 25,000-dollar prize for anyone who comes up with the best plan for achieving a convertible ruble. Entries must be received by the foundation by April 1, 1990. Almost everyone agrees that wide-ranging international cooperation and an exchange of opinions are absolutely essential for effectively resolving the problem of how to make the ruble convertible.



LIVING BEHIND BARS

Photojournalist Olga Kropova
visits a minimum-security women's
reformatory in Krasnodar Territory.

Reinforced by several rows of wire mesh and barbed wire and a narrow strip of tilled earth in front, the sturdy wooden fence stretches far

into the distance. I come to a checkpoint and hear electromagnetic locks clicking behind the massive door. As the heavy door opens, a buzzer sounds. I poke my visitor's pass and press credentials through a narrow slit in a window to the sergeant on duty. Gaining entry, I am led past several steel-barred doors. Finally, I am inside the minimum-security women's reformatory for first offenders in southern Russia's Krasnodar Territory.

The facility's forbidding exterior is in stark contrast to its almost pleasant interior. I see flowers, women (all dressed in identical prison garb) strolling leisurely on the paths or just standing around near a row of white brick two-story structures. Strangely enough, the place has the feel of a sanatorium, not a prison. This association gets stronger as I near the hospital in the middle of the reformatory grounds, an ordinary hospital with doctors in white coats, a strict daily routine, a maternity ward, and a child-care center.

What brought the women to this place? One inmate, Irina, tells me her story. Irina always envied one of her classmates, Svetlana, who hung out with older guys and who wore expensive clothes. Svetlana lived next door, but she and Irina weren't particularly friendly at school. So when Svetlana invited Irina to go along with her to a discotheque one evening, Irina was surprised and flattered. "Only you can't go looking like that," Svetlana said, pointing to her new friend's dress. "Don't worry, I'll think of something." When evening came, Svetlana took Irina to the entrance of a high-rise apartment building where she saw a well-dressed young woman waiting for a taxi. "Ask her to come over here for a minute," Svetlana ordered Irina, who obediently complied. And in the darkness of the evening the two girls forced the young woman to hand over her expensive clothes.



Galina Deputatova, a group supervisor at the minimum-security facility, talks with several of the inmates.

Svetlana and Irina were caught and put on trial. Svetlana was sentenced to three years for robbery and for being an accessory before the fact, while Irina received two years for her part.

Since Irina was only 17, she spent the first year of her sentence at a reformatory for minors, and when she turned 18, she was transferred to this adult facility.

"What are you going to do when you get out?" I ask.

"I hope to get a job in a clothing factory," Irina replies. "I'm taking

courses at the trade school here."

Most of the women at the adult reformatory are serving time for theft, some for drug trafficking or profiteering in hard currency, and others for murder. The inmates range in age from 18 to 70 years old.

Since work is seen as an essential part of rehabilitation, all of the inmates are given jobs. Only old-age pensioners and disabled persons are exempt from working. Their maintenance is covered by the state. Working inmates receive wages and have the costs of their food and clothing deducted from their earnings. Any money that remains is for their own personal use. The inmates can spend it in the store on the reformatory ▶

grounds or send it to their families. Some inmates choose to donate their earnings to charity.

The facility also has its own vocational and secondary school, which all inmates under the age of 40 must attend if they do not have a high school diploma.

How does the reformatory provide for a woman's release?

Job counseling begins three months before the end of an inmate's term. The counselor is there to help the women find a job and a place to live. Old-age pensioners and the disabled are referred to nursing homes. Finding a job or a suitable nursing home is not without problems, though. Not every industrial enterprise is willing to risk hiring people who have spent time in jail and not every nursing home has room to accommodate new arrivals. In addition, freedom has its own pressures, and some women simply cannot adjust, especially those who have spent many years behind bars. Recidivism among these women is high.

Women and jail—ideally, these two should have nothing in common, but so long as there are women's prisons, there will be babies born there.

Some of these children may never learn that they were born in a prison, or rather in the maternity ward on its grounds. Birth certificates list only the name of the territory or region and the name of the town or village nearest the prison where the baby was born, the names of its parents, and the date of its birth. In short, the babies receive standard birth certificates. That may be so, but the beginning of their lives is anything but standard. No proud daddies laden with flowers and gifts visit the newborns at the maternity ward. There are only the high, forbidding fence, barbed wire, guard towers, and guards—not for the little ones, of course, but for their mothers. In fact, the atmosphere of the reformatory's child-care center is filled with

warmth, toys, nourishing food, and a loving staff, unfortunately sometimes more loving than the natural mothers.

Among the inmate population, pregnant women and mothers of infants are a privileged group—for example, they receive the most nourish-

ing food free of charge while they are pregnant and nursing, and they can switch to easier jobs or choose not to work at all. Inmate mothers retain their parental rights and can see their children daily until they are two years old, when they are transferred to a child-care center outside the reformatory. A policy of having children stay with their mothers until the children reach three years old is presently under consideration.

Society cannot deny people who make a mistake the opportunity to reform. In recent years fewer and fewer women have been sentenced to jail. Since 1985 the country has seen two amnesties and a variety of changes in its penal practices. One result is a more than 50 per cent decrease in our female inmate population, which continues to shrink.

"Three reformatories have already been scrapped in Krasnodar Territory," says Georgi Slesarev, educational director of reformatories in the region. "Others are being converted for use as alcohol- and drug-treatment centers. The current trend in sentencing is to have the less-dangerous criminals work on big construction sites in settlements where they live with their families, work in their professions, and even have a limited right to travel.

"The shrinking prison population has caused a surplus of reformatory workers who have had to be retrained for jobs in other areas. All of this is connected with changes that are occurring in our society and in our country. At long last *glasnost* is focusing its spotlight on a subject that was for too long off-limits to the press and the public."



Above: Wearing towels on their heads, a group of inmates waits its turn at the showers near the dorm.



Left: Letters from home keep the women informed of family happenings.

Clockwise from right:
 In the reformatory's
 sewing shop. An
 inmate prepares
 for a visit with her family.
 Pregnant inmates and those who
 have babies being cared for in
 the on-grounds child-care center
 enjoy greater privileges than
 the general prison population.
 In the facility's store.



OXYGEN ATTACKS

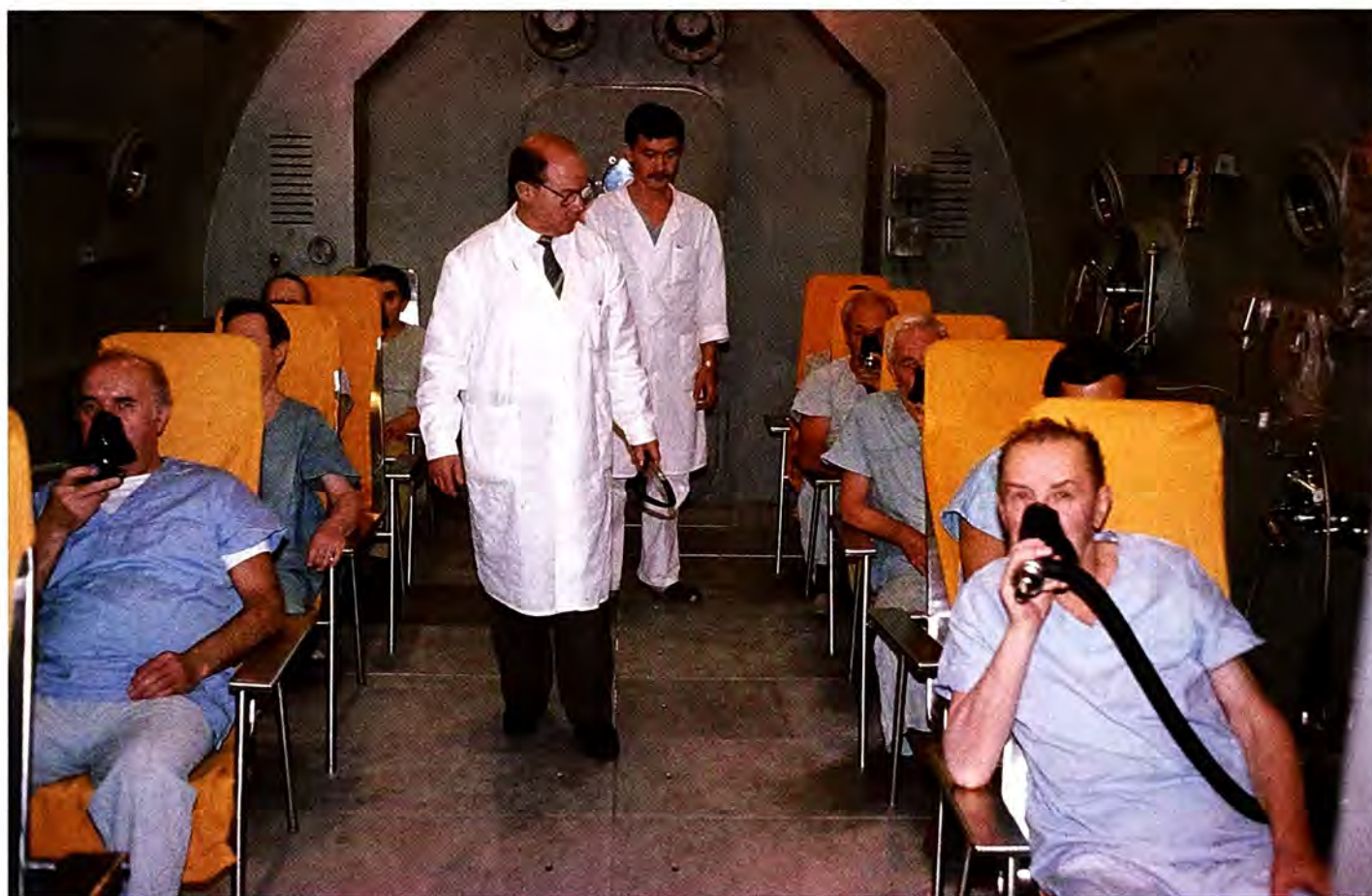
Science-fiction writers have always toyed with the idea of life on planets without oxygen and have come up with the most exotic substitutes for this gas. But all of us know we *need* oxygen to survive. Moreover, highly pressurized oxygen can cure diseases as well.

A wide-angle photograph of a large, dimly lit industrial or medical facility. Three massive, light-colored cylindrical hyperbaric chambers are arranged in a row. In the center, a person is seated at a control console with multiple monitors and dials. The room has a high ceiling with numerous small, warm-toned lights. The floor is a polished, reflective surface.

DISEASES

Photographs by Boris Babanov

Housed in a four-story building, the National Center of Hyperbaric Oxygenation in Moscow has an operation ward with a staff of up to 16, a pressure-chamber hospital for 10 patients, and a pressure-adjustment unit. With its numerous laboratories and special services, the center ensures systematic and safe application of hyperbaric oxygen treatment.



The value of hyperbaric oxygen treatment, a method of exposing a patient to oxygen at much higher than normal atmospheric pressure in a special chamber, is used not only in extreme situations where the patient's life is at stake, but also increasingly in routine medicine. Sergei Yefuni, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the National Center of Hyperbaric Oxygenation in Moscow, explains the potential of this treatment to correspondent Svetlana Soldatenkova.

Q: Has hyperbaric oxygen treatment become a routine medical practice?

A: The use of pressurized oxygen has become a rather ordinary method of treatment. In fact, I can't think of a single human disease where this method wouldn't do the patient some good. Gas gangrene, poisoning, atherosclerosis, ischemic disease, tetanus, nervous disorders—you name it. As the search for new ways to treat vari-

ous diseases continues, the scope of application of hyperbaric oxygen treatment steadily expands.

One of our major problems today is training the necessary number of specialists. Obviously, we can't give inadequately trained medical workers access to hyperbaric chambers. Our system of state supervision and specialist training in this area is quite tough.

On the whole, almost half a million patients in the USSR have already undergone treatment in hyperbaric chambers, and not one of those patients has experienced any deterioration in their condition.

Q: Does hyperbaric oxygen treatment compete with the generally recognized methods or is it used in combination with them?

A: We have come to appreciate the very rich opportunities inherent in our method, both when it's used alone and in combination with other means. Take heart diseases, for exam-

A hyperbaric oxygen treatment session in a multiseated chamber.



Sergei Yefuni (left), director of the National Center of Hyperbaric Oxygenation, at a consultation. Facing page: Pressure chambers are outfitted with special equipment.

ple—our No. 1 killer. They have many faces, and in the struggle against each of them, hyperbaric oxygen treatment shows a lot of promise, especially when it's used in combination with other, tried-and-tested methods. It is precisely the inclusion of hyperbaric oxygen treatment in the package of known means and methods that has proved decisive. So, our method does not compete with—it simply fits into—the arsenal of traditional methods.

Q: Are there any limitations on the use of this method?

A: Sure, as with any method. Hyperbaric oxygen treatment in certain diseases of the larynx can be very painful, and it is not too good in some cases of agricultural herbicide poisoning. But the direct counterindications of the method are few, with advantages far exceeding disadvantages.

Q: What do you think are the most interesting aspects of the method in the studies done by your foreign counterparts, and which studies done by Soviet scientists are attracting the most attention abroad? What can you say about the prospects?

A: I'd like to mention the interesting experience of Japanese scientists, who use pressurized oxygen in doses that are regarded as unacceptable and unsafe here in the Soviet Union—70 to 80 sessions in a pressure chamber in a row, with a very high level of oxygen compression. Yet, they have obtained promising results, which may open up opportunities for treating certain categories of patients. In Brazil, for example, this method is now being used to treat children with very serious brain disorders.

Soviet specialists are conducting research into the benefits of using pressurized oxygen in shock cases. This is a very serious condition, which can often result in death. We came across many shock victims during the earthquake in Armenia and in the railroad disaster near Ufa.

We're also studying the effect of pressurized oxygen on the immune system. The results of these studies may prove useful in combating various diseases, including AIDS. ■

"... We're certainly just at the beginning of a road that promises many new discoveries."



Quasar nearing completion



In 1994 the quasar system, consisting of six special stations equipped with powerful radio telescopes (32 meters in diameter), is due to begin operations. Communication among the stations, situated in various parts of the USSR, will be maintained by satellite linkup. When it is completed, the quasar system will open up new possibilities for conducting research in astronomy, geodynamics, geography, seismology, and other space-related fields.

What can quasar do? For starters, it can detect an object as small as five centimeters in diameter on the surface of the moon. It can also keep an eye on continental shelf movement and in this way assist in predicting earthquakes.

Forest echo

For 15 years the outskirts of the Lithuanian spa town of Druskininkai have been home to the Forest Echo Museum. Everything on the museum grounds is made of wood, including Chicken Leg House, where the main exhibits are kept; the café; and the summer theater.

The museum works a great deal with school-



"Just what i wanted"

That was how Valentin Dikul greeted the opening in Moscow of the National Rehabilitation Center for Spinal Injuries and Cerebral Palsy Victims, of which Dikul is the director. He is a man of truly phenomenal achievements. In 1962, just starting out as a circus acrobat, he fractured his spine in a fall from a great height. That accident left him paralyzed from the waist down. Undaunted by what happened, Dikul developed a method to overcome his handicap and gradually regained the use of his legs. Incredibly, he conquered his disability to such an extent that he was even able to resume work as a juggler.

Having helped himself, Dikul began to help others. The rehabilitation center, his brain child, has specially equipped gyms, swimming pools, examination and massage rooms, treatment facilities, and a sauna. From 200 to 300 people visit the center daily.



children, holding lectures and showing documentary films on animals and environmental protection. "We want people not only to love nature but also to look after it," said one of the museum's founders, Lithuanian inventor Algirdas Valavicius.

A treat for moscow's music lovers



Last October Muscovites had an opportunity to hear the Pittsburgh Symphony, one of the world's top symphony orchestras, conducted by Lorin Maazel, an outstanding conductor of our day. The symphony gave two concerts in Moscow, which were virtually sold out. Music lovers who were fortunate to get tickets were in for a treat. The concerts were among the best and most inspired musical events to occur in the Soviet capital for years.

For . . . democracy, *glasnost*



A new public organization has appeared in the Ukraine. Called Rukh, meaning "movement," the organization was formed to promote the political, economic, national, and cultural renaissance of the people of the Ukraine.

From its very establishment, Rukh has been a large-scale organization, with chapters in all regions of the republic. According to Rukh orga-

nizers, the constituent conference in Kiev, capital of the Ukraine, attracted more than 1,000 delegates, representing 287,000 members. Rukh adheres to the principles of "humanitarianism, democracy, and *glasnost*" and seeks to "defend the interests of all citizens of the republic regardless of nationality." Well-known Ukrainian poet Ivan Drach (right) was elected president.

One-woman show

Nadezhda Mikhailova is an actress who has attained perfection in her artistic recitation. She has been performing to full houses for more than 20 years. Mikhailova put together her first solo program after she appeared in several successful roles on stage. Small and fragile with an expressive face, Mikhailova combines her gifts as a dramatic actress



and a storyteller. "Alexander Ukolychev, my husband," says the actress, "is my inspiration and my assistant.

He helps me with my repertoire and hosts my shows." Together the duo has prepared five solo concerts consisting of 30 stories by modern French, Italian, British, Spanish, and American authors.

SAFEGUARDING OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE

By Nikolai Gubenko
Minister of Culture of the USSR

Twenty minutes after the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet rescinded its 1978 resolution stripping famous cellist and conductor Mstislav Rostropovich of his Soviet citizenship, I was on the telephone to Washington. I'm still getting used to referring to myself as 'the Soviet Minister of Culture since I've been on the job only two months. Yet I fully realized that a call from Nikolai Gubenko, the actor and director, was obviously not the same as a call from Nikolai Gubenko, an official of the Soviet Government.

Galina Vishnevskaya, Rostropovich's wife, answered the telephone. She was very surprised with the news. For me, it was a moment of sheer joy. From the very first days of being appointed minister, I had done everything I could to enable Mstislav Rostropovich and Galina Vishnevskaya, both of whom are an important part of Russian culture, to be reunited with their native land during their lifetime.

Actually, as I see it, the couple have never been totally separated from their homeland. For all the years that they were away and had no direct contact with their country, they represented Russian culture abroad. What they were deprived of, though, is the feeling of being close to their native land.

I believe that the 1978 resolution, which was signed by Leonid Brezhnev, was unjust. If we are out to right the wrongs, which we now call the mistakes of the stagnation period, returning Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya to their homeland is an acknowledgment of the injustices that were committed during the 1970s. Unfortunately, the list is much longer. Solzhenitsyn, Brodsky, Lyubimov, and Vladimov suffered the same injustice.

Mstislav Rostropovich is a man of unique talent. I'm very glad that both he and his wife have had their Soviet citizenship restored, and that it was done while they are still alive. Too often

recognition comes to people only after death. It is gratifying to know that this did not occur in this case. As for the task that I set out for myself when I took over as Minister of Culture, I believe it is to pool the efforts of my compatriots, who are both inside and outside the country. Rostropovich's return is one of the steps toward this goal.

I want all Soviet people to realize that the cultural personalities, the men and women of genius, who have spent many years abroad have never ceased being a part of Russian literature and art, and they will never cease to be. They may espouse diametrically opposite points of view, different ideologies, but these people share with us a common and ultimate goal—that is, for our country to flourish.

Coming to that realization is a difficult process. However, it is absolutely necessary if we are to learn how to understand each other and if we are ever to live an easier life.

We should abide by international accords, for example, the Vienna Accords, which guarantee people's freedoms to think as they will and to be who they want to be. These accords proceed from the recognition of peoples' dignity and guarantee their right to live wherever they chose, going to and coming from their country at will. I'm especially pleased that, since taking office, I have managed to direct part of our ministry's activities toward that effort. The example of Mstislav Rostropovich and Galina Vishnevskaya confirms my words.

I believe the most important thing is to pool our efforts to attain success. We must reassess the past, putting all troubles and misfortunes, all joys and hopes, in the right perspective. We must realize that, even in the country's hardest years, there were good things as well as bad.

I am optimistic. Our country is experiencing something that has never happened before. Many courageous steps are being taken to safeguard our cultural heritage. ■

MUSIC ON PORCELAIN

Text and Photographs by
Robert Papikyan

hobby



Your creations are truly music on porcelain. Thank you for the impressions," reads one entry in the Visitors Book of amateur artist Svetlana Fainberg's exhibit. The writer of those words was right on the money. Fainberg, who resides in Moscow, teaches music by profession.

"I took up painting as a child and almost immediately began working in oil," Fainberg told me as we strolled through the exhibit hall. "However, I chose a different profession. After graduating from the Gnesin's Music Institute, I taught piano at the Oktyabrsky District Music School for many years. About 15 years ago, I resumed my hobby and began painting porcelain plates."

On the walls of the exhibition hall were more than 100 of Fainberg's plates, each with a different color scheme, pattern, and design. Some plates showed decorative patterns, others landscapes

and still lifes—each creation a masterpiece of improvisation. Thinking it must have taken a great deal of time to create such beauty, I asked the artist how long it takes her to make one. Her answer surprised me. "Not long," Fainberg said. "I work quickly. Sometimes I'll spend a whole day on a plate, other times, just a couple of hours."

As a musician, Fainberg often is called upon to sight-read. You could say that she "sight-paints" too. When she sits down to work, she never starts with a sketch or a preconceived idea in mind. She relies totally on feeling, improvising as she goes. The finished plates are fired in a special kiln.

The Phenomenal Pasternak

By Lev Ozerov

The image of Boris Pasternak, the poet and the man, grows fuller and clearer with the years as it frees itself from the untruths heaped upon it by the ill-intentioned.

Boris Pasternak's creative genius spanned a remarkable period in Russian and Soviet history, from before the October Revolution to the Stalinist era, during which time his kind and gentle soul grieved over the calamities that befell his compatriots.

Born in Moscow on February 10, 1890, Pasternak grew up surrounded by culture. His father, Leonid Pasternak, an artist and a member of the Academy of Art, taught painting, sculpture, and architecture. His mother, Rozalia Kaufman, a well-known pianist and pupil of Anton Rubinstein, nurtured a love for music in her son. The writer later described his passion for music in his autobiography, *Safe Conduct*:

I cannot imagine my life without music. . . . For me, music was a cult, a focal point that absorbed all that was superstitious and self-abnegating in me. . . .

Throughout Pasternak's childhood, prominent musicians and writers gathered in his home. One visitor was Leo Tolstoy, many of whose books were illustrated by Boris' father.

Serious musical training fostered in young Pasternak the dream of becoming a composer. At age 13 he started to write music and to study music theory and composition. His favorite composer was Alexander Scriabin, whom he practically worshiped.

"I loved music more than anything else in the world, and Scriabin more than any other composer," Pasternak stated in his autobiography. As he

himself put it, he "started babbling musically much earlier than he started babbling in writing." His devotion to music could not but affect his treatment of the word, above all, as the vehicle of sound, which left an imprint on all his works, especially his early books.

Though his musical compositions won Scriabin's approval, Pasternak grew depressed as he discovered he did not have perfect pitch. As a result, he decided to give up composing altogether, much to the disappointment of his friends and family, but he felt fully justified.

Besides music, there was painting, and young Pasternak looked on as well-known artists of the day frequented his father's studio. At exhibitions arranged in the art school where his father taught, Pasternak became one of the first to see many works that were later to become masterpieces, prized possessions of the most prestigious art galleries around the world.

There were other impressions besides the artistic: The Russo-Japanese War and the revolutionary events of 1905 upset his peaceful, meditative life.

After graduating from school in 1908, Pasternak enrolled in the law school of Moscow University, but on Scriabin's advice, he transferred to the history department the following year to study philosophy.

Pasternak spent the summer before graduation in 1913 in Germany taking a finishing course at Marburg University. Once there, he received an invitation to remain and work to-

ward his doctorate, but he turned it down flatly, just as he had so resolutely given up composing.

From Marburg he took short jaunts to Venice and Florence, where he became acquainted with Italian architecture and the painting and sculpture of the old masters.

Pasternak's first poems were published in 1913 in a book of collected verse titled *Lyrics*. The author never included these poems in any of his later books, and they were never reissued while he was alive.

His second collection of verse, *Above the Barriers*, was published, with cuts made by censors, in 1917, before the October Revolution. Pasternak compiled his third collection, *My Sister, Life*, about the same time, that is, in the summer of 1917, but it was published only five years later. This collection essentially brought the young poet to the public eye.

In the mid-twenties Pasternak made a decisive turn in his poetry. The poem "The Lofty Malady," published in 1924, depicted the Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets. Two historical and revolutionary narrative poems about the 1905 Revolution followed: "Nineteen Hundred Five" and "Schmidt." Both pieces were widely acclaimed by the critics. And in 1930 Pasternak's *Spektorskii*, a lengthy poem sometimes called a novel in verse, appeared.

The lyric poetry that Pasternak wrote during the same period that he was working on his narrative poems and immediately after make up a section called "Poems of Different Years" in the book *Second Birth* ►



*Boris Pasternak
in 1922.*

(1932). These poems and intensive work on translations and prose constituted the poet's experimental laboratory where he developed his new style.

Beginning in 1936, Pasternak lived in Peredelkino, a small town near Moscow, where, systematically and with great concentration, he wrote poetry and prose and did a good deal of translations. When the Nazis attacked the Soviet Union, Pasternak signed up for military training, hoping to be sent to the front. However, he and his family, like other writers, were evacuated to Chistopol on the Kama River.

In 1943 Pasternak toured the front line with a group of writers. This visit resulted in a large cycle of poems and essays, which were published much later, and the unfinished narrative poem "Red Sky."

During the war Pasternak wrote a number of poems that were included as a cycle in the book *On Early Trains (Poems About the War)* and worked on translations of Shakespeare that he had started before the war. He continued working on translations after the war ended. Among Shakespeare's plays that Pasternak translated were *Hamlet*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Henry IV*, and *King Lear*. The translations were accompanied by notes, an article on Shakespeare, and principles for translating the great Englishman's works. The more important and successful of his translations are parts of Goethe's *Doktor Faustus*, Schiller's *Mary Stuart*, dramas of Kleist and Calderon, and lyric poems by Petofi, Verlaine, Byron, Keats, Rilke, and Tagore.

After the war Pasternak published *Terrestrial Expanse* (1945) and *Selected Verses and Narrative Poems* (1945). He spent most of 1956 and 1957 preparing a collection of his poetry and narrative poems, and working on and correcting his texts. His last book of poetry, *When the Skies Clear* (1956-1959), was published posthumously as part of the large book *Verses and Narrative Poems*.

The publication in Italy of his novel *Doctor Zhivago* in 1957 and the subsequent award of the Nobel Prize in 1958 caused a terrible scandal at home, forcing Pasternak to refuse to

accept the award. Newspapers and magazines raised a frenzied howl, and people who hadn't read the novel, or any of Pasternak's writings for that matter, felt compelled to vent their views. Part of the student body at the Institute of Literature demanded that Pasternak be driven out of the country, while the USSR Writers Union expelled him. The reactions came as no surprise since Pasternak had previously been censured from time to time and had been refused publication for opposing the authorities. Regarded officially as a domestic emigrant, Pasternak felt that his lot was that of any true and honest writer or artist who, according to him, was a "captive of the times." Boris Pasternak died on May 30, 1960.

Outwardly, the strophe and rhythm of Pasternak's verse fully correspond to the Russian classical tradition, which explodes from the inside out. Pasternak embraced the experience of symbolism and futurism, that of Vladimir Mayakovsky, above all. Yet in their artistic aspirations, Pasternak and Mayakovsky were antipodes: The former addressed people individually, while the latter addressed everyone collectively.

In Pasternak there are subtle associations and complex syntax; in Mayakovsky, the garishness of a poster and simple syntax.

Metaphor and compositional asymmetry dominate Pasternak's early work, epithet and symmetry his later work. His vocabulary was voluminous and is the object of special research. Pasternak had no prohibited words or filters for style. Every word was good as long as it served the purpose, suited the context, and conveyed the meaning precisely. In this respect, Pasternak has no equal.

For some time Pasternak was portrayed as a recluse who fenced himself off from people and the epoch. Whenever he heard that, he was hurt, and he once told me: "They've immured me and are now standing by and beckoning me with their finger, saying: 'Come here, come join us!'"

He responded bitterly: "My false views have become dogma because

they are coupled with other views that are irrefutable or even sacred, so that part of their absolute truth rubs off onto the former." Those words are food for thought even now.

Pasternak's speeches, which defy recording, and his transitions from theme to theme, from thought to thought, have given me an invaluable education. The man's personality, his knack for mixing with people in his own specific way, his manner of thought and ways of expressing it (together with his poetry, prose, translations, and letters), were an object lesson for me.

Pasternak was no orator or lecturer. Perish the thought! He was an inspired artist whether in the presence of one man or many—never was he alone, bent over a sheet of paper. He would give vent to his exaltation, his ardor, his staggering associations, to expressing what he had experienced and what he foresaw. These improvisations grew more dramatic from year to year and toward the end of his life they were frankly tragic, just as in his poem "Hamlet":

*The roaring stops.
I walk on-stage.*

Several times Pasternak touched on a theme that, apparently, was very important to him. The gist of it was that people have no problem learning how to acquire and to gain. But, more important, people should learn to lose, to accustom themselves to losses. Living with gains is easy; living with loss is hard, but no one escapes. Throughout his life Pasternak lost manuscripts, friends, and relatives, and that was all very painful. Yet he bore the bitterness of loss philosophically and continued to write.

I call Pasternak "a gray-haired youth who believed only in the miracle of life." And he spent his life extolling that miracle. He preserved that miracle deep within his soul, and he had no trouble inculcating it in others, including me. And for that, I am forever grateful. ■

Lev Ozerov, poet and literary historian, is a professor at the Moscow Institute of Literature. He knew Boris Pasternak personally.

Boris Pasternak

DEFINITION OF CREATIVENESS

With shirt burst open wide, it stands,
maned as Beethoven's bust, and tight
holds like chessmen in upturned hands
dream and conscience, love and night.

A certain ebony king: in rage,
anguished, still prepares for doom
the world, a warrior engaged
in riding the pawn-plodders down.

In gardens where from cellars of ice
the stars in fragrance rise again,
(a nightingale in Isolde's vine)
chokes Tristan's freezing-throb of pain.

Pools, gardens, palings, in their fashion—
seethed with white tears, the whole great span
of things—are only types of passion
hoarded by the heart of man.

1923

Translated by Jack Lindsay

THE PROXY

I live with your picture, the one that is laughing,
Whose fingers are twisting together as they
Intertwine and bend back till the wrists are
near breaking—
Whose guests settle sadly to stay and to stay.

Who from the packs' slapping, Rakoczy's bravado,
Chrystal drops in the guestroom, chrystal glasses
and guests,

Runs flaming, escaping, along the piano
From the whalebone, the roses, the bones,
the rosettes.

Then, your tresses be tumbled, a rosebud, a tea rose,
All dizzy and drooping pinned into your sash,
You waltz playfully into the limelight,
your teeth closed

So tight on your stole that your mouth's like a gash.

Then, crushing the skin in your hand, you demolish
A cool tangerine, in haste to regain
The chandeliered, shuttered-off room
where the waltz is

Exhaling its musky-warm vapors again.

1917

* * *

In everything I seek to grasp
The fundamental:
The daily choice, the daily task,
The sentimental;

To plumb the essence of the past,
The first foundations,
The crux, the roots, the inmost hearts,
The explanations;

And, puzzling out the weave of fate,
Events' observer,
To live, feel, love and meditate
And to discover.

Oh, if my skill did but suffice
After a fashion,
In eight lines I'd anatomize
The parts of passion.

I'd write of sins, forbidden fruit,
Of chance-seized shadows;
Of hasty flight and hot pursuit,
Of palms, of elbows,

Define its laws and origin
In terms judicial,
Repeat the names it glories in,
And the initials.

I'd sinews strain my verse to shape
Like a trim garden:
The limes should blossom down the nape,
A double cordon,

My verse should breathe the fresh-clipped hedge,
Roses and meadows
And mint and new-mown hay and sedge,
The thunder's bellows,

As Chopin once in his études
Miraculously conjured
Parks, groves, graves and solitudes—
A living wonder.

The moment of achievement caught
Twixt sport and torment
A singing bowstring shuddering taut,
A stubborn bow bent.

1956

Translated by Avril Pyman



CAPTIVE OF THE TIMES

By Mark Grigoriyev
Photographs by Alexander Grashchenkov

Director Andrei Nekrasov (right) checks out a scene from behind the camera. Right: Leonid Maizel, the young star of the film Boris Pasternak. The actor bears a striking resemblance to the poet as he looked in photographs taken at the start of the century. Facing page: Another young star, Darya Khudyakova, is cast in two roles—Olga Ivinskaya, Boris Pasternak's real-life friend, and Lara, the heroine of *Doctor Zhivago*.



Russian Video of Leningrad has recently finished filming *Boris Pasternak*, a coproduction with Antelope Films Limited of Great Britain. The movie was shot on location in Leningrad—on its streets and embankments and on the sets of the well-known Lenfilm Studios—and in the old Russian town of Yaroslavl on the Volga River.

What's the movie about? Simple as that question may seem, answering it may be as difficult as attempting to summarize a Pasternak poem.

Andrei Nekrasov, who wrote the screenplay for *Boris Pasternak* and directed the production, draws a similarity between the poet's own moral quests and those of his literary characters. In the movie, Nekrasov seeks to intertwine Pasternak's own life story with the plot of his novel *Doctor Zhivago*. After reading the screenplay, I believe that the



movie is sure to tax the audiences' imagination, and I predict that it won't be a huge box-office hit. When I told that to Nekrasov, he wasn't surprised. He said he never planned for the movie to make big money.

"The spirit of Pasternak's poetry and novel is a search for the source of all life," explained Nekrasov. "Art is created by reality, not by the artist. Pasternak noticed that himself in his *Safe Conduct*: 'Nature unfolds to form the expanse of a story, and in this state it is quietly transferred to the canvas,' he wrote. I want the movie *Boris Pasternak* to transcend the limits of the cinematographic medium. I know it's a futile hope, but getting as close as possible to that is every artist's dream. Pasternak and his literary creation Yuri Zhivago were always aware of their place in history. For them, not only world-shattering events but also what happens to every person, minute by minute, is what history is all about."

Though the director is Russian, he represented the British Antelope Films on the set. Nekrasov was born in Leningrad and attended school there. He grew up during a time when many young people started to rebel against what they considered the lies and illusions of their parents' life. Many of the young people, instead of entering professions they had trained for, chose to take jobs as street cleaners, forest rangers, and the like. Others like Nekrasov decided to emigrate.

When I asked him why, he paraphrased Zhivago: "You can't act contrary to your inclinations day by day, praise what you actually dislike, or be happy at what makes you sad without ruining your health."

And yet, when reminiscing about his teens, Nekrasov ►

doesn't believe they were a total waste. "Poetry was our salvation," he said. "Poetry in the broadest sense of the word—literature as poetry, the city as poetry, and friendship as poetry. But for that, my whole generation risked growing up cynical and immoral. We sought refuge in the great treasures of Russian culture."

Nekrasov never got into trouble with the Soviet authorities, but neither did he have peace of mind.

In 1979, after studying to be an actor for a year, Nekrasov met an American girl. They married and left for New York. Nekrasov worked for a couple of months and then received a fellowship to attend Columbia University. That boosted his confidence. He was in his element. But a year later...

"I felt a terrible longing for the Old World," said Nekrasov. "America is different from us and Europe, both materially and spiritually. Americans think differently. Of course, I'm not saying that all of them do, but many of them view culture as something to be bought, not as a matter of morality. It's not easy to explain what I mean, but I attempted to express my feelings in the documentary *Russians as They Are*, which is about three Russian emigrants in America. To make a long story short, I transferred into the French Department at Columbia, majored in philosophy, and earned my master's degree. But the 'cinema bug' had bitten me way back in Leningrad. So it was logical that I eventually ended up in England, studying to be a professional film director.

"Why do I have such an interest in Pasternak? I'm quite critical of the social setups both in the East and in the West, but I'd never be that presumptuous to

pass judgments or make recommendations. I was with Andrei Tarkovsky on Gotland island in Sweden when he was shooting his film *Sacrifice*. Tarkovsky was very homesick for Russia—not for black bread or Russian vodka, but for the Russian soul.

"Pasternak never left his country, but his emotional state was close to that of Ivan Karamazov's in Dostoyevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*. Remember Ivan's desire to turn in his ticket to life, not wanting to exist in a world where the high boots of one trample underfoot the truth of another. I really share Pasternak's philosophy about life being an ever rejuvenating and changing thing.

"In a sense, writers are also doctors, pointing to sore spots, making diagnoses, often intuitively, and helping healthy bodies fight disease. But writers have the even more difficult job of dealing with the human spirit and the spirit of the times, not with an individual's body.

"*Doctor Zhivago* was published in the Soviet Union more than 30 years after it was penned. This fact is all the more bitter when you consider that the novel echoes today's thinking about the priority of global values. If people had had the chance to read the masterpiece back in the 1950s, perhaps many would have retained a faith in the invincibility of the free spirit and the eventual triumph of the truth and justice!"

Nekrasov's film *Boris Pasternak* has an all-Russian cast. The director insisted on that, fearing the film would be yet another travesty of the Russian realities of the kind Western directors often produce when they cast foreign stars as Russians. Interestingly, very young beginning actors are cast in the principal parts in the movie.

Actor Leonid Maizel, who plays young Pasternak, puts in an impressive performance. With his high cheekbones and self-absorbed look, Maizel is the spitting image of young Pasternak. But striking as this likeness is, I was at first skeptical about Maizel being capable of making the poet come to life on the screen. Maizel was born after Pasternak died and grew up during a time when the poet's name had to be either totally forgotten or vilified.

"I remember reading a Xerox copy of *Doctor Zhivago* back in high school," Maizel told me. "Before that I had read his poetry and had known about his difficult life. Obviously, I know more about him now, and it's a pity, in a way. You see, when you read poetry or prose, it's natural to idealize the author, but knowing about his life ruins your preconceptions. It's difficult to play Yuri Zhivago, a humane, philosophical person. But then, playing Pasternak is equally hard if you haven't experienced all the hardships that he did. I gave it my best though. In any case, my wife claims I have better manners now."

After talking with Maizel, I felt compelled to speak with the film's female lead, Darya Khudyakova. "I was overjoyed to appear in the film," said Khudyakova. "Actually, I'm cast in two roles—Olga Ivinskaya, Pasternak's real-life friend, and Lara, a character from his novel *Doctor Zhivago*. My interpretation of the roles tries to combine the two characters. During filming I even fell to fantasizing that I had inspired Pasternak to write his poetry and the novel. What audacity, wouldn't you say? So to keep my imagination from running away with me, I'd keep repeating lines from Pasternak's poems." ■



JONATHAN LIVINGSTON FLIES IN MOSCOW

Most parents and teachers would agree that fostering an appreciation for the arts in children is not easy, but that is exactly what Moscow Pedagogical Institute graduate Albina Bratasyuk and her husband, Alexander Komarov, had in mind when they started their Evening Studio of the Arts two years ago. Schoolchildren who attend the Evening Studio are learning how to paint, sculpt, carve, and dance. In addition, they are receiving an introduction to the arts of antiquity. The studio founders feel that through an appreciation for beauty, the children will seek to discover themselves and to develop their natural talents.

One of the studio's projects was an outdoor performance (above) of the play *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*, based on Richard Bach's novel, which focuses on the human values of love, goodness, compassion, and faith. Right: Student Alexandra Pikunova in character. ■



THE LAST REFORMER

By Boris Alexeyev
Reproductions by Igor Boiko

Once the scorn of official artdom, Soviet painter Anatoli Zverev is now being acclaimed "a discovery of the century."

He had a peculiar manner of painting. Taking just a few quick glances at his subject, he threw himself into his work. His face distorted by strain, he grabbed a jar of paint and poured it onto a sheet of paper, feverishly daubing the paint with a wad of wool, scratching it with his fingernails, and spreading it with his fingers. After about 15 minutes of frenzied work, he smiled and wiped the beads of sweat from his brow. The portrait of the young woman whom I had accompanied to the studio was ready. Whenever I look at that picture, gaudy and tender at the same time, I can't help thinking about the mysterious talent of the man who painted it—Anatoli Zverev.

I first heard about Zverev in the sixties, when the official reaction to him was extremely negative and his work was dismissed as "lunacy." Today Zverev's paintings hang in the world's most prestigious museums, and art experts study his technique.

A recent Zverev exhibit in Moscow drew huge, enthusiastic crowds. Unfortunately, the one-man show was held more than three years after the



artist's death. Zverev died in 1986 at the age of 55. Over his lifetime he had created nearly 30,000 works.

Anatoli Zverev was born in 1931 in an outlying district of Moscow where his peasant parents had settled after leaving their native village. As a disabled Civil War veteran, his father received a pension, while his mother earned a living cleaning offices. Anatoli had a number of brothers and sisters, and life was hard.

Drawing was nearly the sole joy of Anatoli's boyhood. "I remember clutching a pencil in my hand and drawing a sparrow," the artist once recalled. "Later I moved on to copying trees, a peasant woman, and the grass in a primitive painting that hung on a wall of our house."

Zverev began his formal study of painting when he left school at the age of 15. From 1946 to 1950 he attended an art school in Preobrazhenskaya Square in Moscow. He always spoke about his first drawing teacher, Dmitri Lopatnikov, with great affection, saying that the years at the art school were the happiest of his life.

Things were quite different at the art institute to which he gained admission after a stint in the navy. Zverev couldn't accept the institute's teaching methods, and he was expelled. From then on he worked on



his own, sometimes in complete isolation. That was a bad period.

"I'm through with the art institute," he wrote a friend. "I'm coming home, a lonely sailor with odd shoes, walking down the boulevard, only to discover that no one is waiting for me."

Until 1952 Zverev painted mainly landscapes. His work was strongly influenced by two leading Russian nineteenth century landscape painters, Alexei Savrasov and Isaac Levitan. However, little by little, Zverev became disappointed with their realistic ►

Dancing with Lanterns.
1985. Oil on canvas.



Above:
Fisherman.
1960. Oil
on cardboard.
Right: Captured
Moment. 1979.
Oil on canvas.



Above: Portrait of
Velimir Khlebnikov.
1981. Oil on canvas.
Top: Portrait of
Artist Vladimir
Nemukhin. 1968.
Oil on canvas.

approach, though he never ceased to value them. His new idol was Mikhail Vrubel, a Russian artist who lived at the turn of the century. In Vrubel, Zverev found what had always intrigued him—expression.

In 1955 an exhibition of French im-

pressionist and postimpressionist artists was held in Moscow. Cezanne's works had a stunning effect on Zverev, though the Frenchman's method was alien to him. Van Gogh's works had the greatest appeal. As Zverev later said, he rushed to experi-

ment, "goaded on by a strange desire to do my own thing."

The artist's final break with academic tradition came in the fifties when Zverev was commissioned to decorate a playground in Moscow's Sokolniki Park. A pail of paint and ►



Above: Mirror of Jealousy. 1986. Oil on canvas. Far left: Self-portrait. 1962. Oil on cardboard. Left: Nina. 1980. Mixed media on paper.

several paintbrushes in hand, he started daubing paint onto huge sheets of plywood. "Intuition was my guide," he later said. "My hand seemed to move on its own." Eventually, he put the brushes aside altogether and finished the work with a broom.

Years later Georgi Kostaki, a prominent Moscow art collector, visited Sokolniki Park especially to see the red cockerels painted with a broom. Kostaki said he was more impressed with Zverev's work than with Marc Chagall's paintings he had seen in Paris.

Once when Zverev was sketching in Sokolniki Park, he met Alexander Rumnev, an artist and director of a pantomime theater. That chance meeting was to have an enormous impact on Zverev's life. Surprised by the unique talent of his new friend, Rumnev offered to give Zverev drawing lessons and to teach him foreign languages.

Zverev began to draw very fast, mixing mediums: oil and water colors, water colors and Indian ink, and so on. He achieved extraordinary results with water colors and a variety of techniques, while painting with oils was an enigma that proved very hard to master. All the while Zverev's work became more and more abstract as he attempted to create an image with just a few energetic strokes.

Using the hit-or-miss technique, Zverev would complete as many as 20 to 30 drawings in less than two hours. Some were real masterpieces, others no good at all.

Slowly, ever so slowly—ironically, his favorite animal was the tortoise—Zverev was becoming famous. Private collectors in Moscow, Paris, London, Washington, New York, and Jerusalem sought out his works.

In 1957 his prints were exhibited in Moscow on the occasion of a world youth festival, and two years later *Life* magazine published reproductions of several of his paintings. Then the Museum of Modern Art in New York acquired three of his water colors.

Zverev's fame continued to grow, though official art critics were scornful of his work. Other artists, however, began to change their views. Shortly before his death, Robert Falk, a prom-

inent Soviet painter, chided his fellow artists for laughing at Zverev's water colors. "Take care of Anatoli," Falk said. "Every touch of his brush is a treasure. Artists of such caliber are born once in a hundred years. Philosophical vision and interpretation are wonderful gifts that Zverev the Thinker has bestowed upon Zverev the Artist."

In the late fifties Zverev received many commissions for portraits, continually surprising, sometimes even offending, his clients. They weren't shocked so much by the paintings themselves as by his eccentric way of executing them: He'd flick the ashes of his cigarette onto the canvas or throw cigarette butts and other garbage onto it.

Accustomed to working on the floor, Zverev never minded when a cat or dog trekked across his canvas. "The animals added substantial details to my work," he'd say. "I never would have thought of them myself."

One diplomat's wife recalled the strange circumstances under which she met Zverev. Having arrived at his studio for a sitting, the woman was greeted by the artist, who immediately left the room. He returned in a few minutes with a razor and shaving brush in his hand. "At first I thought I had arrived so early that he hadn't had a chance to shave," she said. "But was I surprised when, without so much as a word, he dipped his shaving brush into a jar of paint and started making quick strokes with it on a sheet of paper! Here and there he scratched at the sheet of paper with the razor."

In the early sixties Zverev gave up painting for a time—some claim he had a nervous breakdown—and went with his wife to Tambov Region, the birthplace of his parents. When the artist returned to Moscow, his work appeared less agitated and his technique less experimental. He devoted his paintings to capturing images from his subconscious, for the most part failing in his attempts. Critics say that Zverev's later works are overloaded with insignificant details and the paint is too thick. Even so, the critics agree that he did manage to create a number of truly exceptional paintings. ■

The artist In profile . . .

Anatoli Zverev was a restless person, who seldom stayed in his own apartment in Moscow for more than a few days at a time. He either rented a room elsewhere in town or moved to another city altogether. He often stayed with his friends or on warm summer nights frequently slept on a bench in the park.

He loved a good joke and kept his friends in stitches with limericks.

Van Gogh and Rembrandt, among many others, were his favorites, whom, he'd say casually, "I either know by name or can't remember." He admired all his contemporary avant-garde artists because "they have a future, the present, or at least the past."

One friend remembered: "Whenever we went out of town together to sketch, Anatoli kept me entertained with captivating stories from Russian history. He was a wonderful storyteller and an avid reader of history books."

Welcoming visitors to Zverev's posthumous exhibit was a huge poster with the following text:

"Zverev was undoubtedly one of the last reformers of Russian painting. In the context of what was happening in art in the fifties and the sixties, he proved that sometimes two eyes can see better than four. He developed an aggressive style of painting, which eventually brought him acclaim. . . . He had an original vision of the world, which he forced on his audience. He was convincing because of his devotion to the most irrational thing in the world—art."



I am glad that the USSR Tennis Federation and the Women's International Tennis Association have come to an understanding and that a Virginia Slims tournament will be held in Moscow," said Joshua Ripple of ProServe, Inc. at a news conference.

The USSR Tennis Federation signed a mutual support agreement with ProServe, Inc., a management company that has been organizing similar tournaments for the past 20 years. ProServe is sharing its experience with the Soviet sports federation and helping it find sponsors for future events.

From October 5 to 10, 1989, tennis fans worldwide kept their eyes on the courts at Moscow's Olympic Complex.

Virginia Slims is the main sponsor of the annual tournaments, which consist of 60 stages. The money stakes for each tournament range from ▶

RACKET POWER

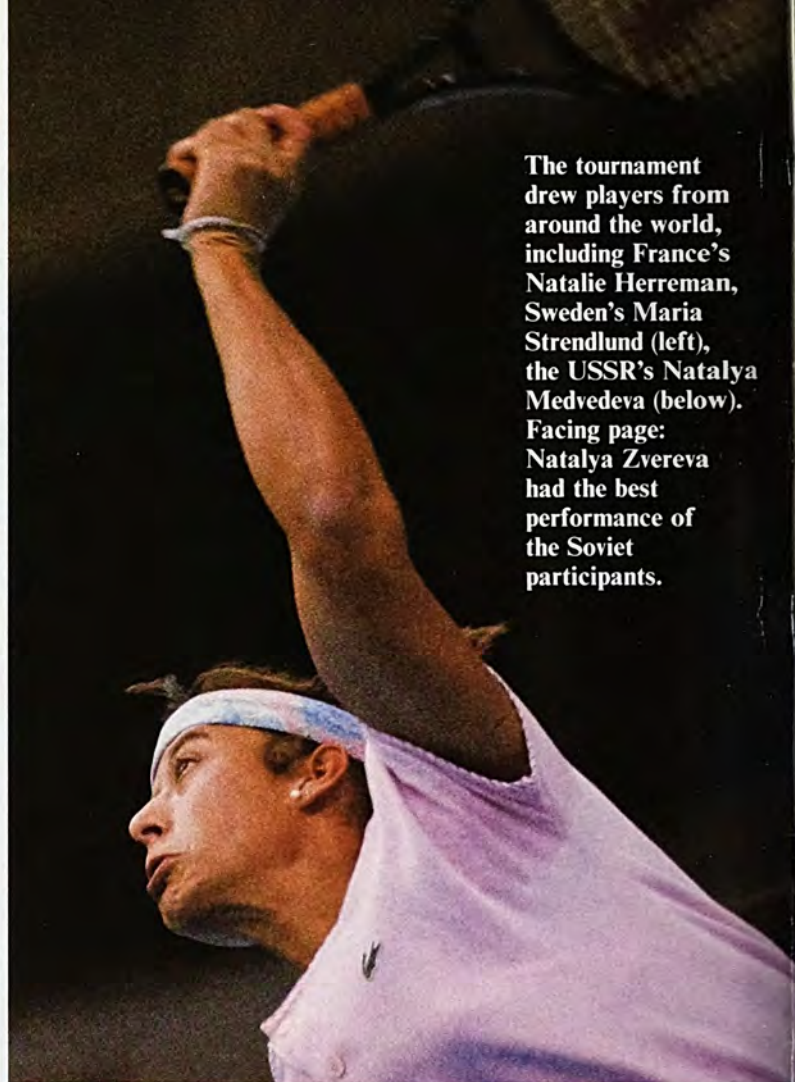
By Olga Grendal
Photographs by
Vladimir Vyatkin

With ability and
prowess, 25-year-old
Gretchen Magers
from Texas snared
top honors at
Moscow's Virginia
Slims tournament.



75,000 to 500,000 dollars. Players in Moscow, for example, vied for a purse of 100,000 dollars.

Soviet tennis star Natalya Zvereva called the Moscow Virginia Slims series an event in world tennis. According to U.S. tennis pro Pam Shriver, the world's ninth seed, the purse was too small to draw most tennis celebrities. "But it's a good start," she added.



The tournament drew players from around the world, including France's Natalie Herreman, Sweden's Maria Strendlund (left), the USSR's Natalya Medvedeva (below). Facing page: Natalya Zvereva had the best performance of the Soviet participants.





Branda Perry, former first seed from New Zealand, was head umpire of the Moscow matches. Perry also supervised the players' accommodations and meals. "Congratulations are in order for everyone who worked so hard to make the tournament a success," she said. "It was a high-level tournament. Even the most whimsical players liked the Olympic Sports Complex and its courts."

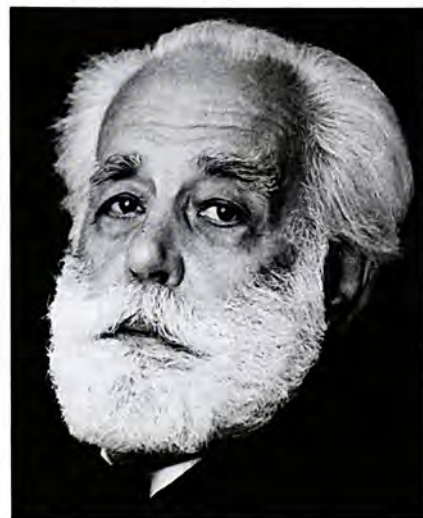
Shriver and Zvereva, ranked fourteenth in the world, were considered among the most likely winners of the Moscow tournament. While Shriver received the Lady of the Court award for outstanding conduct and sportsmanship, Zvereva advanced to the finals to face Gretchen Magers, 25, of San Antonio, Texas, ranked thirty-fifth in the world. Magers emerged victorious, beating Zvereva 6-3, 6-4. ■

**NEXT
ISSUE**



SPECIAL: MOSCOW AND MUSCOVITES

A photo story in the April issue takes you along the Arbat, the street that has retained most of the old-Moscow image.



Fifteen years ago energetic 70-year-old Yuri Romanenko—actor, director, and drama teacher—set up a free drama studio, Harmony, in his apartment so he could train young people for theatrical institutions. His former students often come to visit their former master and to perform in his productions.

COMING SOON

**The USSR Through the Eyes of
SOVIET LIFE Readers**



Anatoli Zverev. Snow Maiden. 1985. Oil on cardboard.

STUDENT EDITION
READING ROOM

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Soviet Life

April 1990 • \$2.25



Special Issue
MOSCOW

BAKER IN MOSCOW



U.S. Secretary of State James Baker made an official three-day visit to Moscow in early February. A new cycle has begun in the Soviet-American political dialogue. Never before did the two sides have such a large agenda, above all, in the area of dismantling the structure of military confrontation that had developed during the cold war years.

Each of the five traditional areas of Soviet-American talks—disarmament, regional problems, humanitarian cooperation, bilateral relations, and international issues—had a full agenda. The main aim of Baker's trip was to settle a number of specific problems to pave the way for President Mikhail Gorbachev's trip to Washington, which is expected to take place in June. Baker went to Moscow with proposals aimed at achieving compromise solutions of some of the issues that have evaded agreement in the long Soviet-American dialogue. The Soviet side also advanced some new proposals for the resolution of these issues. (See also "Witness to History," page 31.)

EDITOR'S NOTES

City Without Fear" was the title of a feature article about Moscow that appeared in SOVIET LIFE in November 1975. Our subscribers must have read it with envy. An American journalist, Mike Davidow, presented a radiant picture of life in the Soviet capital. There was hardly any crime, Muscovites freely walked about in the dead of night without worrying about being held up, and the militia—an angelic host—got out of practice doing crime prevention work. A mild lecture to a mischievous teenager was the most difficult task a militia member faced.

Now, 15 years later, we are publishing another Moscow issue. Again,

it includes information about crime—but now the articles paint a blacker picture. Journalists had no access to crime statistics in 1975. Also, the situation has become much worse since then, when you could talk reason with the underworld. Now you get the impression you are in the Chicago of the crazy twenties when you turn on the local news on Moscow TV.

Things are going from bad to worse, you say as you compare the two issues—not only that *glasnost* made the dire statistics available to all eyes. Industrial pollution is skyrocketing. Consumer goods and foodstuffs are in shorter supply than they have been for many years.

But there are some joys in our life now. What matters most is the newfound sense of freedom. Muscovites speak out on all social and political issues. Enterprising people can try their hand in business. You can buy services now. Last but not least, it is much simpler to travel abroad.

Moscow is living a rich and versatile cultural and political life. This was the unanimous opinion of American journalists I met in Moscow. Relations with officials are simpler than ever, and the work is very interesting.

I hope this issue gives you a taste of today's Moscow.

Robert Tsfasman

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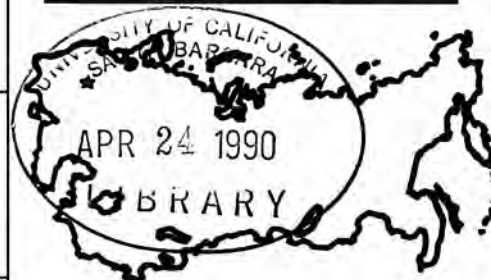
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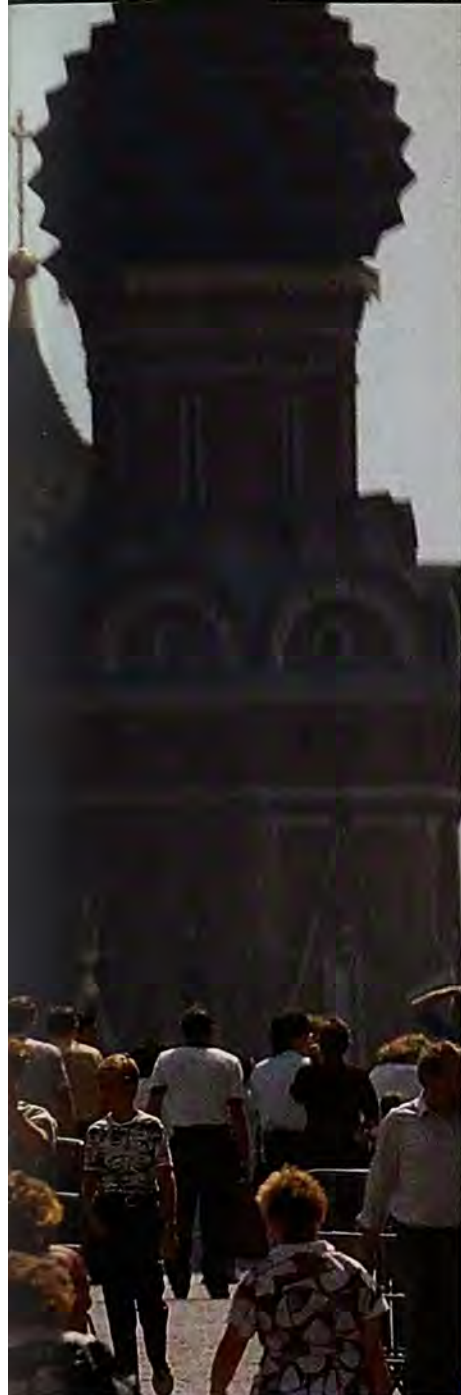
By Oleg Volkov

Photographs by Victor Chernov

On a starlit autumn evening I stand on one of Moscow University's top-most balconies, high above the invisible earth. I can see Moscow's countless lights stretching out before me. They reach out in every direction to the horizonlike galaxies of stars, and I cannot tell some of them from the real stars. I see streetlights, millions of lights in Muscovites' apart-

ments, powerful searchlights trained on a colonnade or a tall bronze monument, and signal lamps on cranes that stand motionless till the morning. I see thousands of warning lights for airplanes on high-rises, radio and TV masts, tent-roofed belfries, and smokestacks.

Examining the city from above, you can pick out individual elements in the seeming chaos of its lights—a string of identical dots spaced at



Moscow's architectural styles range from the famous Cathedral of the Intercession, better known as St. Basil's, in Red Square to functional modern. St. Basil's was built by Barma and Postnik in the sixteenth century by order of Czar Ivan the Terrible.



regular intervals or in a semicircle, for instance. These are Moscow thoroughfares, squares, boulevards, and side streets, which are quiet at this late hour, with thinning crowds and traffic and half-empty trolley buses.

When the daytime bustle dies down, the sidewalks empty, and vehicles no longer honk under the streetlights, you can get a more profound insight into the character of Moscow. You get to thinking about the endless variety of streets, boulevards, and lanes in this age-old city, the capital of Russia and of the Soviet Union. Each area in Moscow has a history all its own: Some date from the Middle Ages, while others, the new residential sections, have yet to celebrate their first decade. Moscow is expanding, a mixture of old and new.

Nothing is more exciting for me than to stroll through the familiar city and watch the façades, which convey a veritable history lesson. One day I stumbled on a ramshackle old house on Pyatnitskaya Street. On the house was a memorial plaque in bas-relief depicting Leo Tolstoy, who lived there in his younger years. The ordinary place gained importance right away, as if some of Russian literary glory had rubbed off on the building. I looked reverently at Tolstoy's house. The great novelist wrote there; he met with Afanasi Fet and Apollon Grigoriev, well-known poets of the time; he thought, laughed, and suffered there.

There is a small tent-roofed belfry in Nogin (formerly Varvarinskaya) Square. Nothing much to look at (it has numerous cousins in Moscow),



its location is half obscured by an imposing commercial building. But anyone would stop to take a closer look at this church, the Church of All Saints in Kulishki. It was built by Dmitri Donskoi, the Grand Prince of Moscow, to commemorate all those who died in the battle against the Tatars on Kulikovo Field in 1380. The church stands on the site of a dilapidated wooden chapel where Dmitri had services read before his army set out for the campaign.

At this moment you can forget the looming office building and modern structures, the traffic all around, and the crisscrossing power lines overhead; you can visualize a wooden chapel on a damp meadow, dark crowds, dismounted riders in chain mail, flags and pennants flapping in the sky. You can almost hear the horses neigh-

ing, the weapons clinking, and the prayers being chanted discordantly. You can see the exhausted faces of the foot soldiers who had been pressed into service and had to leave their meager plots but were ready to fight courageously for Russia. Afterward the Grand Prince buried there the bodies of his faithful comrades in arms who had died in a fierce battle on the Nepryadva River.

But the modern city gets a grip on you again. The 600-year-old apparition disappears, and nothing but the outline of the single-cupola church reminds you of the great Russian victory.

And who would be left unmoved by another very evocative name in history—Krasnaya Presnya? Who could read this name on a street sign and not think of the Revolution of 1905, the first resistance the Moscow proletariat offered



Faces of Moscow include the very young, such as the Mishin family (above), about 900,000 full-time and part-time students, and the elderly.

the czar? No person living now remembers these events clearly, but there are buildings still standing that witnessed the exchange of fire between workers of the Prokhorov Factory and the czar's guards, the destruction of the Schmidt Factory by pointblank gunfire, and fires in residential quarters ignited by artillery. Photographs of the period show charred walls and collapsed roofs in the one-story Presnenskiye Baths. The victims were buried in mass unmarked graves.

Every place in Moscow is fraught with memories and echoes of the past. Your imagination feels an inseparable link with past generations; you wonder what kind of memories we will leave behind.

With the sweeping changes under way all the time in Moscow, it's hard to say what gives the

city its distinctive character. So we certainly have to mention the city's expansion, which is changing Moscow's appearance. You cannot find a Muscovite who is indifferent to what the city will look like in the future. Thousands upon thousands are debating the issue enthusiastically, at times even heatedly. But whatever their viewpoint, everyone agrees that more attention should be paid to tradition and history. Concern over the future of the city is a cause for people to rally around. One Moscow newspaper conducted a public opinion poll to find out what people would like to see on the site of a famous movie theater. After all, is the preservation of Moscow's historical treasures only a question of urban development? No; it is also a political, moral, and spiritual question. ■

in focus



BIG CITY, PROBLEMS

By Alexander Tropkin

Perestroika holds out the hope that Moscow will be able to solve many of its problems.

Photographs by Victor Chernov and Alexander Solovyov





Growth is one of the biggest problems facing the capital city of the USSR. Annual population growth is about 90,000, and housing construction and food supplies are hard pressed to keep up. Facing page: Pollution is another problem, and green space is shrinking (top and center). Valeri Saikin (bottom).



Nearly one hundred countries have a smaller population than the city of Moscow. The steady and virtually unmanageable population growth of almost 90,000 a year is one of the key difficulties in solving the social problems of the Soviet capital.

"Moscow is fairly well supplied, but goods are not readily available because one-third of them are bought by visitors. The capital has the country's greatest single industrial potential, but a list of goods in short supply runs to 20 typed pages."

"Let's face it: There are no street cleaners in Moscow. About 8,000 jobs

are available. In the past the issue would have been dealt with in a very simple manner: The work force at a plant or research institute would have gotten brooms and swept their street themselves. Such things no longer happen. And nothing has been suggested to replace this practice."

These quotations are from Moscow newspapers. All were printed on the same day, and they give an idea of the problems plaguing the city. They also give an idea of what is expected of city authorities.

The beginning of *perestroika* coincided with the beginning of the term in office of the current Chairman of

the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet (mayor), Valeri Saikin. Naturally he is associated with all the recent achievements and setbacks. His predecessor, Vladimir Promyslov, was in charge of the city for two decades, but he never came close to solving the city's problems. Instead he concentrated on outward appearances, making the city into a sort of showcase, with majestic, broad avenues and pompous buildings to house the ministries. The problems simply were swept under the rug, where they multiplied, and Muscovites moved into dull blocks of apartment buildings on the outskirts of town. ▢



The city's expansion ran out of control, devouring the suburbs, the traditional recreation spots, and the green areas. The press talked about the "model communist city" that Moscow was becoming. But in fact thousands of people lived in overcrowded apartments, lined up to buy food, and squeezed their way onto the busy municipal buses, subways, and trolleys. The city fathers spoke of utopia, while Muscovites grew increasingly discontent, losing all confidence in the municipal leaders. The only emotional outlet was to tell jokes about high-ranking officials, and hundreds of such jokes made the rounds.

This was Saikin's heritage. He hadn't really thought of having a political job; he had worked at the Likhachev Auto Plant since he was a teenager. He started as a hand at the foundry and rose to become director of the plant three decades later. This experience stood him in good stead when he became mayor of Moscow because the Likhachev plant, also known as ZIL, is like a state within a state. ZIL employs more than 120,000 people and has fixed assets worth three billion rubles.

Saikin has an engineer's mind, not surprisingly, a mind that is pragmatic, free of illusions, and not about to

make empty promises. He himself works tirelessly, and he wants his 300 staff members to work as a team. Unfortunately, the team is not operating very smoothly. While Muscovites do have some legitimate criticisms of the mayor, they don't notice some of the promising changes for the better.

I recently discussed these changes with Saikin.

Q: What was the first thing you did when you took office?

A: Moscow has a million problems, minor and major, and it just doesn't make sense to try to solve them all at the same time. I decided to set prior-



ities first. Housing seems to be the top-priority item. We need to build better housing and more of it. The housing that is built should be comfortable, should have all the conveniences, and should be similar to world standards in quality and in speed of construction.

Another priority is consumer goods and food. Food lines, a common sight at Moscow stores, increase social tension, frustrating people and making them mistrust *perestroika*. The food situation is aggravated by a massive number of visitors—almost three million a day. To deal with the problem, the Moscow City Soviet has taken a

number of important steps. It has finished Europe's largest dairy plant, which will completely satisfy the city's need for dairy products. A meat-processing plant, including sausage-producing shops, has recently been completed.

We have begun renovating the city's communications network—a system that has been in use for more than 50 years and often malfunctions. Renovations are an absolute necessity, and they must be accomplished despite the complaints about the inconveniences of work going on in the streets. In the past the city used to renovate 25 kilometers of pipes, tele-

phone lines, and so forth, every year; now the figure has increased to 140.

Another high priority is environmental protection. The city has recently established a committee to monitor water, air, soil, and radiation levels. The committee also coordinates the operation of several ecology offices and monitors the ecological condition of the city's parks and forest preserves.

Q: How does the program Progress '95 fit into the list of priorities you've drawn up? I know that the City Soviet tabled the program.

A: We hope that the program will en- ➤

***People will no longer tolerate a situation in which
decision making takes place behind closed doors.***

courage each plant or enterprise operating in Moscow to make a contribution to the range of consumer goods available in the stores. We hope that many items will be replaced by new ones. Certainly miracles do not happen overnight. That is why we have to modernize Moscow's enterprises as quickly as possible, introducing new technologies. The light industry sector is going to modernize 76 plants and factories.

The program's other objective, to reduce the work force through automation and computerization, is equally important. The '95 in the name is the target year for accomplishing the program's goals. The overwhelming majority of ministries and government departments support the program's objectives and have promised to be helpful.

To a great extent, the program is geared to accommodating Muscovites' social needs. For instance, it includes 600 outdoor sports areas, more than 200 physical training centers, and 40 swimming pools.

Q: What is behind the idea of self-government for Moscow that you are campaigning for so vigorously?

A: Self-government is a result of *perestroika* and the enhanced social activity and dynamism of the people of Moscow. The people will no longer tolerate a situation in which decision making on vital issues takes place behind closed doors. They demand complete openness in the work of the local authorities, and they undertake projects themselves without orders from above.

About 40 councils and committees for self-government and well over a

hundred pressure groups are active now in Moscow. Their interests range from ecology to maintaining law and order. Some of them have gone farther. For instance, the self-government council of the Saburovo housing project has sizable accounts in the State Bank and in the Moscow Commercial Innovation Bank. The money was earned through the project's self-financing businesses—workshops, dressmaking, publishing, and so forth. What is now a reality would have been a wild dream just a few years ago.

It is important today for such self-government bodies to acquire real power and status. Actually, the Moscow City Soviet itself needs such power. We can't wait to see the necessary legislation passed.

Q: Will the forthcoming law give Moscow the long-awaited rights of self-financing and cost accounting?

A: It has already received the right and is now moving toward new economic schemes, including self-financing. As of now all enterprises, organizations, and businesses that operate on a cost-accounting basis must direct part of their profits to the city's budget. This will be done on the basis of quotas. The funds raised in this way will be spent with regard to the real needs of the city and using flexible forms of financing. All expenses will be under the permanent control of the City Soviet.

The system of self-financing will provide an opportunity to influence many processes and trends in the development of the city. For instance, when an industrial project has to pay a fee for operating with a surplus of

personnel—beyond an established quota—or has to pay a fine for polluting the environment, this will automatically raise the question of companies that are not turning out a useful product but are only consuming resources. Does Moscow need them at all?

In a nutshell, cost accounting and self-financing will enable the City Soviet to use economic leverage to acquire real powers and to be the city's real master. The new system is expected to strengthen the communication between the city authorities and the industrial projects, agencies, and research bodies; it will, we hope, enhance their mutual interest in solving problems. Another hope is that these empty criticisms against the City Soviet and its services will give way to real cooperation in actions.

Q: What is Moscow's budget today?

A: It amounts to four billion rubles plus another four billion that result from capital investment. The current deficit is 265 million rubles.

Q: Is the deficit increasing?

A: Unfortunately it is. This is only too natural, however, because the capital is part of the country and is affected by its problems and negative trends. The cost-accounting scheme that we will introduce in Moscow in 1990 and 1991 can and must redress the budget problem. I am positive on this matter. This city has always been able to feed itself, earning more than 16 billion rubles and contributing half of it to the State Budget.

Q: Are you positive that every family in Moscow will have an apartment of

Cost accounting and self-financing will enable the City Soviet to use economic leverage to acquire real powers.

its own by the year 2000? That is what the national housing program says.

A: Frankly, I used to be sure of it, but I am not any more. We need to build another 48.5 million square meters of floor space to accomplish that goal. Until recently the builders in Moscow kept up a good pace of work, building a total of 13.7 million square meters of floor space in the previous five-year plan. That wasn't too bad. Will they be able to sustain that pace? The answer is No, given the fluctuations of labor in the construction trades. Last year alone there was a shortage of 40,000 workers.

Q: How do you account for such a shortage?

A: There are a few reasons. The construction trades are still among the most physically demanding professions. People are exposed to all kinds of weather and temperature conditions, working either at breathtaking heights or at the bottom of foundation pits. Meanwhile, their wages are the same as those who work indoors. People are leaving the industry to look for jobs in cooperatives, where the working conditions are better and the incomes higher. Another headache is the lack of modern technology in the building trades.

Q: It is well known that labor shortages plague both the industry and a number of industrial projects in Moscow. What is the solution to this problem? Will Moscow once again have to import labor from elsewhere?

A: This is still a problem to be solved. See for yourself. In a city with a population of 9 million, only 2.5 mil-

lion are employed in the material production sector. But the City Soviet has no intention of importing labor.

In the past we used to boast of the capital's industrial muscle. These days Muscovites complain of the plants and factories discharging harmful substances, and they demand that all ecologically unsafe plants be removed from Moscow. The effort to do that has begun, and it will release a certain number of workers. A decision has been made to stop building up the city's industrial muscle; Progress '95 envisions reducing the number of industrial workers by 60,000-65,000. Furthermore, the City Soviet has placed strict limits on the right of ministries, plants, and building agencies to hire workers and experts from other cities. The few privileges that remain are distributed among the Moscow Metro Management and the two giant automobile factories, ZIL and AZLK.

Q: I have difficulty believing that ecologically unsound projects are really being taken away from Moscow.

A: It is happening. ZIL has moved most of its foundry facilities to other parts of the country. The coal and gas works will also stop polluting the city's air. It will not be moved away, but it will be rebuilt and will start another line of production. As the city expanded, several old projects that were in downtown Moscow were moved beyond the beltway. Even more will be removed. By 1995 more than 70 ecologically unsound plants will have been dismantled.

Q: Another big problem is the tidal wave of crime that has swept the city

in the past three years. What do you think is the reason for the dramatic growth in this area, and what measures are being taken to prevent it?

A: I think what is happening is that we are reaping the fruits of our recent past. The period of stagnation resulted in lawlessness and arbitrariness, which in turn caused a relaxation of law and order. The good names of the militia and all law enforcement agencies were discredited.

It certainly is easy to ascribe all our current headaches to the wrongs of the past. Some people have taken advantage of the unstable economic situation and the lack of control over the incomes of cooperatives and the social and economic stratification of society. The shadow economy has emerged—there is a lot of extortion, racketeering, vandalism, robberies, and theft. More than 70 per cent of crimes are committed for mercenary ends; two out of three people prosecuted under the law are young.

Recently Moscow, like several other large cities in the USSR, formed a provisional committee for crime control, which I chair. The early results of its work include a reorganization of the militia that has resulted in replacement of 4,000 officers; strengthening of the divisions of the militia that deal with organized crime, embezzlement of public property, and black marketeering; and increased efficiency of crime control measures. It is too soon for the committee to sum up its work, but the first few steps have been taken, and we can say that the upward tendency of the crime graph has been stabilized. We hope that the curve will eventually start going down. ■

No Change Without the Intelligentsia

By Yuri Krelin

The intelligentsia is the engine that turns the wheels of progress. It generates ideas that sometimes sound impractical but eventually create the pressure that moves society.

Words have always been the purview of the intelligentsia. At first the intelligentsia expresses words of doubt, then words of discontent, then words of protest. Then an idea gains acceptance in society. The bureaucrats begin to put up resistance. Bureaucrats resent the intelligentsia. A bureaucrat needs permanence to direct people, and new ideas may sow doubts about the legitimacy of this permanence. New ideas always create a state of uncertainty. The intelligentsia is the main source of dissidence; dissidence provokes controversy, and controversy is essential for progress.

The past few decades in the history of our society followed a road from catastrophe and stagnation to renewal; part of this history is the struggle between the regime and the intelligentsia. It is a catastrophe when a regime is in a state of confrontation with the entire society. Our society experienced such a catastrophe in 1929, when the regime declared war on the peasantry, forced collectivization on the countryside, and broke the back of the main class of our agrarian country.

In the mid-1950s, before the Khrushchev thaw, the USSR made some progress simply because the intelligentsia supported the new leader's reforms. But the intelligentsia could not stop there and eventually came into conflict with the regime. In the absence of democracy and legalized dissidence, the regime resorted to its favorite method of settling problems—by force. The thaw was over, and a period of stagnation began. The only consolation for the intelligentsia was to look for rare glimpses of free expression in magazines, films, and plays, while the authorities worked at suppressing those last vestiges of dissent. Some writers went on trial.

Stalin declared writer Isaac Babel and poet Pavel Vasilyev spies and subversives. The trial of writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel (see *SOVIET LIFE*, February 1990) became an unambiguous symbol of the period of stagnation. Like any catastrophe, stagnation began with a crack-down on the intelligentsia. In other words, any defeat of society and crisis of a regime begins with a struggle against the intellectuals. This

struggle may assume different forms: Banned writers are brought to trial, protests are organized against unruly intellectuals, dissident scientists are forced into internal exile, and exhibitions of nonconformist artists are bulldozed off the streets.

Confrontation with the intelligentsia is a symptom of the crisis of the regime. This crisis eventually affects all spheres of life. Many goods disappear from store shelves; hunger and senseless wastefulness exist side by side; wars that nobody understands begin; first people have too little money, then they have more money than there are goods to buy. In short, everything the intelligentsia warned about becomes reality.

Now, at long last, the regime has realized its mistakes and begun to change. But the first thing we must do is repent, confess our sins, and tell everyone everything. You don't have to wear glasses to see that we don't have enough food, clothes, and other things. But to understand why we don't have all these things and what should be done to change the situation,

one must have a special apparatus, the brain, which has absorbed knowledge, remembers humankind's history, and is capable of generalizing, drawing conclusions, seeing prospects, and detecting the overgrown path that

can lead us to a road. We must find a road that will be broad enough for all society. But this also requires a diversity of opinion in intellectual circles and discussions at every crossroads, because the lack of dissent in the past often led us into blind alleys and into the quagmire of dangerous and reckless experiments. That is why we need open debates in which everyone may participate. Everything that stimulates thought must be encouraged if we want to have freedom of choice.

The intelligentsia is an enzyme that does not allow society to stagnate. Without the intelligentsia any regime will become authoritarian because it is incapable of correcting itself.

If the intelligentsia is not restrained or forced into basements, labor camps, or golden cages, it will not allow society to stand still. Like a ship at sea, society needs a strong wind to sail along. It needs dissidence to survive.

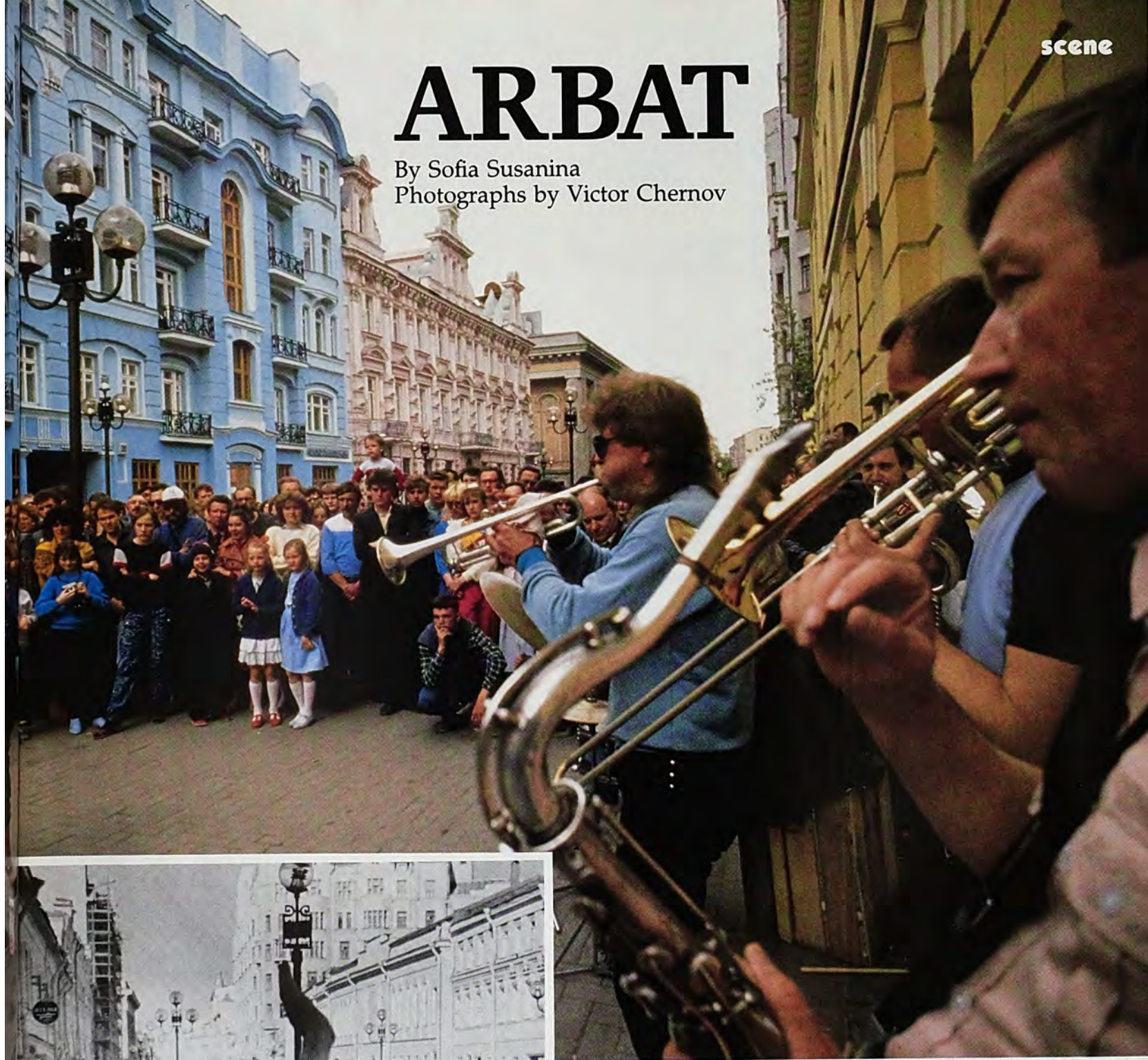
You can't change anything without the intelligentsia. And in this respect the intelligentsia will never run out of work.

It is not education but mentality and lifestyle that differentiate the intelligentsia from other social groups.



ARBAT

By Sofia Susanina
Photographs by Victor Chernov



Impromptu concerts attract large crowds of on-lookers. Inset: President Ronald Reagan visited Arbat Street during his trip to Moscow.

If you are on a short business trip in Moscow and have just a few hours to go sightseeing, the best thing to do is to visit Arbat Street and the narrow old lanes adjacent to it. This is exactly what Ronald and Nancy Reagan did when they visited Moscow in May 1988.

In this Moscow version of Soho, no one looks particularly like the typical, busy resident of a modern megalopolis. People just stroll around listening to amateur musicians and poets, look- ➤



Arbat has been made a pedestrian mall, and it is always filled with crowds of Muscovites and tourists. Hari Krishna representatives coexist with Greek Orthodox, Baptist, and Russian Orthodox believers.

ing at the art that is for sale, sipping coffee or Pepsi, doing some shopping—passing the time.

Arbat has no huge shopping centers or official institutions except the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. The ministry, however, stands at the very end of the street and faces Smolenskaya Square.

In 1985 Arbat became a pedestrian mall—an accomplishment of which the Moscow City Soviet (city council) is very proud. The reconstruction and restoration of the street, which lasted five years and goes on now inside the buildings, required the efforts of a whole galaxy of architects and builders and the expenditure of many millions of rubles. But as a result of the project, Arbat was wonderfully restored and has become the favorite place of many Muscovites. ➡





Local militia keep an eye on the crowds.
Below: Jewelers display their art.



Palm readers telling fortunes.
Below: Waiting.



A mask for sale represents King Kong.
Below: An ad for a play.



Yet it is not this metamorphosis that makes Arbat so interesting. Poet Alexander Pushkin's contemporaries called Moscow "a kingdom of diversity," noting its "wonderful and mysterious combination of vanity and true glory and splendor, ignorance and enlightenment." Pushkin himself recognized Moscow's "diverse and lively beauty." These typical Moscow features are crystallized in the contemporary Arbat.

What a picturesque crowd floods Arbat—orderly pensioners and unruly punks, respectable tourists and schoolgirls in short skirts, students wearing the uniform of summer construction teams, young mothers with prams, and even Gypsies.

People cluster around inspired lovers of poetry, opponents in political arguments, enterprising authors peddling writings that they publish at their own expense, and no less enterprising fortunetellers. Arbat is like an immense concert hall housing rock groups, amateur performers of Russian folk songs, blind accordion players with their old waltzes, and even a chamber trio—students from a music school play Bach, and the music is surprisingly consonant with the general hubbub.

Façades of buildings serve as stage sets for improvised theater performances. There are few real architectural masterpieces, but every building has its own personality, imprinted by times and epochs. The Prague restaurant, decorated with grapevine stucco molding, stands at one end of the street, and the Stalinist Empire-style Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the other end. This and other stalagmite-like giants of the 1950s aroused mixed feelings of admiration and bewilderment among Muscovites when they were built. Newspapers wrote that their fishbone silhouettes "imparted a true grandeur to the capital's skyline." There is hardly any objection to this.

Arbat's architecture is a blend of various styles—Empire, the clumsy eclecticism of the early twentieth century, and the constructivism of the 1920s. One of the adjacent lanes hides the circular mansion of an outstanding Russian architect, Konstantin Melnikov (see page 54).



A service in an old church (top). Poet Alexander Pushkin and his wife spent their honeymoon in a splendid old mansion on Arbat Street (center). The Georgian Cultural Center occupies another old building. It is the site of concerts and exhibitions that display Georgian traditions.



Artists and poets are an integral part of the Arbat scene.

Running at an angle to Arbat is a modern avenue framed with arrogant glass-and-concrete skyscrapers. Fortunately these inanimate urban colossi do not eclipse a tiny, graceful, and architecturally proportional church standing at their feet.

Swarming around the Prague are painters with their easels and collapsible chairs for the clients who stop to have their portrait painted or drawn.

Nina P. graduated from an art school and now teaches drawing at a secondary school. Her salary is not large, but Arbat helps her to make ends meet. After about twenty minutes of work she has made 25 rubles. Of course she has to buy paper and paints, but they are fairly inexpensive—25 kopecks for a sheet of paper and about one ruble for a tube of paint.

While I talked to Nina, she painted portraits of two young girls from the Caucasus. They were glad to have their pictures with the painter's signature, marked "Arbat '89."

Along the entire street artists offer works to satisfy all sorts of different

tastes. Spectators are numerous, but buyers are few: Paintings here cost 200 to 300 rubles and more. Prices charged for painted wooden objects in pseudo-Russian style are also very high. A matryoshka doll, for instance, costs 40 rubles, half of an average monthly pension.

As a rule the artists hanging out here are young professionals; amateurs are rare among them. A close look may help discover very interesting works, but in most cases the public is offered the vulgar kitsch that has invaded TV and film. Anatole France referred to this kind of work when he said that art is threatened by two monsters—an artist alien to professionalism, and a professional alien to art.

Genuine art flourishes on Arbat Street as well.

The Mziuri Georgian Cultural Center recently opened on Arbat Street. A narrow serpentine staircase twining around an artfully chased column leads from the lobby to an art gallery. There I saw an exhibition of drawings by





Malkhaz Kukhashvili. The center also has a concert hall, and the touring Georgian performers are so popular, it is not easy to obtain tickets for concerts here.

The Vakhtangov Theater stages performances from autumn until early summer. Founded by Yevgeni Vakhtangov (1883-1922), a disciple of Konstantin Stanislavsky, the theater gave rise to an original trend in Russian theater. Vakhtangov's productions were innovative in their quest for new means of expression and their profound penetration of the characters' inner world. Unfortunately the theater has recently lost some of its previous luster.





Arbat has the appearance of a nonstop art exhibition, with paintings on display on the sidewalks, on window ledges, and on easels.



Several secondhand bookstores contribute to Arbat Street's cultural image. Curiosity shops are of great interest also.

Yet another attraction is a museum that was Pushkin's apartment. The great poet was born in Moscow and often visited the city after he moved to St. Petersburg. He spent three happy months on Arbat Street after his marriage. "I am married and happy," he wrote a friend after his wedding to Moscow's most beautiful woman, Natalya Goncharova. "I have only one desire—that nothing change in my life—and I couldn't ask for anything more."

The Pushkins occupied five rooms

in a two-story mansion. Like the entire building, the rooms have survived to our times, but they needed serious restoration. The story goes that the mansion and auxiliary buildings in the inner courtyard had to be painted seven times before the restorers were finally satisfied with the blue color. The museum's interior corresponds to the style of Pushkin's times. The parquet floors, stucco ceiling moldings, marble windowsills, and tiled stoves were made according to old patterns. Furniture was selected very carefully. The museum revived the old tradition of poetic soirees reminiscent of Pushkin's times, when Pushkin and his

Continued on page 56



profile

DEPUTY IN A WHEELCHAIR

By Sergei Kalachev
Photographs by Igor Zotin
and Victor Chernov



**Ilya Zaslavsky
(center). Right:
Zaslavsky with his
three-year-old
daughter, Nastya.**



Ilya Zaslavsky, a member of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, represents the handicapped as well as his district in Moscow.

I am working to ensure a normal lifestyle for the handicapped," says Ilya Zaslavsky. Zaslavsky, 29, was born in Moscow into a family of intellectuals. His parents lived in a small apartment on Armyansky Lane in downtown Moscow. When he was very young, Zaslavsky became disabled and unable to walk without crutches, so he spent most of the time in a wheelchair. But because of his own determination and his parents support and encouragement, he finished school, graduated with flying colors from the Moscow Textile Institute, and got a Doctor of Science degree in Technology, specializing in chemistry. He also has a book and 30 academic articles to his credit.

Zaslavsky's studies are rated highly by foreign researchers. He was never really interested in politics, and, of course, until recently he would not have dreamed of becoming a big-time politician. But in March 1989, Zaslavsky was elected to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR to represent the Oktyabrski territorial

constituency of Moscow. For the first time the handicapped (of whom there are more than 20 million in the USSR) have a representative in the highest legislative body.

Zaslavsky speaks two foreign languages, writes poetry, and is keen on popular science magazines. He is married and has a daughter, Nastya, who is three years old. He has managed to overcome his own health problems, and now he is working to do away with society's main malady, the lack of humaneness and charity.

Employment, availability of cars, opportunities to gain a higher education, and medical services are just some of the areas in which handicapped people face considerable problems. Things that seem unimportant to healthy people may become difficult problems or insurmountable obstacles for the handicapped. For instance, many of them cannot do housekeeping by themselves, but to pay someone six rubles for sweeping floors and 18 for washing windows, on the very small pensions that the handicapped receive, is difficult. ➤



It is even more painful for the handicapped to encounter indifference and lack of understanding from others. Such an experience adds moral suffering to their physical pain.

Zaslavsky realizes from personal experience that what makes it hard for a handicapped person to get a higher education is not a lack of intellectual ability, but the fact that institutions of higher learning are not physically equipped for handicapped people. Surely the state could do something to help such young men and women. Moreover, it could create all kinds of everyday amenities for the handicapped, provide them with interesting jobs, organize clubs for them, draw them into public activities—in a word, help them live a full life. But as he tries to promote the interests of the handicapped in his district, Zaslavsky invariably runs up against the indifference of the authorities and their reluctance to do anything.

"Some of the handicapped have been that way since their childhood, but others only became crippled as adults—people with an education, knowledge, and skills, but no serious jobs are available to them," said Zaslavsky. "Our social services only offer work such as assembling artificial fir trees or stamping labels. The most terrible thing is that such jobs

Zaslavsky meets with some handicapped constituents.

are specially invented to give people work to do. It is make-work, and the pay is very low. If someone complains, they will be told that machines perform those operations at lower costs. It is inhuman to humiliate people like that."

Zaslavsky has concluded that everything should be changed, that unless it is, his struggle against petty officials is just fruitless. But for such drastic change, the issues have to be handled at a higher level, at the legislative level. Well-defined and well-considered laws are needed to protect all segments of society, including the most vulnerable, against poverty and arbitrary actions by the powers that be. That is why Zaslavsky agreed to be nominated in last year's national election. At a plenum of the board of the Oktyabrski District Society of the Handicapped, Zaslavsky's colleagues unanimously nominated him.

Other nominees in the Oktyabrski constituency included Academician Andrei Sakharov and Boris Yeltsin, so the odds were clearly against Zaslavsky's election. But his contacts with those people greatly influenced his future as a politician.

Zaslavsky's campaign platform advocated adoption of a new law on so-

cial maintenance that would guarantee the retired and the handicapped adequate living conditions; it supported legislation aimed at improving the ecological situation in the USSR; and it advocated guaranteed freedom of the press.

In the course of the campaign, Zaslavsky won supporters and became hardened in the struggle. He often met with Sakharov and Yeltsin. While previously few people in this country were outspoken about the need for radical change, Zaslavsky spoke about it in his public addresses, openly siding with the more radical candidates. After that, he was invited to speak on the radio and TV less frequently than before, and his articles were not published by the press. No one would print his election posters. But that silent campaign against him just enhanced his popularity with voters.

Many were attracted by the fact that he had known the hardships a handicapped person is fated to endure. But that nearly worked against him in the course of the campaign: A rumor circulated that his handicap made him incapable of doing the job of a people's deputy. How could he disprove those absurd allegations; how could he prove to people that he worked 14 hours a day? His daughter, Nastya, helped. The election poster showed Zaslavsky walking with his child. His cane was in the picture, but everyone could see that he was anything but a helpless cripple. His wife, Alla, helped him too. She was his accredited representative during the election campaign, and she shared the joy of the victory with him. And she remains his loyal assistant. As a fashion designer and a polio victim herself, she dreams of designing clothes that would conceal people's physical defects.

In a TV debate, the candidate who was running against Zaslavsky (popular TV journalist Vladimir Krutov) declared that it was easier for a healthy person to protect the handicapped. Zaslavsky, who is very polite, responded to his opponent by stating that the handicapped do not want any "protection." The task of a free, civilized, and humane society is to give them equality with other people.

At a recent meeting with his constituents, Zaslavsky could report that the main point of his platform had been fulfilled: The amendment on the payment of full pension to all working handicapped people was adopted.

At the constituency election meeting, cosmonaut Georgi Grechko withdrew his candidacy in favor of Zaslavsky, saying: "It is quite possible that some of those who deny the need to help the handicapped will be crippled slipping on the ice covering our sidewalks in winter and breaking an assortment of bones. And then they will all insist that such help is a must."

Yuri Afanasiyev, rector of the Moscow Historical Archives Institute, followed Grechko's example, and Sakharov and Yeltsin also withdrew their candidacies in the Oktyabrski constituency for certain reasons (Sakharov was elected People's Deputy of the USSR by the Academy of Sciences, while Yeltsin was elected by the Moscow constituency). Their teams rendered general support to Zaslavsky, as did the academic community and the Popular Front. The odds were changing in his favor.

But still it was up to the voters to decide, and they backed Zaslavsky practically unanimously. He thus got the deputy mandate, but he planned to return it unless the legislature adopted the amendment guaranteeing all working handicapped people payment of their full pensions.

Meeting with his constituents not long ago, Zaslavsky could report that the main point of his platform had been fulfilled: The amendment on the payment of full pension to all working handicapped people was adopted. But many tasks remain.

It is truly absurd that some people fail to receive a higher education just because they cannot leave their homes—for instance, because the doorways are too narrow to accom-

modate a wheelchair. In the heated debates on the reform in higher education, Zaslavsky advocates establishment of special housing facilities for handicapped people at the bigger institutions of higher learning.

But the problems People's Deputy Zaslavsky has encountered in the handling of those issues, which one would expect to be understandable to everyone, convinced him that things in that sphere could only be straightened out through political and economic reforms.

"Without these reforms, all attempts to help the handicapped, the elderly, women, and children will be like pulling an old blanket off some people to cover others," he said.

So, both at the Congress of People's Deputies and at the Moscow Discussion Club, Zaslavsky stands for drastic political and economic reforms in the Soviet Union. He also took part in the establishment of the radical opposition Inter-Regional Group of People's Deputies and was elected a member of its organizing bureau.

Being aware of the importance of popular support for *perestroika*, Zaslavsky has advocated the establishment in his constituency of an association of voters who stand for radical *perestroika*. He holds that associations with clear-cut political orientations should be established and should nominate their own candidates in the next elections, including the elections to the local Soviets, so the people can decide for themselves which of the associations' platforms better meets their interests.

"Our district became the scene of struggle since the local authorities were opposed to such a setup pre-

supposing different platforms," he told me. "There were some regrettable incidents, but in the end we got our way, and the association was registered. I do my best to help the radical voters prepare for the elections to the local Soviets and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation."

Zaslavsky is also active in Moscow's public life. He is president of the Charity and Culture Association, which comprises religious and cultural societies (Orthodox, Baptist, Jewish, Armenian, and so on). Many of them have long been active in charitable work. For instance, the Baptist community sponsors a children's psychiatric clinic.

One of the purposes of the Charity and Culture Association is to help people with disabilities, in particular, to help them with everyday life, and also to organize production facilities (some of them cooperatives) in which handicapped people can work.

The past few months in Zaslavsky's life have been quite eventful: There were two congresses of People's Deputies of the USSR, a trip to America, the organization of the Inter-Regional Group, and a symposium on the problems of handicapped people held in Tunisia. His everyday duties as a people's deputy also keep his hands full.

As we parted company, Zaslavsky said, "Quite often people just fail to understand that anyone may become handicapped as a result of trauma, disease, or accident. By helping the handicapped, we just guarantee our own future." ■

In March Zaslavsky won election to the Oktyabrsky District Soviet.

Crossroads of the Revolution

Photograph by Victor Chernov

The public mood is excited in Moscow and, indeed, throughout the USSR. People by the millions are taking to the streets to demonstrate their attitudes toward *perestroika*. The country has not had political activity like this since the October 1917 Revolution.

The new revolutionary wave has swept the streets. It is evident in articles in the press and in public debates, and it finds expression in the wide variety of informal movements. But it has also had side effects—strikes, ethnic violence, and sabotage by corrupt elements.

That this revolution has something in common with the October 1917 Revolution gives cause for concern. Indeed, are there any guarantees that the country will not experience a rerun of its sad history?

President Mikhail Gorbachev is warning of the danger that pseudorevolutionary ideas will spark social upheavals. This is a relevant warning, for there is no dearth of irresponsible leftist trends. But then, there is no going back. If the present drive for reform and renewal is in earnest, revolutionary action is the only possible way. The old eroded structures must be dismantled and new ones put in their place.





HOUSE ON THE EMBANKMENT

By Sergei Kozyrev Photographs by Yuri Kozyrev

Someone once remarked ironically that there were houses with an address and houses with a name. The building that is the subject of this story is known in Moscow as the House on the Embankment. Visitors are attracted to the building by the row of innumerable memorial plaques on the façade. One could probably learn the history of the Soviet state from these "pages" of marble and granite. One name, however, that is missing on this façade is the name of Boris Iofan; his memorial plaque is on another building. And yet our story begins with Iofan.

The gray and severe-looking building on Serafimovich Street, just across the Moskva River from the Kremlin, became famous before it had even left the blueprint stage. At least Moscow's architectural community was very involved in discussing this new project by Iofan. The massive building was completed in a miraculous three years

in the early 1930s. This was an achievement in itself—and would be still. Common wisdom has it that the project spawned many ideas that were later taken up and used again and again by builders.

Iofan had received a government commission to design a block of apartments for state, political, and military leaders. Was the building intended to be different from other residential buildings of the time? Yes, very much so. First and foremost, it was to be one of the first high-rise (11 stories) residential buildings in Moscow. Second, the building is an interesting architectural-engineering structure in the constructivist style. But the austere décor and constructivism of the building were not the only features that differentiated it from residential buildings available to ordinary Muscovites.

Iofan combined residential premises and cultural facilities in one building, putting everything that people need



The building under construction in the late 1920s and as it is today.

for their daily lives within their immediate reach. The building contains both small and very large apartments. Yet whatever the number of rooms, all the apartments are spacious. They are spacious even by modern standards. All the apartments, however, have tiny kitchenettes, almost identi-

cal in size. The kitchens were not actually intended for cooking. You could make some tea or warm up a ready-made lunch, but the plans for the building included a canteen where the would-be residents could have breakfast, lunch, and dinner. Everything was designed to fit into the idea that was then popular of the new socialist way of life. This way of life would have to be tested and made a universal standard. The furniture was also provided. It was absolutely the same in every apartment, plain and conforming to the standards of constructivism. Probably the only differences among the pieces of furniture in different apartments were the numbers on the inventory tags attached to each piece.

The apartments had hot and cold running water, refrigerators, and a service elevator that led to an incinerator for burning garbage in the basement. The building had its own nursery school, gym, laundry, outpatient clinic, food and hardware stores, post office, savings bank, community center, and a movie theater called the Udarnik.

A fountain was built in the courtyard. There were armed guards at the entrances and (on red-letter days) carpets on the staircases. Whenever a visitor came to see a friend, the guard would phone the person to verify that he or she expected a visitor.

People who still live in the building say that there used to be tours of the building even in the 1930s. As soon as the project was completed, the House on the Embankment became an attraction. People still come here, but for a different reason.

Who were the original residents of the more than 500 apartments in this building on what once used to be Vsekhsvyatskaya Street? Let's take a



A grand-daughter of Joseph Stalin, Svetlana Vasillevna, lives with her family in an apartment in the building.

look at the memorial plaques. Almost all the names are those of prominent political and public figures, military leaders, and authors. The building was publicly known as the Government House.

Some time ago the building was declared a monument, so it is now protected by the state. Yet this first product of Soviet architecture has trouble fitting into the framework of the history of architecture. Rather, it itself represents the history of an epoch in the progress of the Soviet state.

We spent a long time looking for someone who had moved in right after the building was completed. Our attempts were in vain. But we did

manage to find several people who have lived in the building for a long time. One such tenant is Nina Podvoiskaya, the daughter of Nikolai Podvoisky, chairman of the Revolutionary Military Committee in Petrograd in October 1917 and one of the founders of the Red Army.

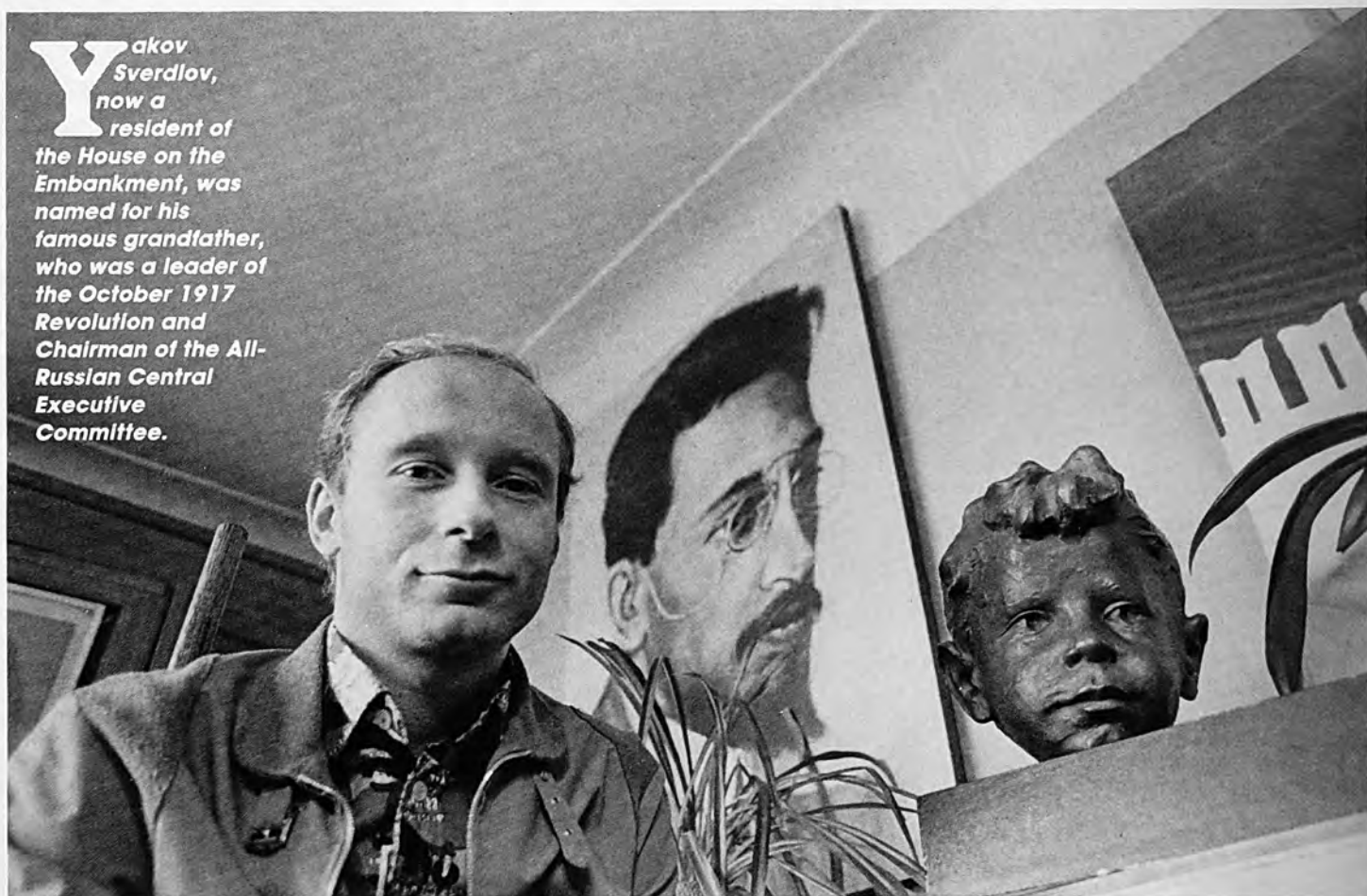
Podvoiskaya told us that most of the early tenants were not wealthy, despite their important jobs. The residents' previous accommodations had been in such hotels as the National and the Metropole. So the building was the first permanent accommodation for many of these people, and they lived like a single family. After all, that was the way the building had been designed. Everyone who had the experience of living in the building shortly after it was opened described the experience with particular warmth.

"Our everyday life was organized in such a way as to prevent any bourgeois elements from emerging, for that was something our society was trying to prevent at that point," says Podvoiskaya. "It was an expressly working environment."



A plaque commemorates Alexander Kosarev, a Komsomol leader of the 1920s and 1930s, who fell victim to the Stalinist purges in 1939.

Yakov
Sverdlov,
now a
resident of
the House on the
Embankment, was
named for his
famous grandfather,
who was a leader of
the October 1917
Revolution and
Chairman of the All-
Russian Central
Executive
Committee.



Maria
Alexandrovna
is the daughter
of Alexander
Tsurupa, a prominent
revolutionary leader. After
her children grew up and
left home, her dogs
became her constant
companions.



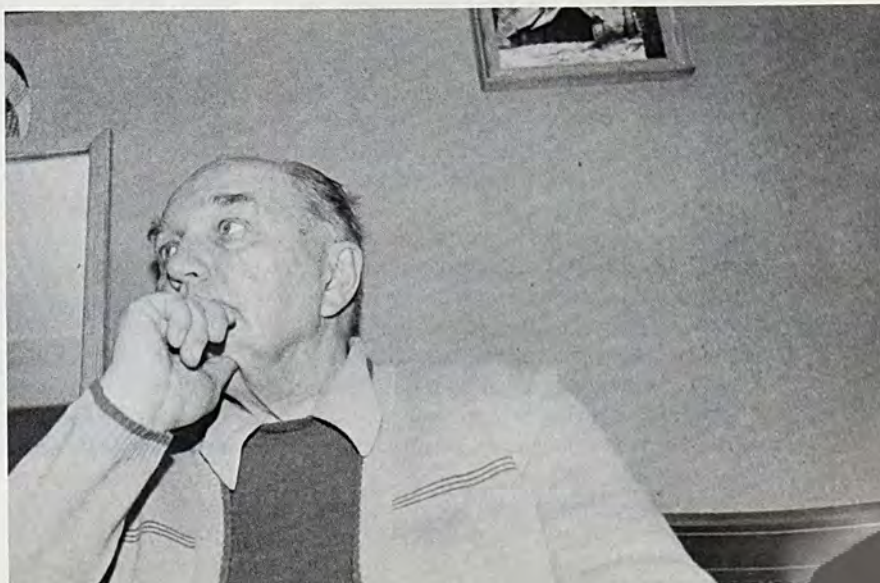


Nina Podvolskaya's apartment looks like a museum to her father, Nikolai Podvolsky, one of the founders of the Red Army.

Vladimir Kulbyshev lives with his family in one of the apartments. His father, Valerian Kulbyshev, was head of Gosplan and a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR.



After working all her life in the office of the building manager, Marina Sergeyeva retired on her pension and settled in one of the apartments in the building on the embankment.



There is no telling whether it was the fault of life itself or whether the architect's idea was premature, but after a short time, according to Podvoiskaya, the awkward-looking standardized tables and wardrobes began to give way to more comfortable and better-looking furniture.

Podvoiskaya recalls that her father was very upset by this new trend. "We have started living like aristocrats," he used to say. He also believed that the reason was the lack of communication with the working class. Such processes were visible in every aspect of the lifestyle of people in the building. The children formed groups based on the make of car their fathers drove to work. The attitude of the teachers depended on the status of the children's fathers. All the children who lived in the building went to the same school.

Podvoiskaya herself lived almost all her life in this building. She married Andrei Sverdlov, the son of Yakov Sverdlov, a prominent figure in the party and in the government. After school she worked at a factory because her father decided she would. Later she developed an interest in history and took it up as a profession. She is now a consultant for many organizations and research establishments that study the life and activity of Yakov Sverdlov and Nikolai Podvoisky. Incidentally, her youngest son is named for his grandfather.

We couldn't meet everyone we wanted to talk to. Some of the tenants refused pointblank to talk to the press. Others did not appreciate our questions. And yet we heard some incredible stories. For instance, there was one about an NKVD officer who stood on round-the-clock duty in the window of the twelfth entrance, never taking his eyes off the Kremlin. The need for such a post remained a mystery to us.

One of the people we talked to was Stalin's granddaughter, Svetlana, daughter of Vasili Stalin. She moved back to the building six years ago. After a long ailment she retired on a merit pension. She is trying to keep pace with the times.

"The press is now writing a lot

about my grandfather and his crimes. I hear he loved me a lot," said Svetlana.

Not long after the first housewarming parties the apartments began to lose their residents. That was the beginning of the mass repressions. The tenants disappeared quietly and unexpectedly. The doors to their apartments were sealed. At school the Komsomol committee would summon the children of the "enemy of the people" and demand that they publicly disown their father. One sad joke that was often repeated by the residents of the building in those days had it that the building was no longer a house of the government but a house of preliminary detainment.

There was a time during World War II that the building was empty. Everyone was moved out and the building was mined, just in case. In the winter of 1941 the house changed color because the central heating had

been turned off, and the walls turned white from the severe cold.

After the war there were no longer armed doormen in the entrances, nor carpets on the stairs. The vacant apartments took in a lot of new tenants and no longer belonged to one family each. The new tenants were not very sympathetic with Iofan's idea and began to establish their own regulations for communal living. For instance, they introduced the so-called comrades' court to resolve scandals and disputes, as was then the common practice. The causes of the scandals were different—for instance, Who uses the gas stoves more often than others? Who poured some ink into someone else's wash?

Iofan and his family lived in the building until he died in 1976. (Iofan also designed the USSR pavilions at the Paris World's Fair of 1937 and the New York World's Fair of 1939.) We wish we could ask him what he thought about the changes to his building on the embankment. Apparently the architect realized that he had moved slightly faster than his times.

In 1976 capital repairs on the building began. At that point it no longer enjoyed special status, and that may be the reason why those repairs have not yet been completed. However, the over-all objective of the repairs is to restore the former identity of the building.

"I'm not going to talk about fountains," said Marina Sergeyeva, a tenant. "But please look at what is going on in the courtyard. There are heaps of garbage, and the garbage cans are piled up like barricades. Meanwhile, the building is 'protected' by the state. It's just opposite the Kremlin, and still it gets no attention."

The tenants have scored a few minor victories. For instance, a newsstand has been opened, and a local shop has begun to sell vegetables. The tenants committee believes that the reason for the decline is that the residents with responsible jobs have moved elsewhere. Apparently, the committee must be right to some extent—after all, tenants with high positions still do mean a lot in our life. ■

Repairs are needed for some of the apartments, the old elevators, and the faded façade.



Witness to History

By Stanislav Kondrashov

A sign of fast-changing times: The U.S. Secretary of State addressed the Soviet legislature. The speaker began by calling himself a witness to testify on behalf of history—a witness of a revolution in relations between nations, a revolution in relations between states, and a revolution in human mentality. Echoing President Bush and himself, Baker reiterated that the U.S. Administration wished luck to the Soviet revolution of *perestroika*, *glasnost*, and democratization.

A few days before Baker's speech, the Kremlin was the site of the latest plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This meeting was unprecedented for its heated atmosphere and the importance of the decisions made. The improved relations between the USSR and the United States, indeed, between the USSR and the West in general, are so far the most visible of *perestroika*'s successes. But this cannot feed the people or fill the shelves with goods overnight or even in five years. This alone cannot help us emerge from the economic crisis the country is in as a result of the mistakes of the drive for *perestroika* and the difficulties of the transitional period.

Baker's speech did not touch on everything or provide all the answers, but it did explain, however briefly, why Bush and Baker wished *perestroika* success. The reason is not only that *perestroika* and the new political thinking hold the promise that Soviet foreign and defense policies will be fundamentally less threatening for the American people than the hostile Stalinist attitudes of the past. Of course, this would be in the interest of the American people. *Perestroika*, and especially *glasnost* and democratization, are helping shape a domestic policy that gives the Soviet people more freedom.

So the American leaders are primarily pursuing American national interests, which is only natural. But these interests coincide with our interests. We too need less threatening external and military policies on the part of the United States, and such a change can only be attained along new lines. Moreover, many Americans like our current policies much more than the approaches of the past because they provide more freedom for the Soviet people. Freedom is in Americans' blood, as is the will to defend it. But the big questions here are freedom itself and the relationships among the freedom of an individual, society, and the state.

Whatever the difference between the two systems, we share some aspects. Democracy is the basis of new relations.

Baker called the pre-*perestroika* Soviet Union, where the center ruled with an iron hand, an upside-down world. He referred to Stalin's constitution to illustrate his point: It proclaimed the Supreme Soviet the highest ruling body, while in effect the country was ruled by someone else. Today, Baker said, he sees the return of reason. And the people he was addressing were the founding fathers of the new Soviet Union.

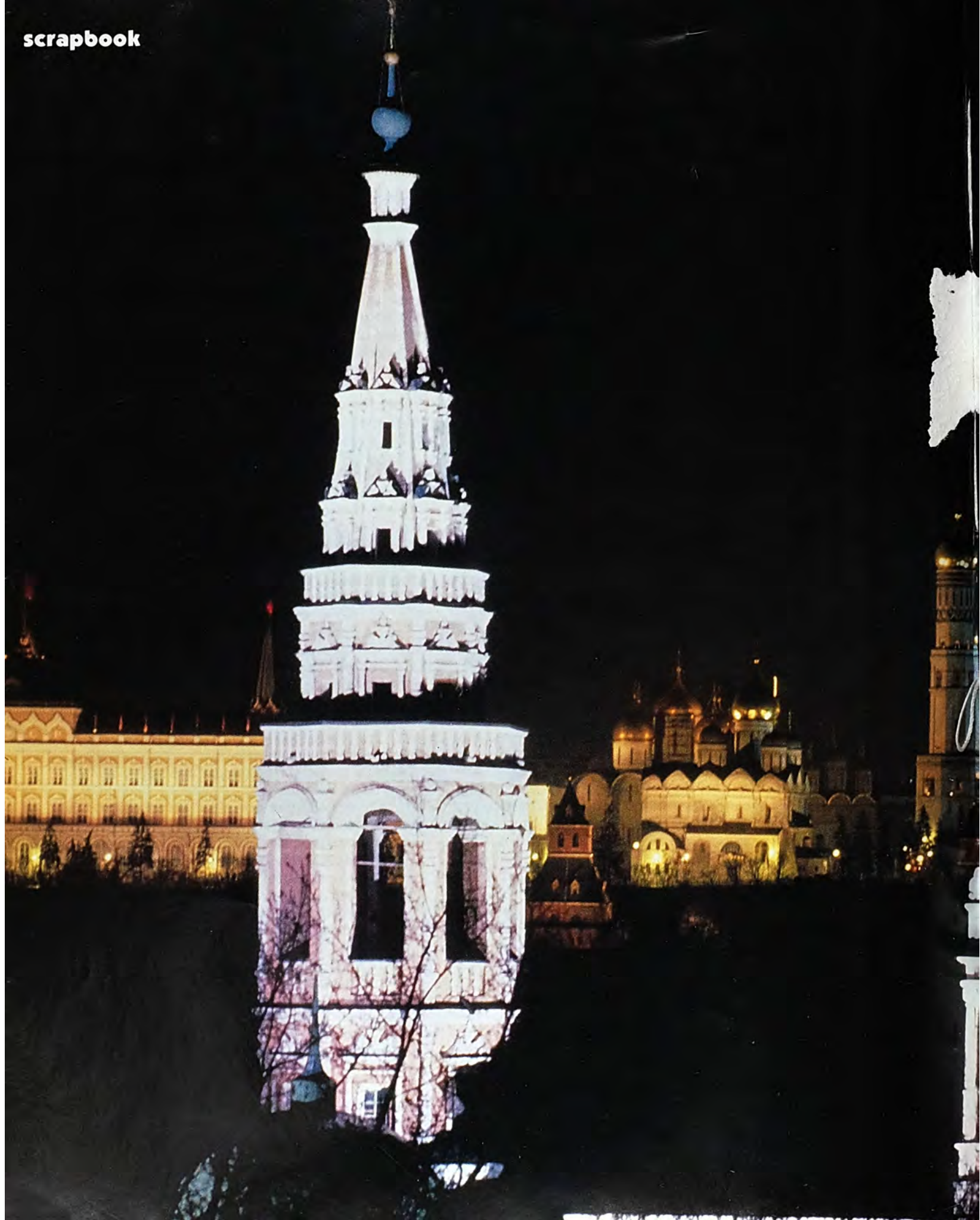
Baker talked for an hour and a half right before his departure from Moscow. Questions and answers took up the bulk of the time. Baker said he was ready to share the American experience, which the Soviet parliamentary founding fathers could well apply to the USSR. Speaking about American democracy, Baker said he had not a moment's rest: He has been called on the carpet on Capitol Hill innumerable times, although he has been Secretary of State for only a year.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has had far fewer summons to the Soviet legislature, but the traditions of parliamentary life are only being established. One thing is clear already, however: The International Affairs Committee, for one, must be more professional and more insistent in defending its rights and demanding its due.

Baker's speech probably won the applause of many Soviet citizens who demand a reduction or complete cessation of Soviet aid to other countries and the transfer of the means thus saved to domestic needs. And he did hit the nail on the head. Ever since the time of Nikita Khrushchev, when Moscow was full of illusory hope of driving the third world along socialist rails, the USSR has been taking on obligations to help the former colonial nations, while the Soviet people have been asking, "Can we afford it, in view of our internal difficulties, and is it worth the effort economically and politically?" There have been no answers, not even when yet another African dictator, fed by Moscow's milk, was overthrown or turned to the West for help. Nor is there an answer today. This does not mean that the answer lies in what Secretary of State Baker told us. But it does mean that the interests of the state should be taken into consideration. ■

Courtesy of the newspaper *Izvestia*.

Abridged.



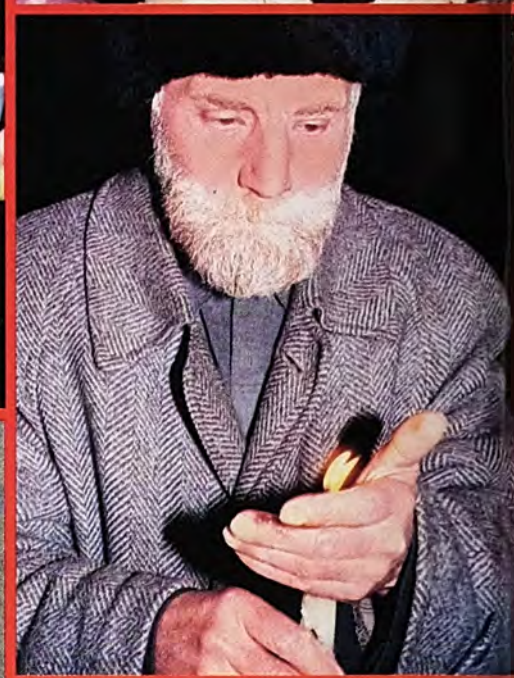
City of Gold Domes

Moscow was once known for its gold-domed churches. Skillful artisans are restoring some of the masterpieces of religious architecture. One such church is the Church of the Resurrection, built in the seventeenth century.

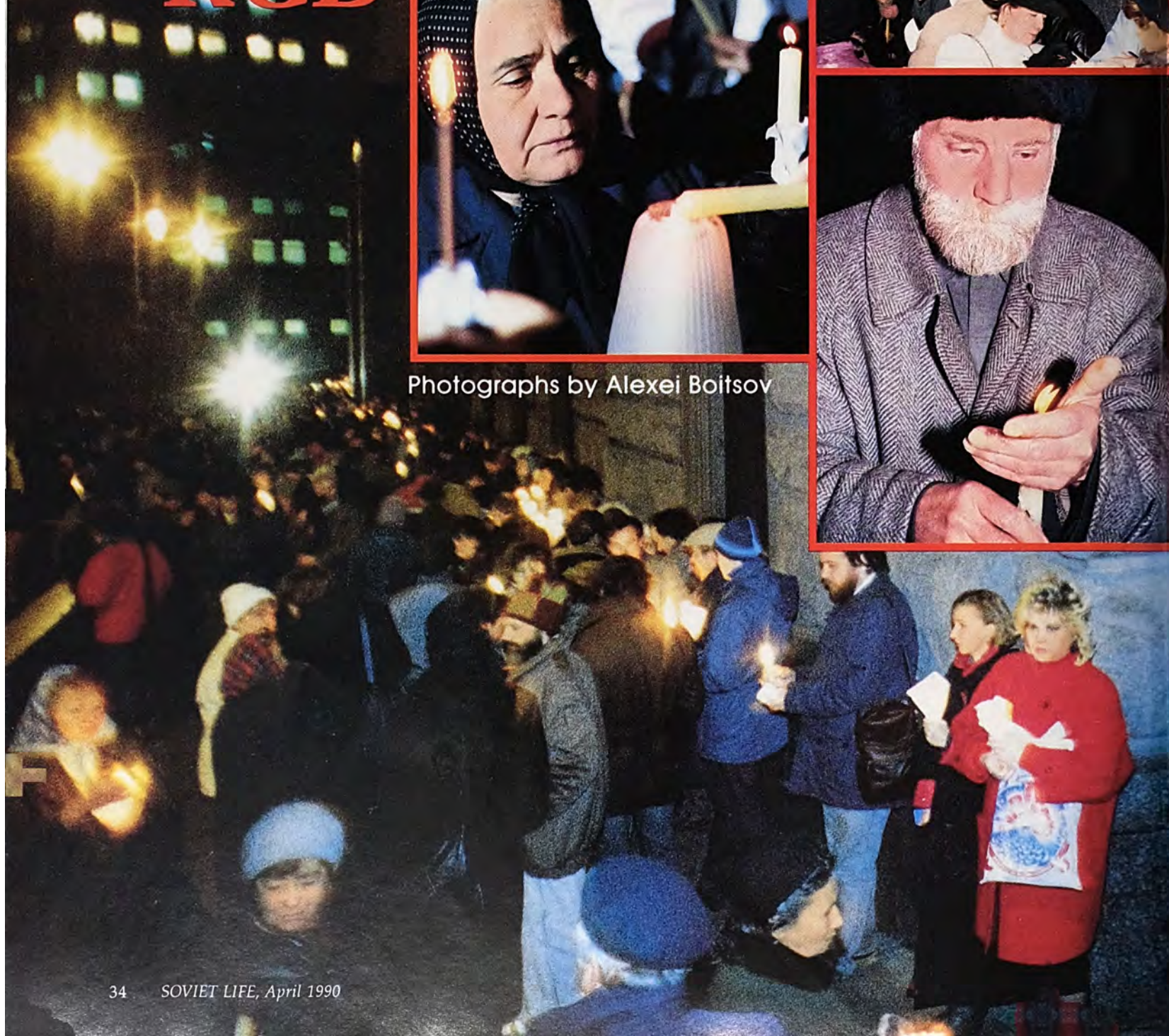


Photograph by Andrei Solovyov

Vigil at the KGB



Photographs by Alexei Boitsov





Muscovites by the hundreds held burning candles outside the building of the State Security Committee (KGB) in memory of those who fell victim to the Stalinist purges and persecutions.

The event, organized by the Memorial All-Union Voluntary Historical Society, aimed to initiate a dialogue with the KGB. KGB officers with candles in their hands openly joined in the human chain. The times are changing, indeed.

Today the KGB is taking an active part in reviewing the records of investigatory proceedings, exoneration of innocent victims, and identification of places of burial. The dialogue between Memorial and the KGB demonstrated that there are no more taboos and that Soviet society has a common grief.

"We do not equate the KGB and Stalin's secret police," said a Memorial activist. "If the KGB of today were the same as it was under Stalin, we would not have been able to hold this vigil."



The Saburovo residential complex for young people has 15 high-rise apartment buildings, day-care centers and preschools, an elementary and secondary school, outpatient clinics, shops, gyms, and community centers.



The average age of people living in Saburovo is 30.

Saburovo, a new residential area in Moscow, has the distinction of being a Youth Residential Area (YRA). The YRA concept essentially provides for the prospective residents to take as much responsibility as possible for the actual building of the project—signing contracts, drawing up work schedules, and assisting the professional builders—and participating in the management of the complex.

SABUROVO

a social experiment

By Dmitri Marchenkov
Photographs by Victor Chernov



Members of the Saburovo residential council try to work out the community's problems.



Gyms for working out (left) and a television studio of its own (above) are some of the inducements for young families to move in (right) to the youth residential area.



Along the Kashira Highway, as you drive from downtown Moscow heading toward the Ring Road, the official border of the city, you pass through an area dominated by industry. So it comes as a bit of a surprise when the multistory apartment blocks of a new residential area emerge in a triangle comprising the Moscow River, a railroad, and the Kashira Highway. A sign at the side of the road identifies the apartments as the Saburovo Youth Residential Area.

Saburovo is also a downhill ski run with a chair lift. The community has a dilapidated old church that is awaiting restoration.

Saburovo has its own governing bodies and its own budget, out of which it is making an attempt to set up comfortable recreational facilities.

In late 1985 the area was a wasteland. The local government planned to build a regular residential area there. The Komsomol (Young Communist League) organizations at several local industrial enterprises suggested building a youth residential area (YRA) instead. The YRA concept, which originated in the 1960s, provided for prospective residents to build their own housing and cultural facilities. In the 1960s the concept failed to win any substantial ground. But the idea got its second wind in several Soviet cities 20 years later. The Moscow City Soviet supported the Saburovo YRA idea, and in early 1986 young people formed an action group.

Young people themselves worked out the logistics of the project. Under the scheme the industrial enterprises whose workers wanted to live in the

future residential area were to contribute to the funding of the project; the action group was to sign contracts with building organizations and draw up the construction work schedule; the shareholding industrial enterprises were to send their workers, prospective residents, to do support tasks and to help professional builders. Committees for design and cultural facilities were set up, with the hope that they could change the standard look that plagues so many Soviet residential areas by giving Saburovo an identity of its own.

"The number of shareholding industrial enterprises has grown from 45 to 70," said Andrei Kuzmin, deputy chairman of the board of the Saburovo YRA. "The number of those wishing to live here has also increased." Labor costs were reduced because prospective residents not

only did their share at the construction site but also helped to complete projects not related to the housing scheme."

"We used to work on weekends," recalled one of the local residents. "Apart from our main jobs at the local plants or offices, we had to work eight hours a week during a period of two years, one year at the residential complex and the other for the building contractor. The bad part was that there was no guarantee that you would move into an apartment in Saburovo. Many could not stand the uncertainty and dropped off the list. The board of the YRA only stood to gain because this made apartment distribution easier."

Kuzmin explained, "The prospective residents, in addition to working a fixed number of hours at the construction site, had to qualify in many other ways. For instance, they were supposed to have lived in Moscow for 10 years and to have a record of work at one of the shareholding enterprises of at least five years. Besides, the action group, which later became an organizing committee, did not have any definite status until 1986. In that year, because of support from the press and television, the Moscow City Soviet made its final decision to set up a youth residential complex in Saburovo."

And so it happened. On June 22, 1987, the first stone went into the foundation pit of Saburovo's first building. The date is celebrated as the birthday of Saburovo.

The residential area was completed in late 1988-early 1989. Immediately people began to move in. The apartment distribution plan was geared to provide Saburovo with enough physicians, teachers, and shop assistants. About 10 per cent of the apartments went to people with these jobs. By late last year almost all the apartments were occupied, and the prehistory of Saburovo was over.

"The former organizing committee was replaced by the Saburovo YRA board, which included nine commissions dealing with the key areas of work: social and cultural facilities, budget and finance, ecological, and others," Kuzmin continued. "The board now has 65 people. Three peo-

ple ran for president, each with his own program. Sergei Popov, an economist, was elected. The board has been registered as a legal entity and has obtained the right to engage in economic activity, and it has a bank account of its own. All its members are paid from the Saburovo budget."

At present Saburovo includes 15 residential high-rise apartment blocks containing more than 3,500 apartments in which about 15,000 people live. Thirty-three per cent of these people moved there from dormitories, 23 from communal apartments, 26 from their parents' apartments. One-third of the Saburovo residents, or 5,000 people, are children of preschool or school age. That is why the local school, twice as large as usual, and the three local nursery schools cannot fully meet the needs of the local population. Some Saburovo residents even have to work part time in other day-care centers in the area so that these facilities will enroll children of the YRA members.

People are very active here, and it is no wonder. When the people had accomplished their immediate objective, building apartments and moving in, they started thinking about a more ambitious program, how they could set up an environment that would cater to both material and spiritual needs.

The residential complex seems to have all the amenities: food stores, department stores, a bookstore (not in the original plan), a laundry, a dry cleaner, a barbershop, a shoe repair

for children, a gym for working out, a video showroom, and a downhill ski run. There is an office of the Moscow Innovation Commercial Bank to finance social projects. The other services available are too numerous to mention.

"The main idea here is to structure our own life with our own hands," Kuzmin continued. "We have set up research bureaus whose workers use their spare time to work out and introduce, with assistance from the Saburovo board and from the local government, various inventions and orders from industrial enterprises. The Saburovo board takes part of the money, and the rest goes to the work teams. This presents an opportunity for young people to earn additional income, helps to identify the talent and preferences of local residents, and contributes to the budget of the complex. Last year the Saburovo budget exceeded a million rubles."

The local residents have major grudges against the board of the YRA. The local stores, which provided very good services for the residents when they first opened, are now plagued by the common vices of the Soviet trade system. Late last year the variety of goods was reduced, and the quality of what was available declined, though the prices did not. Another complaint is that the board does a poor job of communicating its activities. The Saburovo cable television station, once seen as the key source of information about the life of the area, is on the air only on Saturday nights.

There are other and more serious problems. Saburovo is located in an industrial area, close to a highway. Its ecological situation is far from good. The Ecology Commission of the YRA board has so far done nothing but plant trees, which has subjected it to criticism from the local residents.

Sergei Kleinmenov, deputy chairman of the commission, defended the group's activities. "We are now establishing an independent ecology laboratory which will first cater to the needs of the complex and, second, work on orders from the local government," he said. "We have done water and soil testing and gauged noise levels, and we have imposed fines on industrial polluters."



The ruins of St. Nicholas Church, which the Saburovo collective plans to restore.

shop, an apartment repair shop, a savings bank, a library, a post office, two outpatient clinics for adults and



Saburovo has plenty of difficulties to deal with. Yet the main goal has been accomplished. "We build our housing with our own hands"—an idea that has been realized in Saburovo. The 15,000 residents are an entity. Everybody's life depends on everybody else's contribution.

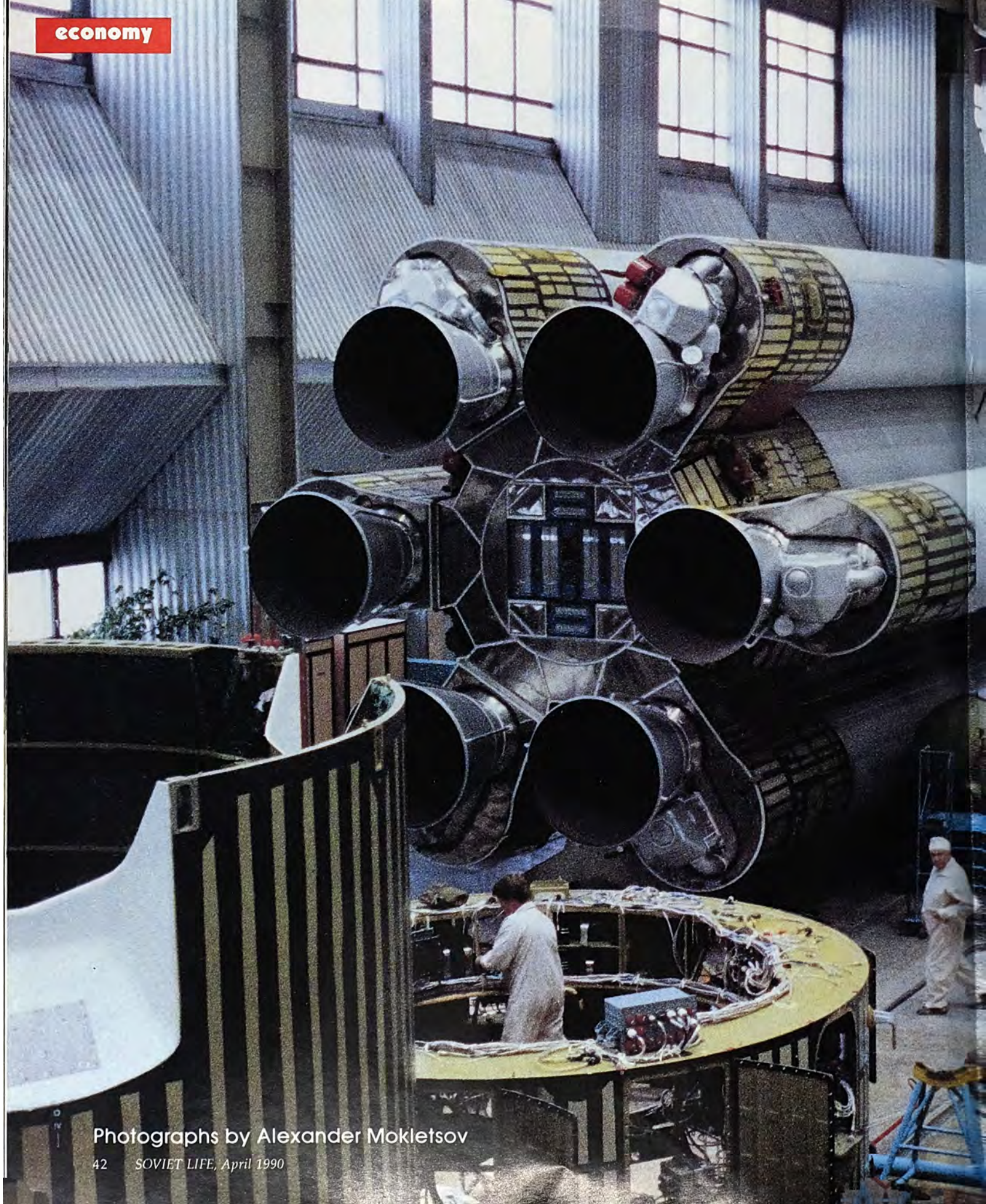
Residents of Saburovo are confident that the problems will be solved. Recently the board decided to restore the St. Nicholas Church, which was founded in 1595 when Saburovo was

a palace village. A special restoration fund has been set up at the Moscow Accommodation and Social Bank. Resources will be available for the most essential needs, and St. Nicholas Church will be restored. Ecology and communication will be improved. There are skeptics, and there are people who are discontent. But then, when Saburovo celebrates something, the occasion is attended by one and all in precisely the way everyone contributes to the common cause.

Kuzmin concluded: "We are not the only such project around. We seek cooperation with all interested parties, including foreigners. We are prepared to exchange experience, search for new forms of self-government, set up joint ventures; to establish information exchanges and exchanges of television programs and films, cultural exchanges; to pursue joint initiatives. Our address is Youth Residential Complex, Building 5, House 57, Kashira Highway, Moscow, 115612. ■

Amenities include a dressmaker's shop (facing page, left) and an outpatient clinic. Motorcycles are a popular mode of transportation among the young people living in the complex.





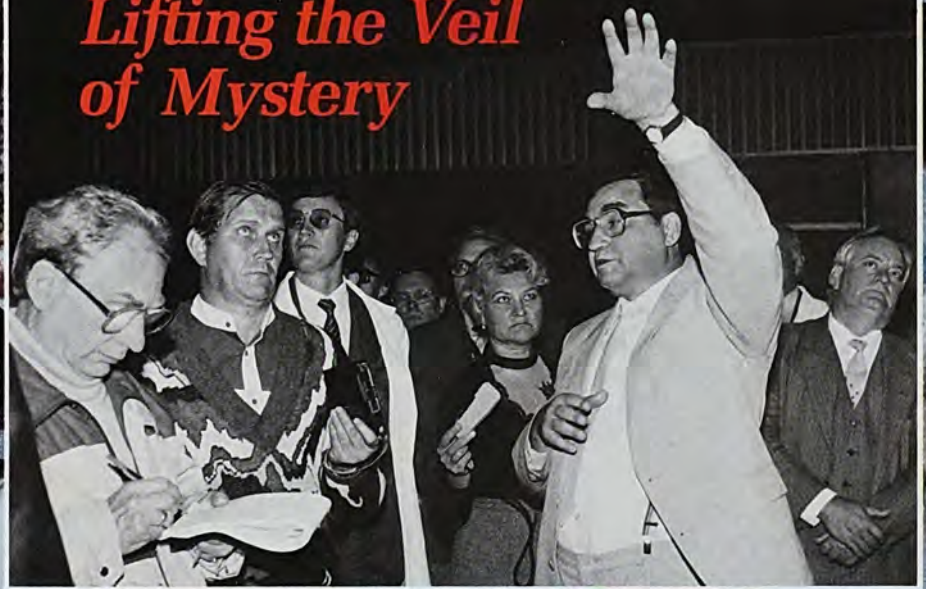
Photographs by Alexander Mokletsov



The Khrunichev Engineering Plant in Moscow was recently declassified. Soviet and foreign journalists were invited to see the factory, to wander around freely, and to ask any questions. They learned that in the 1920s the factory had produced motor vehicles; in the 1930s it converted to warplane production; and in the 1960s and 1970s it worked for the USSR Ministry of Defense, specializing in missiles and space technology.

"Now the factory will manufacture consumer goods," says General Manager Anatoli Kiselyov. "We plan to manufacture superthermal equipment for cancer treatment. And, with the Chernobyl experience in mind, we are going to develop robots that will help us to remedy the effects of accidents in a hostile environment."

Lifting the Veil of Mystery



ecology



MEGALOPOLIS



An ironic photograph (below) highlights the problems Moscow faces as a result of industrial pollution and destruction of green areas.



An Ecology Round Table

Photographs by Vyacheslav Bobkov and Yuri Kaver



Valeri Bolshakov, moderator: The world press is full of stories about environmental degradation in large cities.

But Moscow hasn't learned from these painful examples. Let me mention just a few of our urgent and quite obvious problems. Most bodies of water in Moscow and the surrounding countryside are unfit for recreational or household use. This is because of unwise use of water resources, the absence of centralized drainage treatment, problems in decontaminating industrial and household waste, and the poor performance of treatment plants. Noise pollution in the capital is on the increase. Today 18 per cent of Moscow Region and one-third of the housing developments in this sprawling metropolis are situated in an area of heavy noise pollution. The worst affected districts are mostly in downtown Moscow and in the southeast of the city—700,000 people in all. Chemical pollution of the air and the soil causes 20 per cent of diseases, according to medical research.

A special program has been inaugurated to radically improve the Moscow environment. Its priorities include scaling down 13 industrial zones or converting them to environmentally benign uses. There are plans to close 181 enterprises or to move them out beyond city limits, to convert 148 polluting facilities, and to relocate 195 factories and plants from residential to industrial zones. The program also hopes to improve the road network and to reduce toxic auto emissions through technological modernization of motor vehicles and the regearing of 35,000 cars and trucks to run on gas rather than diesel fuel.

Much of the emphasis of the new program is on efforts to revive small rivers, to develop special protected areas, and to set up greenbelts, forest parks, and nature preserves.

Other measures provide for land reclamation, erosion control, and improvements in domestic and industrial waste treatment plants. As a result, 80 per cent of household waste will be industrially recycled to render toxic waste products entirely harmless. The whole package of measures will be carried out in three stages: stage one by 1995, stage two by 2000,

and stage three by 2010. A change for the better is expected to come about within the next five years.

Let's hear what the city leaders have to say.

Georgi Yusin, deputy director of the Planning and Surveying Research Institute of the Master Plan for Moscow Development: I agree



Biologist Iralda Burdakova is a member of the Moscow Committee for Environmental Protection.

that the state of the environment in Moscow gives cause for serious concern. According to our findings, about half of all Muscovites are affected by some form of environmental discomfort—from such factors as air and water pollution, geological erosion, degradation of woods and forest, to name but a few.

In the not so distant future we will most likely run into a problem that may be described as "growth limits." We have already allowed for this in the Master Development Plan for Moscow and Moscow Region, which covers the period until 2010. We are hoping to stabilize or even to stem population growth and the industrial buildup that is interconnected with it. In the future Moscow will develop within existing boundaries without reaching into forest parks. In the structural change of the Moscow





economy, the emphasis will be on high-tech, resource-saving industries and technologies.

The second priority is to upgrade territorial development. Up to now Moscow has been spreading out like an oil slick, absorbing parks and greenery and thus causing the environment to deteriorate. The new policy now in the making will be designed to stabilize the growth of housing developments, to reduce the amount of land used for industrial facilities, and to increase the area allowed for parks and greenery.

The third priority is to improve the structure of the urban environment itself. First and foremost, this will mean dealing with environmental challenges in downtown Moscow, where things have been particularly bad because of heavy traffic and sparse vegetation. We are also considering transforming what we call Moscow's middle belt—the areas lying beyond

the historical center that were suburbs 50 years ago. Now they contain most of the city's industry. We believe a large number of Moscow's industrial zones must cease to exist or, alternatively, must be scaled down to a degree that would guarantee their ecological safety.

Other urgent tasks are to develop more environmentally benign motor vehicles and technologies, to improve the road network, and to build new freeways.

Stanislav Khromenkov, director of Mosvodokanal Amalgamated Enterprises: Our greatest concern is the pollution of water sources. Moscow receives water from two river systems, the Moskva and the Volga. The Moskva water supply zone is of special concern since more than 50 state-run farms and about 250 cattle farms of various kinds are located in this area. The accidental disposal of waste waters, which occurred in this part of

Kuryanova Aeration Station is Moscow's largest water purification plant. Several times a day technicians analyze water samples.

the country in 1987 and 1988, caused the quality of water in Moscow to fall below the established sanitary standard. The situation has now been rectified. But to ensure that the quality of water is really good, we have drawn up a program, the first of its kind in this country.

A few words about the sewer system. Inadequately treated industrial effluents continue to flow into the Moscow sewer system, effluents such as those from electroplating production, which contain salts of heavy



metals. Since our treatment plants clear water of harmful substances mostly by biological means, heavy metal salts remain. The only way to deal with the problem is to build treatment plants at corresponding factories. On balance, though, we think the situation in this area is pretty much under control.

Bolshakov: Judging from what you said, Moscow is faring pretty well as far as the water supply is concerned. However, press reports indicate that there are grounds for concern here. For one thing, the unjustified consumption of water is still very high. I would also like to know if the water used in Moscow is divided into potable and service water.

Khromenkov: Yes, it is divided into potable and service water. Treated waste effluents are also used for certain purposes. There has been a drop in drinking water consumption. Last year, average daily consumption of

drinking water fell by 15,000 cubic meters. You are right—unjustified losses of drinking water are still considerable. The task before us now is to further reduce water consumption in industry, which accounts for 24 per cent, and to cut unjustified losses of the water used by the population and public utilities and services, which account for 57 per cent. Furthermore, we are contemplating selling bottled drinking water as is done in some other countries.

Yuri Osipov, director of the Moscow Center for Environmental Control: The quality of the air we breathe in Moscow can hardly be considered satisfactory. Sometimes Muscovites complain that they have trouble breathing. Indeed, problems in this area have been piling up for years. For all that, I think those who describe the situation as critical rely more on emotions than actual fact. Up to 100,000 air samples are taken

for analysis every year in Moscow alone, and they provide a fairly clear picture of the state of ambient air.

We divide pollutants into two groups—basic and specific. The former includes dust, carbon dioxide, nitrogen oxides, and carbon monoxide. These are termed basic because they are formed in large quantities in the process of burning. Specific pollutants include phenols, ammonia, hydrocarbons, and even hydrogen cyanide.

The general level of air pollution is established on the basis of data on average daily pollution and maximum emissions of pollutants.

As Moscow is burning little coal and fuel oil, using mostly gas, the sulfur dioxide content of the air is one-twentieth the allowable amount, whereas the dust content is 30 per cent above the established standard. Worse still, this index occasionally soars to exceed the standard by 12 to 15 times, as has repeatedly been the

case in the neighborhood of the Lianozovsky Expanded Clay Aggregate Factory, for instance. This factory's dust is all the more hazardous because it contains carcinogens and heavy metals.

Nitrogen oxides pose the biggest challenge. Their main source is the power industry, which accounts for just about 60 per cent of these emissions. None of Moscow's power and heating plants meets the environmental standards nor has anything like realistic plans to perform up to the mark. And that at a time when the task at hand is to reduce such emissions by 80 to 90 per cent. At this point, the realistic proposition is to achieve only a 30 per cent reduction by a variety of means. Drastic measures are necessary here.

Yet another—the basic—problem concerns car exhausts, which account for about 70 per cent of harmful emissions. We have always thought motor transport was the biggest single producer of carbon oxides. But measures taken in 1988 to cope with this source of pollution produced some good results. However, other problems have begun to bite harder. The reduction in carbon oxide emissions achieved through engine adjustments has caused greater pollution with nitrogen oxides. To suppress the transport-produced pollution with nitrogen oxides, hydrocarbons, and aldehydes, radical steps are needed. Now such measures are in the making.

Industrial enterprises have created local zones of air pollution, with 19 such zones identified in Moscow last year. Some facilities pose particular hazards to the environment. Of course, these facilities must be put under control immediately.

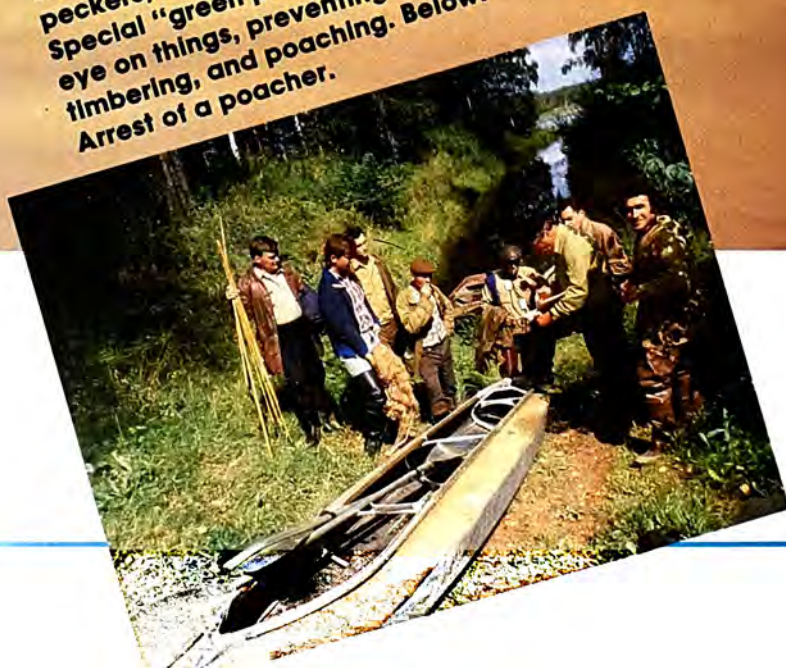
Bolshakov: What is actually being done to achieve this objective?

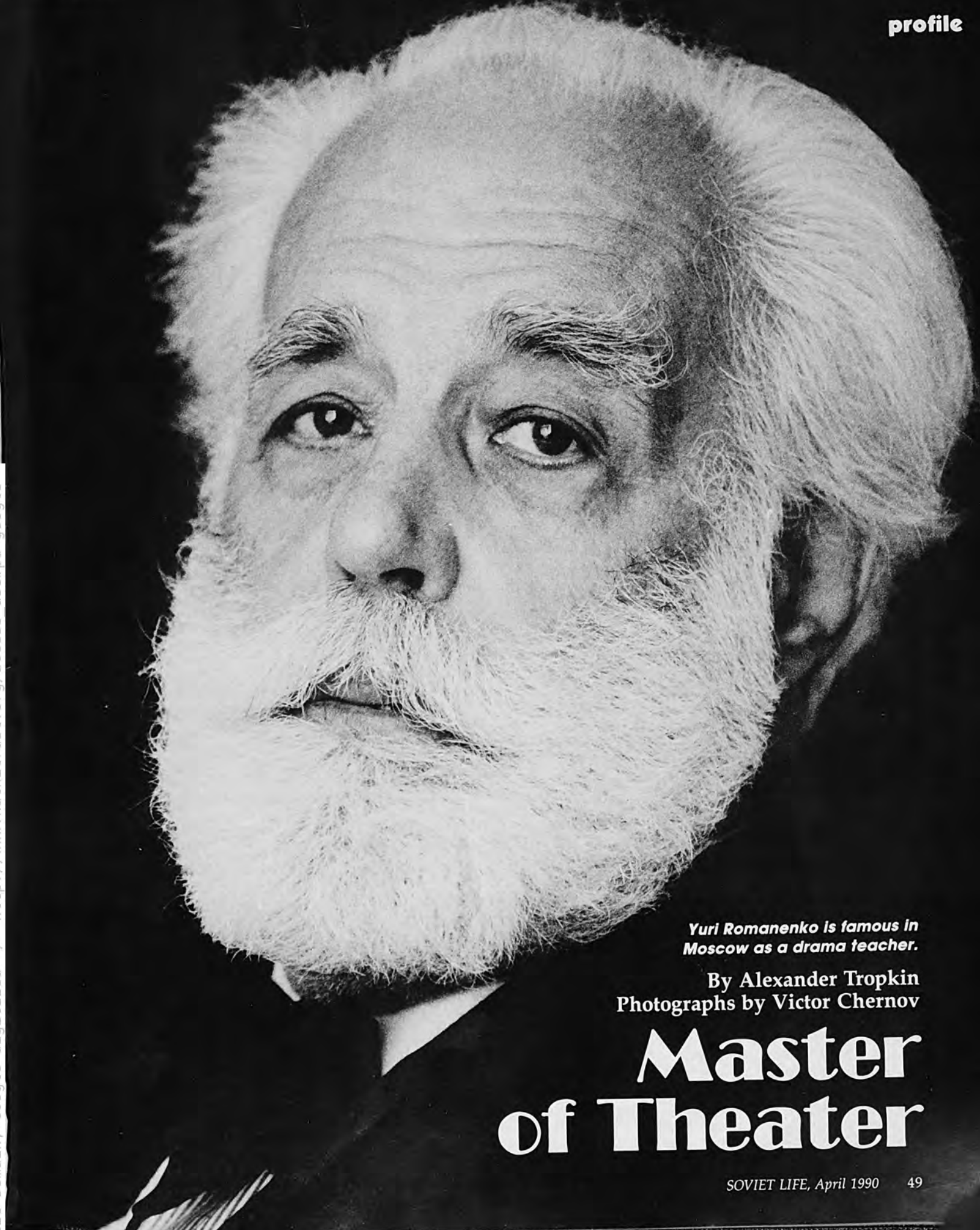
Osipov: Every major polluter must develop measures to bring emissions down to the maximum allowable levels. Among those that do not meet environmental regulation is the local oil refinery, which pollutes the relatively new districts of Orekhovo-Borisovo and Brateyevo. Other villains are the Kuskovo Chemical Plant and the Vulkan and Krasniy Bogatyr factories, to name but a few.

Continued on page 63



Elk Island in Moscow
The forest park on Losiny Ostrov (Elk Island) is home to deer and elk, squirrels, and redheaded woodpeckers, among other species. Special "green patrols" keep an eye on things, preventing littering, timbering, and poaching. Below: Arrest of a poacher.





*Yuri Romanenko is famous in
Moscow as a drama teacher.*

By Alexander Tropkin
Photographs by Victor Chernov

Master of Theater



Romanenko's goal is to develop in talented young people their intellect, taste, and commitment. "This is the only way to make them good people, whatever profession they may choose," he says.

Fifteen years ago unobtrusive ads appeared in Moscow streets: "Our consultations will help you get into art colleges. No charge." The young Muscovites who responded to this odd advertisement soon found themselves in a drama studio called Garmonia (Harmony), where they met the studio's founder, Yuri Romanenko, playwright, drama teacher, actor, and stage director. A new drama studio is nothing extraordinary in Moscow. The Vakhtangov Theater was originally a studio that was turned into a theater in 1921 by the prominent stage director Yevgeni Vakhtangov. A similar studio was the parent of the now famous Sovremennik Theater. The Theater of Drama and Comedy in Taganka and the Moscow Young People's Theater also began as studios. More and more new studios are popping up today.

Garmonia, however, is special. The studio is housed in the apartment of its creator in an old Moscow apartment building. Instead of furniture

the apartment contains a full-fledged stage with a curtain, lights, and everything. The stage is regarded as a sacred place and is used only for performances and dress rehearsals. There's still space left in the apartment, including the study and kitchen, for lectures and classes in acting.

Romanenko named his creation Garmonia, and the name hints at the goal he is trying (quite successfully) to attain—to give his pupils a comprehensive education, to shape their minds and tastes. The program is vast; there are even drawing lessons and lectures on the history of art. The hum of lively arguments about the latest productions never ceases. People come together for evenings of recollection devoted to famous actors, directors, stage designers.

The number of aspirants is twice the number the studio can accommodate. Yet the experienced eye of the master is sure to spot, almost without fail, a would-be star in a factory worker or a high school student. Every year Romanenko hand-picks five to seven young people for his studio.

After entering drama schools or the Institute of Cinematography, they are free to decide for themselves whether to leave the studio or not. As a rule they stay, and, as the years go by, this unusual apartment and its host become home and family to these young people.

Garmonia is the embodiment of Romanenko's life-long dreams and aspirations. His greatest treasures are his numerous students. The students think the world of their teacher; they are ready to forgive him his categorical judgments and his minor failings. The preoccupation with the studio and his lectures at the Institute of Theatrical Arts keep him in good shape, and there's no time to think of troubles. The students help him with the little housekeeping that his modest bachelor's apartment requires—like loving children, they are ready to attend to all his needs. But this 70-year-old man is in a constant rush—the entrance exams for the drama schools come up soon, but even before that is the opening of a new production at the studio. There's no time to be lost!



The studio's stage designer, Yevgeni Nikiforov (above, right). Classes in the kitchen (left). Alexander Klyukvin (below, center), a leading actor at the Maly Theater, is Romanenko's pride.

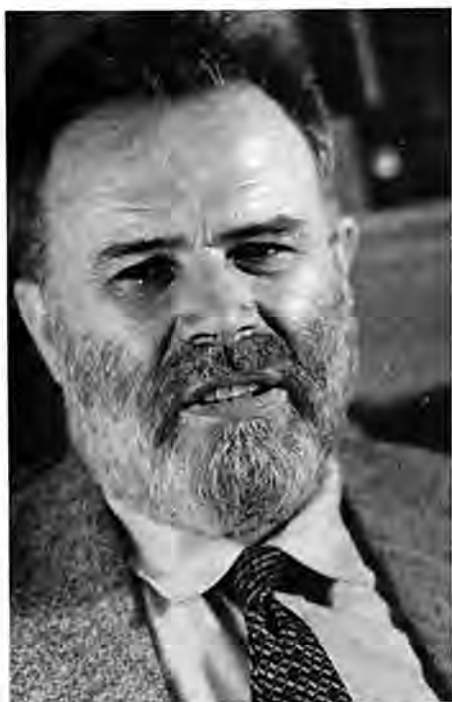


More and more Americans are coming to Moscow, some to see the changes taking place in the Soviet Union, others to create different kinds of joint ventures.

USSR

Americans in Moscow

By Maxim Artamonov
Photographs by Vyacheslav Bobkov



Carl Lambrecht is head of a company in Illinois. He has lived in Moscow so long he considers it his second home.

"Our firm, CRL Laurel Industries, supplies optical equipment and lasers for different industries in the Soviet Union and in Eastern European countries. We have been doing business with the USSR since 1971. We have joint enterprises in different parts of the Soviet Union—Leningrad, Kazakhstan, the Black Sea, and Siberia. The experience we've gained allows

us to go beyond the limits of our company's business and to act as intermediary for other companies, trying to find areas of interest common to both sides. We receive as payment for our services a percentage of the profits of these joint ventures. This year, or perhaps next, the output of these enterprises will be available on the market. This is very important because new, good-quality products can be a shot in the arm to the Soviet economy.

"The Soviet Union has vast technological reserves and natural resources. How this wealth will be used will depend on the specific people who are in charge. Naturally some businesses will prosper, and some will not.

"At present all Soviet organizations are oriented toward exports rather than toward satisfying domestic demand. This happens because exports earn hard currency. That is why the Soviet domestic market has turned into the world's largest market of unused possibilities.

"I've been doing business in the Soviet Union for years now. Many of my American friends ask me what the Russians are like, and my Soviet friends ask me what the Americans are like. These are very difficult questions. The Soviet Union has many different ethnic cultures, and people from many countries live in the United States. There is not much difference culturally between big cities—Moscow and New York, Chicago and Leningrad. People who live in large cities are alike. Differences between the people of provincial Soviet and American towns are far more promi-

nent. In such towns people cherish their privacy more than in big cities."



Rick Inderfurth is an ABC-News Moscow correspondent. He has a contract to stay in Moscow for two years.

"I arrived in Moscow in April 1989. Before that I'd visited the Soviet Union twice, staying for four months altogether. For many years ABC had only one correspondent in Moscow, but now it has decided to have two because so many things happen here that one person is physically incapa-

ble of keeping up with all of them. About two years ago I told my bosses that I would like to work in Moscow. Several years before that, in the Brezhnev era, I had a proposal to come here, but at the time I wasn't interested. With Gorbachev in power, the opportunity seemed much more appealing. So when the company made the proposal, I jumped at the opportunity.

"ABC's special interest is domestic policy—the work of the people's deputies, sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, plenums of the Party Central Committee, the economy, and the *perestroika* reforms. We follow the mass media closely. Thanks to *glasnost*, the Soviet press is coming alive. We don't miss such television programs as 'Vzglyad,' '120 Minutes,' '7 Days,' and Leningrad's '600 Seconds.' In our reporting we strive to cover various areas of interest, including religion.

"Right now I am finishing a report on conversion in the Soviet economy. The program Gorbachev announced in the United Nations in December 1988 is in full swing, and the country has begun converting a number of large armaments factories to consumer goods production.

"You don't have to be in the Soviet Union to understand that truly great changes are taking place here. It is clear—and Gorbachev has stressed this more than once—that it is impossible to count on the immediate kick-in of *perestroika*. I can compare the present situation in the Soviet Union to the Great Depression in the United States. At that time President Franklin Roosevelt enlisted the best minds to figure out a solution to the crisis. FDR took risks and made mistakes. He experimented with different methods—some of them worked; others didn't. A combination of methods eventually allowed the United States to overcome the Depression, but it took several painful years. So I believe it will take the Soviet Union several years

to cope with its economic problems.

"The warmth and cordiality of the Russians are widely known around the world. I can very much appreciate these qualities living in Moscow with my wife and two small children. My job here is more than a wonderful experience professionally. In the USSR, we feel good. I like it here as a journalist and as a human being.

"One unfortunate thing is that I have practically no free time. So many interesting things keep happening here that I have to work six to seven days a week. When I do have free time, I spend it with my family. Sometimes we go to the theater. My children love the Moscow Circus. We often go for a walk in Gorky Park or Izmailovo Park or stroll along Arbat Street."



Jasmin Jordan, a second year student at the Parsons School of Design in New York City, plans a career in photography.

Jordan spent nine days in Moscow last November. She participated in an exchange program called Focus '89. Her group comprised 10 students and three teachers. One of the participants was Arnold Drabkin, a photographer who is equally famous in the USSR and in the United States and who worked on the book *One Day in the Life of the Soviet Union*. The USSR Journalists Union, Novosti Press Agency, and the School of Journalism of Moscow State University are the program's Soviet cosponsors.

Jordan's impressions of her trip were at first unfavorable—long lines, problems with transportation, and so forth. "There were some things that I couldn't quite understand," she said. "I felt as if I'd been taken out of my natural environment and placed in an alien world. But by the second or third day I began noticing more and more good things and feeling better. I still could not understand some aspects of Russian behavior, but I could understand how people adapted themselves to the imperfections of life. If I'd stayed longer, I might have gotten used to life in the Soviet Union. But that isn't the most important thing. Meeting with students and photojournalists who lectured at our school, I realized that a majority of them had quite a satisfactory life. What is more, they wanted a better life for themselves and for others. The most important thing for me is what is currently taking place in the Soviet Union.

"I met such interesting people—Dmitri Donskoi, Yuri Rost, and others. They taught me a great deal professionally and as a human being. I think I could learn a lot more from them. I still don't understand why all those people were so kind to me. I am not used to such things at home.

"I hope I'll be able to make another trip to Moscow again and work for the Soviet press. I don't know where specifically—probably *Izvestia* or *Novosti*. I'm sure I will return soon."

Konstantin Melnikov's round house is an interesting example of the Russian Constructivist style of the 1920s and 1930s.



The House the Architect Built

Photographs by Alexander Nagralyan

An unusual house stands on Krivoi Arbat Lane in Moscow. The house is an architectural statement, and many people are eager to see it. It was built in the 1920s by a member of the Russian Constructivist school, Konstantin Melnikov (1890-1974), who lived in it with his family.

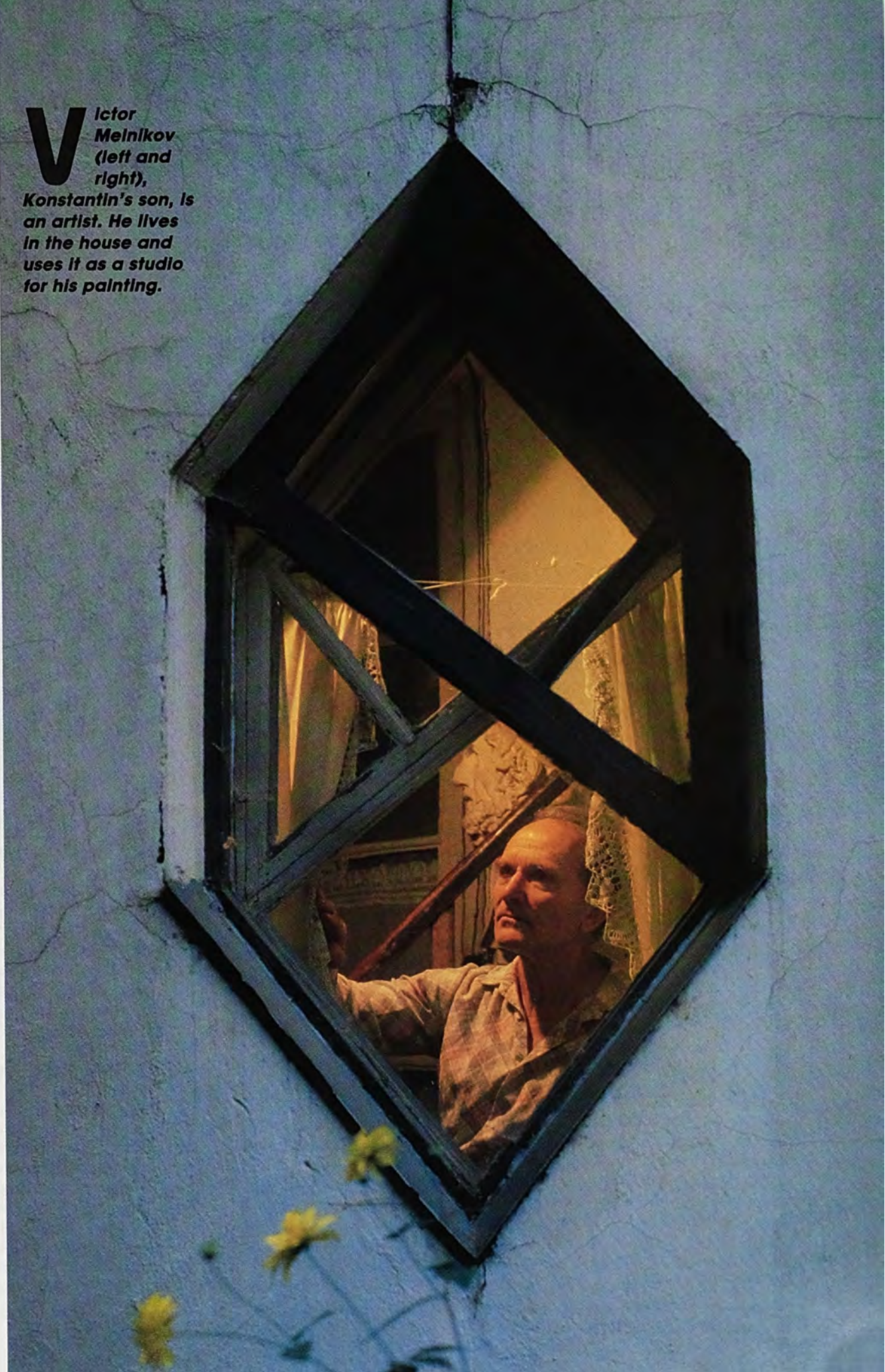
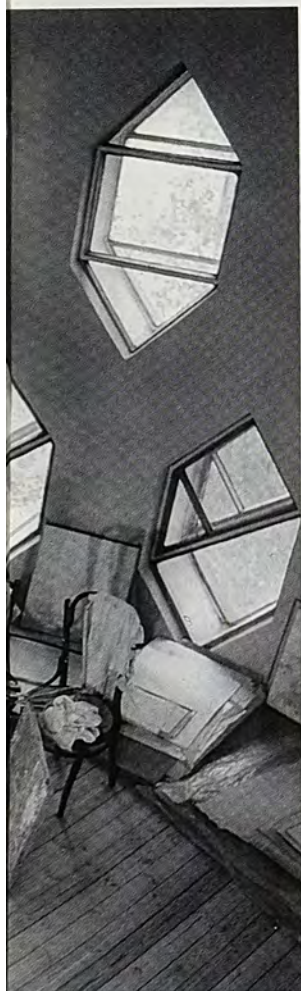
Melnikov's creative life was complex and tragic. In 1925 he designed the Soviet Pavilion at the International Exhibition in Paris. This won worldwide acclaim for the architect, and in the next decade Melnikov did a lot of designing. But in the 1940s he was accused of being a formalist, and after that none of his designs were used.

The attitude toward Melnikov's legacy has changed radically. Hardly anything published now on the history of Soviet architecture does not refer to his name. And the rotunda in the lane off Arbat Street receives an endless stream of visitors. ■



Konstantin Melnikov (1890-1974) in a rare self-portrait (top). The Rusakov Community Center (left), built in 1927-1929, is Melnikov's most famous structure.

Victor
Melnikov
(left and
right),
Konstantin's son, is
an artist. He lives
in the house and
uses it as a studio
for his painting.



ARBAT

Continued from page 19

friends gathered in his lounge to recite poetry.

Tatyana Kostanzhoglo defined her place in the group called Arbat's Poets as an "honorable" place in a bestiary. Large audiences gather spontaneously to listen to the bold verses of this group of poets and to buy their Xeroxed, much-handled *perestroika* works. Kostanzhoglo recites her poetry for passers-by:

Look, pedestrians, this poem
was written for you
The authorities gave us a lavish
present, an undeclared decree
To give dissenters and free
thinkers
An "honorable" place in the
bestiary where
Provincial folk, Muscovites, and
foreigners are hanging out!

Some people extend their hands for the text of the poem after Kostanzhoglo finishes reciting. Four pages of her verses cost two rubles, and a more voluminous collection, five rubles.

Four people are sitting right on the pavement. They demand the release from prison of Alexander Novikov, a poet from the Urals who was jailed for the alleged dissemination of his tape-recorded critical poems. His defenders do not introduce the public to his poetry, and you have to decide whether to take on faith the inscription on a piece of cardboard that says that Novikov stands side by side with Osip Mandelstam, Marina Tsvetayeva, Alexander Galich, Iosif Brodsky, and other "martyrs for truth."

A group of about 30 simply dressed, suntanned women from the western Ukraine demand the legalization of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in the Ukraine, saying they express the will of five million Uniates in the republic. They are carrying placards calling for support and sympathy, and they tell passers-by about the persecution of Uniates during the Stalin era.

Tempers run high when someone sparks a political debate. I witnessed a polemic about the state and the public. One of the participants in the discussion said that the state and the public seem to exist all by themselves, having nothing in common. Besides, he continued, the public is more progressive than the state, which retains its stagnant patterns. Another man objected, insisting that the public and the state were a single whole. Still another said that their discussion had no validity because the two categories are incompatible in any country.

A woman approached the group of debaters, listened to them for some time, and then took her leave, saying: "And foodstuffs are still lacking here!"

Indeed, there is a striking difference between Arbat's curiosity shops and its food stores, which offer a frugal diet of pork, chicken, fish preserves, eggs, butter, and margarine. So, while there is plenty of food for thought, there is little food to eat.

Yet let us put aside things material.

Academician Dmitri Likhachev called the past "the fourth dimension of the visible world." "Towns and cities, orchards and parks, rivers and lakes, groves and meadows," he wrote, "have the fourth dimension in time, which opens to us in memory of culture, memory about the past and, most intensively, memory about the poetic past."

Russian annals first mentioned Moscow in the mid-twelfth century, and Arbat, in the fifteenth century. Once a Moscow suburb where coachmen and artisans settled on marshes, it gradually became a merchants quarter and, later on, a district for Moscow's aristocracy.

In the autumn of 1812, prior to Napoleon's invasion of the Russian capital, the city was engulfed in flames and burned for five days. After the French troops left Moscow in December of the same year, Muscovites returned to the ashes of their once beautiful city. Arbat Street and its adjacent lanes were gradually rebuilt and transformed. For us, Arbat Street has a special aura. The area is linked with names of historian and writer Nikolai Karamzin; biologist Kliment

Timiryazev; geochemist and philosopher Vladimir Vernadsky; the great composers Pyotr Tchaikovsky, Sergei Rachmaninoff, and Sergei Prokofiev; poets Alexander Pushkin, Mikhail Lermontov, Alexander Blok; and other outstanding personalities. Many houses here bear memorial plaques.

Remote and recent, general and individual history awaits us at Arbat's every corner. When I was young, I strolled along the old Arbat—with its sidewalks, asphalt pavement, and traffic—innumerable times. I remember the last winter of the war, snowdrifts, pipes from homemade stoves protruding from darkened windows, and dim street lamps. I still cherish the memory of the house of my friend whom I have known for 40 years—it was blown up in the 1950s when Arbat Square was expanded.

Near Kaloshin Lane, I recall some friends of mine, a mother and her daughter. They returned to Moscow after a 20-year ordeal, when they finally recovered their right to live in the capital, which they had lost when the head of the family was arrested in 1938.

The Khudozhestvenny Movie Theater reminds me of my girlish dreams—cinema was our religion, and we attended every service that promised us a romantic future.

Many Muscovites do not recognize today's Arbat, disliking its spaciousness, its cobbled pavement, and the pseudo-early twentieth century street lamps made of pink glass. They say the Arbat they once knew no longer exists. "My opinion may seem biased," says popular poet and performer Bulat Okudzhava, whose songs often mention Arbat, "but I think that all that remains of the lively old Arbat with which many precious events in Moscow's history are connected is a kind of theater scenery. I would not like to live here now. And who would want to live among these cardboard façades?"

"It would hardly be right to say that the recent reconstruction revived the street's former image; instead it changed it again," says the preface to a recently published book on the history of Moscow. Changes have always been an Arbat tradition. ■



Glasnost has given us the truth about the rising crime rate, but we haven't yet found any solutions.

coping with crime

By Sergei Bogatko and
Yuri Kuzmin
Photographs by
Victor Chernov

Recently, crime has grown substantially in the USSR. Moscow has certainly experienced the results of this trend, but Moscow's militia lead the way in developing new measures to control crime. According to experts at Moscow's Department of the Interior, the crime rate has its ups and downs but the upward trend, unfortunately, is fairly stable. Crime statistics, a closely guarded secret until recently, reveal that the situation was far worse during the Brezhnev years. Nevertheless, we stand a good chance of exceeding the level of that period.

Muscovites have every reason to be alarmed. Criminals are now more



Violent crime is on the upswing (top). Militia on duty at the emergency aid switchboard respond to about 1,000 calls an hour.

cruel and violent. In the past year the number of murders increased by 100 per cent, the number of serious injuries resulting in death by 350 per cent, and the number of cases in which firearms were used by 22 per

cent. One significant development has been the increase in such crimes as robbery of cash registers and apartments and racketeering. Law enforcement agencies have also alerted the public to the dangers of organized



A museum of firearms helps police to identify weapons used in violent crimes.

A composite drawing of a suspect helped the militia to make the arrest.



crime and of alliances among criminals, tycoons of the shadow economy, and even high-ranking party and government officials.

When we arrived at 38 Petrovka Street (Moscow's main office of the Department of Internal Affairs), we were astonished by the frankness and openness of the militia.

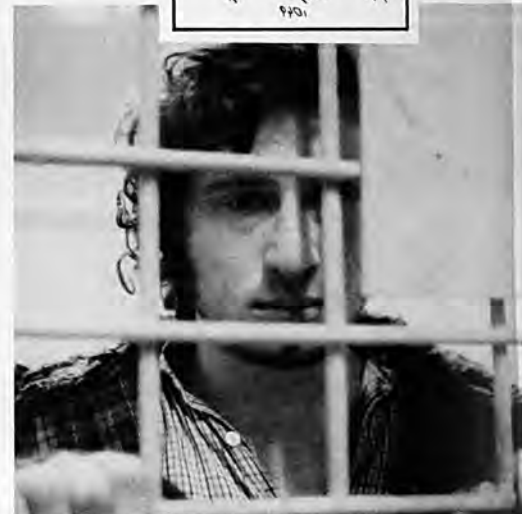
"We have a division that is on round-the-clock duty and is in constant touch with all the local divisions of the Interior and militia stations in Moscow. Muscovites can reach us by phone at any time, day or night, simply by dialing 02," said the head of the division, Victor Musikhin.

The officer on duty gave us statistics on the use of the emergency number that were a bit hard to believe: About a thousand calls an hour, both real emergencies and minor problems, come in to 38 Petrovka. The first thing the militia do after receiving a call is to alert a patrol car by radio.

The bright yellow, blue-striped patrol cars are a familiar sight to Muscovites.

"We respond fairly quickly. After the nearest patrol car receives our instructions, it takes an average of five to seven minutes to arrive at the scene. Soon we will be launching an automated control system, which will save almost five minutes per call."

As we talked, calls were coming in: A fight was in full swing, and windows were broken in a liquor shop on Demyan Bedny Street; on Sirenev Boulevard, some angry customers were beating up members of a co-operative because of the poor quality of the meat rolls they sell; an ex-husband picked up his child from his former wife three hours ago and disap-



peared; someone was robbed in a public toilet. The list of reported crimes goes on and on.

Moscow militia stations have devices that automatically register caller identification and tape the conversation because the caller may be seriously wounded and unable to explain clearly what has happened and where he or she is; this is not a case of violation of civil rights.

What else happened in Moscow that day? Eight hundred eighty-five drunks, 863 of them Muscovites, were taken to militia stations, and 125 people were detained for petty hooliganism. In Smolensk Square someone hired a cab and ordered the driver to find a foreign correspondent or he would blow up the car and himself. He turned out to be a mental patient who had escaped from a psychiatric clinic in Irkutsk in Eastern Siberia. In another incident a boy was left alone in an apartment and fell out of the window.

Public order is on the decline almost everywhere—a fact that holds true for all segments of society. It is as if people have forgotten that they can have more rights only as long as they have a greater sense of responsibility. This is being abused by criminals who act ever more impudently, knowing that it is easy to pose as victims of militia brutality and thus win public sympathy.

Of particular concern these days is the increasing number of cases of armed suspects resisting arrest. As they flee to escape capture, more and more suspects shoot at the militia. If caught, they pin their hopes on their lawyers, on the more relaxed attitudes now prevalent in court, and on amnesties. And while the militia have to shoot at car wheels to avoid injuring a suspect—for which they would have trouble defending their case in court—there is an increasing number of casualties among the militia.

Blatant disobedience and the seizure of hostages are more common occurrences because a number of provisions in the Criminal Code have been rendered ineffective by current law enforcement practices. For instance, disobedience used to result in 15 days in jail; nowadays you can get away with a fine or just a warning.

Muscovites complain that the militia have bad manners, but they would not want their own children to join the force. As a result, 70 per cent of Moscow's militia force comes from other cities. Some of the officers are top-level professionals, but most are motivated by their desire to live in Moscow. Upon arrival, they experience a major culture shock, being ignorant of big-city ways, traditions, and standards of public conduct. They lose their bearings and assert their authority by acting abruptly and at times even rudely. This is a defensive reaction and may be natural, but no one stands to gain from it.

The number of millionaires now residing in Moscow remains a mystery. As notorious trials have shown, fortunes have been amassed by bribery, theft, black marketeering, and drug trafficking. Some of this money was made "by virtue" of our inefficient economic model and the legal standards of the period of stagnation. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR, between 1986 and 1988, money and valuables worth close to 350 million rubles were confiscated from criminal groups active in the economy. People at 38 Petrovka believe that the opportunity to make big money may take some people a long, long way down the road of temptation.

Alexander Alexeyev is first deputy head of the Division for Combating Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Black Marketeering at Moscow's Department of the Interior. He told us, "The most sensitive issue today concerns the cooperatives and self-employed people. The law does not allow the militia to monitor their activity, but the financial agencies cannot do the job because they are few in number and in competence. Furthermore, the law does not make it binding on cooperatives to document their financial activities. Just imagine the number of loopholes!"

These loopholes have provided fertile ground for criminal activity in the shadow economy. State-run enterprises that do business with cooperatives have obtained a real opportunity to convert bank accounts quickly into cash pocketed by "enterprising people."

"The problem of organized crime is acquiring serious importance, particularly in the economy," said Pyotr Bogdanov, Deputy Minister of the Department of Internal Affairs for Moscow. "For a long time this country has attempted to solve its economic problems by means of law enforcement. This produced no results as the economic machinery has plenty of gaps that criminals easily fill in. For instance, cooperatives obtain materials by making illegal agreements with state-run enterprises."

The head of a department at the former Ministry of Medium Machine Building was caught in the act when he sold metal pipes, which were in short supply, for cash, having written them off at enterprises he was in charge of. The pipes were later exchanged for denim.

"Financial inspectors say: 'We are supposed to supervise incomes, but many cooperatives do not have an income yet.' Why this helplessness? This attitude encourages lawbreaking. Every kopeck must be under control," said Alexeyev.

"What is the solution?" we asked Vadim Bakatin, Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR. The Minister has recently implemented measures to improve the situation.

"The only solution is through *perestroika*," he answered. "I can see a solution in accelerating the process of *perestroika* and in improving the health of society, starting with the economy. On the other hand, the people cannot wait any longer, and that is why we must take urgent steps to strengthen law enforcement agencies."

"The main thing for us is to remove the inherent shortcomings in the system of the ministry as soon as possible. In the past six months we have made some progress in terms of eradicating coverups. The first step was to make crime statistics available to the public and report the progress of the effort to control crime."

The key priority for today is to invigorate the work of the militia personnel and lend dynamism to investigative agencies by reexamining the principal avenues of crime control, search, and prevention. It is necessary to restore public trust in the militia.

**Detective Shamil Alghinin
got some help on a case—
the murder of taxi driver
Yuri Zhiboyedov (right)—
from Dina Nazarenko, a psy-
chic who saw the murder in
her coffee grounds (inset).**



psychic plays detective

By Alexander Tropkin
Photographs by Victor Chernov

The story of the crime was a hot topic in Moscow. It surpassed all others in its cruelty, and the investigative techniques used to solve it were highly unusual.

On an unfortunate October night, one of Moscow's cab pools realized that a taxi and its driver were missing. The driver was 40-year-old Yuri Zhiboyedov. He never came home for dinner with his wife and daughters.

The local militia learned about the missing driver two days later. They immediately started looking for the vehicle. Patrol cars combed the huge city, block after block. Another two days of busy searching followed, but there was still no news.

Then a few days later the officer on duty at the district militia station received a phone call. A calm female voice at the other end of the line said, "I think I know where you should be looking for the missing vehicle," and the officer immediately turned on a tape recorder attached to the phone.

The woman went on: "It is in one of the new residential areas, close to the Ring Road and next to..." The description that followed was so detailed that experienced militia officers could identify the locality as Otradnoye, a new area.

"Did you witness or participate in what happened?" the officer asked.

"Neither. But I am a good friend of the dead man's family."

"Why did you say 'dead'? We don't know yet whether the driver is dead or not."

"I am absolutely sure that he is dead. I saw him dead."

"Where and when did you see him?"

"A few minutes ago, on the bottom of a cup with coffee grounds."

The officer, far from a novice, was annoyed and sure that he had fallen victim to a practical joke. He still took down all the information about the caller. She was very open about herself. Her name was Dina Nazarenko, she was 53, she almost never left her apartment because of frequent attacks of hypertension. She left her address and telephone number with the mili-

tia and said she didn't mind being called at any time. The officer was more than surprised.

Nazarenko's information was confirmed the same day. The vehicle was found in the place specified by the woman, but the driver was missing. There were traces of a fight and blood stains that testified to the driver's tragic fate. Investigator Shamil Aighinin decided he'd better visit Nazarenko.

Aighinin specializes in murder investigations, an unenviable job. He works in the Babushkino District of Moscow, where the number of serious crimes has increased by 150 per cent in the past three years. Aighinin has a reputation for solving two-thirds of his cases. When he talks about the cases he's solved, sparks of professional zeal flicker in his eyes. It seems as if he values his professionalism most in his risky occupation, but he doesn't deny that even an experienced investigator is familiar with fear. Unfortunately, the reasons for

such fear have multiplied recently as crimes have become crueler and more violent, often involving guns and knives.

"The case of the missing cab driver seemed like a dead end to me after a week of unsuccessful searching in a city of nine million," Aighinin recalls. "The criminals were very experienced—they had destroyed all the evidence that the investigation could have dug up. There was a ray of hope after I met Dina Nazarenko."

The meeting took place in Nazarenko's small, cozy apartment, where everything smells of coffee. The hospitable hostess made some coffee, but not just to offer the young investigator. Nazarenko was going to demonstrate something that Aighinin had until then believed to be just a figment of the woman's imagination. How could anyone take seriously the patterns on the bottom of a coffee cup. Rubbish!

Nazarenko extracted some mind-boggling information from that rub-

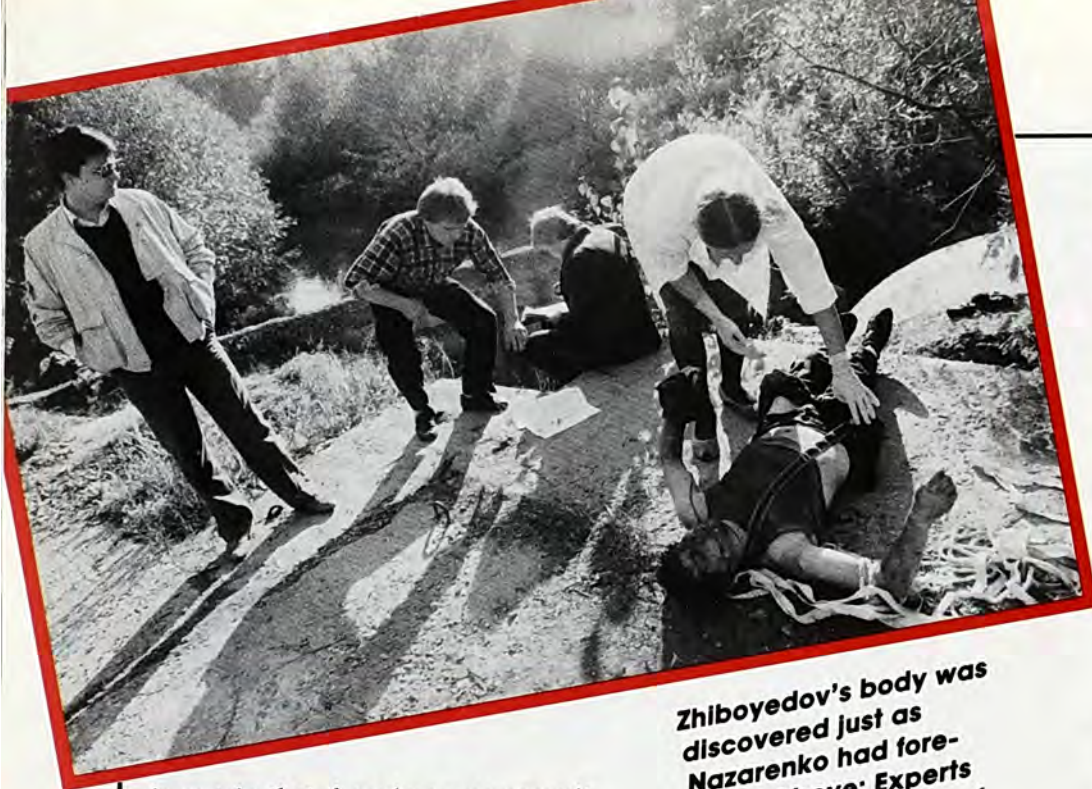
bish. In the presence of the detective she saw a clear image of the place where the criminals had hidden their victim. It was a vacant lot overgrown with tall weeds. There was a little stream and a concrete pipe around the body. The psychic gave a description of the driver's clothes and even specified the position of his body. She also saw the murderers' faces and drew them on paper. The investigator was astounded watching Nazarenko at work.

He was even more shocked the next day when his deputies found the body. The location fitted Nazarenko's description to a T—the vacant lot, the hiding place in a concrete pipe, and even a thin wire around the victim's neck that Nazarenko had mentioned. The medical examiner confirmed that the driver had been strangled and then stabbed 10 times.

Nazarenko's drawings are being used as a basis to identify the four criminals, and the sketches were distributed nationwide. The investigator



Nazarenko's psychic relations led the investigators to a vacant lot in Otradnoye, a new area on the outskirts of Moscow.



Zhiboyedov's body was discovered just as Nazarenko had foreseen. Above: Experts examine the scene of the crime. Below: Valentina Zhiboyedova mourns the loss of her husband and the father of her three daughters.

is certain that the crime was committed to steal the driver's money and the vehicle. After the murderers did what they planned and covered up the traces, they dumped the car.

I spent a lot of time talking to Nazarenko about the secrets of her psychic predictions and asking her what she actually saw. To solve a mystery, she said, she needs to have a very clear idea of what the person in trouble is like. Talking to his or her

friends and family could help. Handwriting and photographs are also very useful in the effort to see the person's image. The critical moment is what Nazarenko calls "cinema." In her mind she sees something like a film, which tells the story of what happened and presents all the participants.

After she solved the cab driver's case, Nazarenko helped several despairing families find their missing children, gave the only correct version of two serious crimes, and prompted the officers of Moscow's Criminal Investigation Department on how to proceed with a case of daring robbery. I won't mention here the dozens of favors she has done for her friends and acquaintances. On some occasions, however, Nazarenko has no inspiration, and the information she requires is not forthcoming. "It is dark in the cup," she says, and she can't do anything about it.

Nazarenko is not unique. In Moscow alone I know several people who have the gift of clairvoyance. The most surprising thing is that the militia, which we always believed to be very conservative, increasingly often turns to psychics for help, and the psychics willingly cooperate.





LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Since the Soviet Union is so diverse in people, I would like to know more about regional dishes and specialties. Most Americans think of Soviet cuisine as vodka, boiled potatoes, and chicken Kiev. A menu section (with photographs) might prove to be an exciting feature!

Rex Rickard
Santee, California

With the receipt of my last issue of *SOVIET LIFE*, I want to thank you and your staff for a memorable year of your magazine. It has brought me closer to understanding the Soviet spirit and character.

As the struggling author of a novel, which I've entitled *Father Sky, Mother*

Earth, I subscribed to your magazine for background information, but I find it falls a bit short of the enlightenment I need to make the novel believable. The novel is about the future as lived through two young lovers and how it affects Soviet-American relations.

One final note: In your Editor's Notes you lamented that copying the Western market economy would lead to a blurring of your heritage and culture. Just remember: A blooming flower's color is determined by its roots and the mixture of its soil.

William Spriggs
Lakewood, Colorado



ECOLOGY

Continued from page 48

Deadlines are set for producers to reduce emissions as required. But many of them seem unable to do it. In this case some facilities are closed. But then, this matter is very much the concern of inspection agencies and the Moscow Committee for Environmental Protection. I would think Alexander Kudin, who heads this organization, is in a better position to tell us about what's happening there.

Kudin: The plan to move polluting industries out of Moscow dates back to the early 1970s. But only two-thirds, or maybe even fewer, have so far been relocated. Today, using our recommendations, the municipal authorities have enacted a policy that sets deadlines for the removal of particularly hazardous facilities.

Although our committee was set up quite recently, we have ordered two shops at the Derbenyevsky Chemical Plant to be closed pending the correction of shortcomings. And we got the

ministries concerned to install efficient treatment plants and scrubbing devices. The committee is working closely with the municipal authorities, and it is imposing fines on those found to be in violation of the current regulations. We are putting through a plan for over-all environmental monitoring in Moscow. Data on the state of the Moscow environment gathered by special monitoring agencies will be published in order to encourage corrective measures. Furthermore, we are putting together lists of violators in all industries—foundries, electroplating factories, small and large power plants, and motor transport facilities.

Then again, the power industry can do a lot to reduce environmental pollution. Improvements in burning processes alone can bring about a major drop in nitrogen oxide levels. We are going to insist on appropriate measures. The same applies to transport. There is a need to open new routes, to develop new warehouse patterns, to exclude long truck runs within city limits, to raise speed limits, to remove unnecessary traffic lights, and so forth. ■



FORTY-FIVE YEARS SINCE VICTORY

SOVIET LIFE often goes back to the days of World War II, when Soviet and American soldiers were comrades in arms. The war ended in Europe 45 years ago next month, with the capitulation of Nazi Germany. To mark this anniversary, our May issue will feature several articles about the war.



OUR READERS IN THE SOVIET UNION

A small group of *SOVIET LIFE* subscribers went on a special tour around the Soviet Union. The American guests visited Moscow, where they met with the staff of our magazine, and also Leningrad, Tbilisi, Tashkent, and Samarkand. Read about their impressions in our next issue.

COMING SOON

**Soviet-American Relations
On the Eve of the Summit**

The Moskva River embankment in the nineteenth century. Moscow's coat of arms, adopted in 1730, featured St. George slaying the dragon.



Old Moscow



Yuri Mazurov

The unique collection of Muscovite Yuri Mazurov contains 13,000 post cards of his native city. Many of the post cards can't even be found in Moscow's museums.

"Moscow keeps changing rapidly and not always for the better," says Mazurov with some regret. "The post cards offer a glimpse of places that no longer exist. They give people an opportunity to recall their childhood and youth and to learn how Muscovites lived in the last century, how they dressed, and how they looked. These post cards build a bridge of sorts from the present into the past."

Mazurov is right. It requires some imagination to recognize Moscow's streets and squares in the slightly faded post cards: Many of the golden-domed churches the capital was once famous for have disappeared. Many

monuments of Russian history have disappeared.

Yet, the post cards evoke not only nostalgia for what is lost but also a desire to restore the destroyed monuments to their former splendor. Many a time informal groups of patriotic Muscovites, restoration bureaus, film studios, and museums have turned to Mazurov for advice and consultation. Mazurov is convinced that some of these architectural ensembles could be restored—the magnificent Christ the Savior Church, built with private funds to honor the victory in the Patriotic War of 1812; the famous Sukharev Tower, erected in the center of Moscow by order of Czar Peter the Great; and the renowned Krasniye Vorota (Red Gates). In the future Mazurov intends to donate his collection to the city. He and his collector friends hope to establish a museum. ■



Москва — Moscou.
Памятник М. Д. Скобелеву. — Monument de général M. D. Skobeleff.



Русские типы — Types russes

Clockwise from top left: A monument to General Mikhail Skobelev, a hero of the Balkan Wars, is no longer standing. Sunday in Sokolniki Park. A vegetable street vender. A middle class woman. A night watchman. The monument to Czar Alexander III and the Church of Christ the Savior have both been destroyed. Hat vendors.



Old Moscow

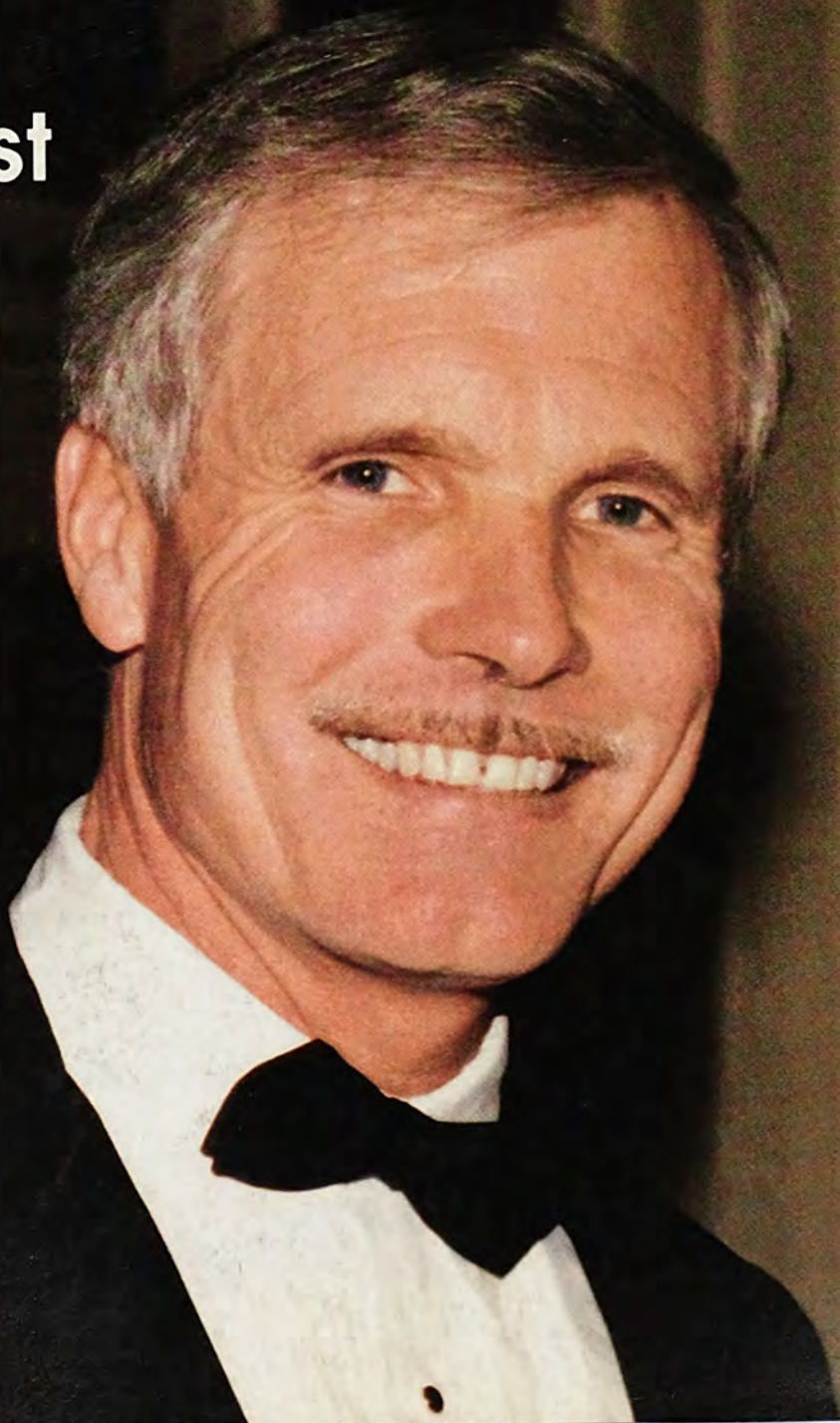


View of the Kremlin from the Yauza. Lithograph by Lemaitre from the series "Views of Moscow." 1825.

Soviet Life

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First Glasnost Award to Ted Turner



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Soviet Life

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Front Cover: Ted Turner at the reception
at which he received the Glasnost Award.
See cover story on page 2. Photograph by
Edi Metcalf.



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THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

By Pavel Antonov
Novosti Analyst



In mid-February the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet suggested a new locus of power in the government of the USSR, a presidency.

The sessions of the Supreme Soviet were stormy. Some deputies called for immediate creation of the presidency on the grounds that the country is in the worst imaginable situation—"a fire during a flood." The Soviet Union, rent by an acute economic crisis and ethnic clashes, is in a state of anarchy, they claimed.

Practice showed that the most Mikhail Gorbachev could do as Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet was to call sessions of the Supreme Soviet. His powers were equivalent to those of the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. Advocates of creating a new, strengthened presidency argued that there were 33 positions of high authority in the country but that no one person was in charge.

Opponents of the idea said that the presidency as it was being considered would give one person too much power and that the country should wait until the legislature has time to establish reliable counterbalances and limits to that power.

After fierce debates, with a week's respite to allow passions to cool, the USSR Supreme Soviet ruled "to recognize it expedient to establish the post of President of the USSR."

Politburo member Alexander Yakovlev declared: "The time has come for the government to emerge from its jellylike state and to create genuine bodies of power under democratic conditions."

On March 12, the extraordinary third session of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR (which alone has the right to amend the Constitution) convened in the Kremlin. On the agenda were three issues that called for amendments to the Constitution: 1) the renunciation of the legally sealed guiding role of the party; 2) the adoption of new articles on the ownership of property; and 3) the establishment of the presidency.

The first day of the Congress was fairly uneventful. Yuri Afanasyev, rector of the Moscow Historical Archives

Continued on page 21

USSR



TED TURNER, WORKER FOR GLASNOST

By Mark Cosman

Photographs by Alan Berliner

A new era in East-West relations has erupted from the seeds of *glasnost* that were planted just a few short years ago by leading visionaries of our time. One such visionary is famed entrepreneur and media titan Ted Turner.

In a triumphant salute to the spirit of *glasnost*, the Volunteers of America of Los Angeles (VOALA) and SOVIET LIFE magazine presented the first Glasnost Award to Turner at a gala benefit held at the Regent Beverly Wilshire Hotel in Beverly Hills, California. The landmark event drew more than 500 supporters from among southern California's elite.

The Glasnost Award was presented to Turner in recognition of his pioneering achievements on behalf of Soviet-American relations at a time when such undertakings were not so popular. The Goodwill Games are just one of his many contributions to building bridges between the Soviet and American people.

Other members of the steering committee that organized the salute were Dr. Armand Hammer, chairman of Occidental Petroleum; Charlton Heston; and Michael King, of King World Productions.

The arrival of Jane Fonda with Turner triggered a rush of photographers. Other patrons from Los Angeles' famed entertainment community included Jill Ireland Bronson and her husband, Charles; James Brolin; former Miss America Mary Ann Mobley and Gary Collins; Dominic Dunne and Phyllis McGuire; Shelly Duval; Chuck and Ava Fries; Lew Merrifield; Wink Martindale; Steve Ross; Jean Stone; Jeff Wald; and Fred Travalena, who was master of ceremonies.

Sergei Ivanko, editor of SOVIET LIFE magazine, made an after-dinner toast to Turner. Ivanko's remarks were followed by a rollicking impersonation of famous political figures by comedian Fred Travalena.

Also taking part in the festivities was a special Soviet delegation from

Leningrad's Kirov Institute, here to study the Volunteers of America's highly regarded role as a leader in the treatment and prevention of alcoholism. The delegation included Dr. Boris Guzikov, Dr. Lydia Simbirtseva, Dr. Semyon Simbirtsev, Dr. Artak Meyroyan, and Dr. Victor Petrov.

Proceeds from the tribute will be used by VOALA to improve the treatment and prevention of alcoholism both in the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Glasnost Award, a large plaque of gold and black marble, was presented to Turner by Heston. He was assisted in the presentation by Ivanko and VOALA chairman Ron Cedillos.

VOALA is a human service organization established in Los Angeles in 1896. Its mission to the poor embraces infants and youngsters—inheritors of poverty—destitute families, the homeless, and the forgotten elderly. VOALA will serve more than 100,000 needy people in Los Angeles this year. ■



Facing page, left to right: Ted Turner, the guest of honor; Bob Pratt, president of the Volunteers of America of Los Angeles; and Sergel Ivanko, editor of SOVIET LIFE magazine. Above, left to right: Michael King, Dr. Armand Hammer, and actor Charles Bronson. Below, left to right: Lois Aldrin, Ted Turner, Buzz Aldrin, and Jane Fonda.



EDITOR'S NOTES

Soon Washington will be the site of a meeting between the first Soviet President, Mikhail Gorbachev, and the forty-first U.S. President, George Bush. Many people will agree that Gorbachev's domestic challenges are more difficult than Bush's.

Of course Gorbachev is no novice in politics. Since he undertook his position of leadership five years ago, he has accomplished quite a lot.

But when he had made his spectacular breakthroughs, Gorbachev was in a very precarious position. His predecessors during the stagnation period had a much easier time of it. This reminds me of *The Devil's Alternative*, written by Frederick Forsyth. In the novel the U.S. President and the Soviet General Secretary are talking over the hot line about ways to extinguish an international conflict. The two superpower leaders, on a first-name basis with each other, are honest about their problems: One has to cope with rising unemployment, the other with invariably poor harvests. They agree that war should not be launched, but that they need a semblance of confrontation to distract the Americans and the Soviets from their internal worries.

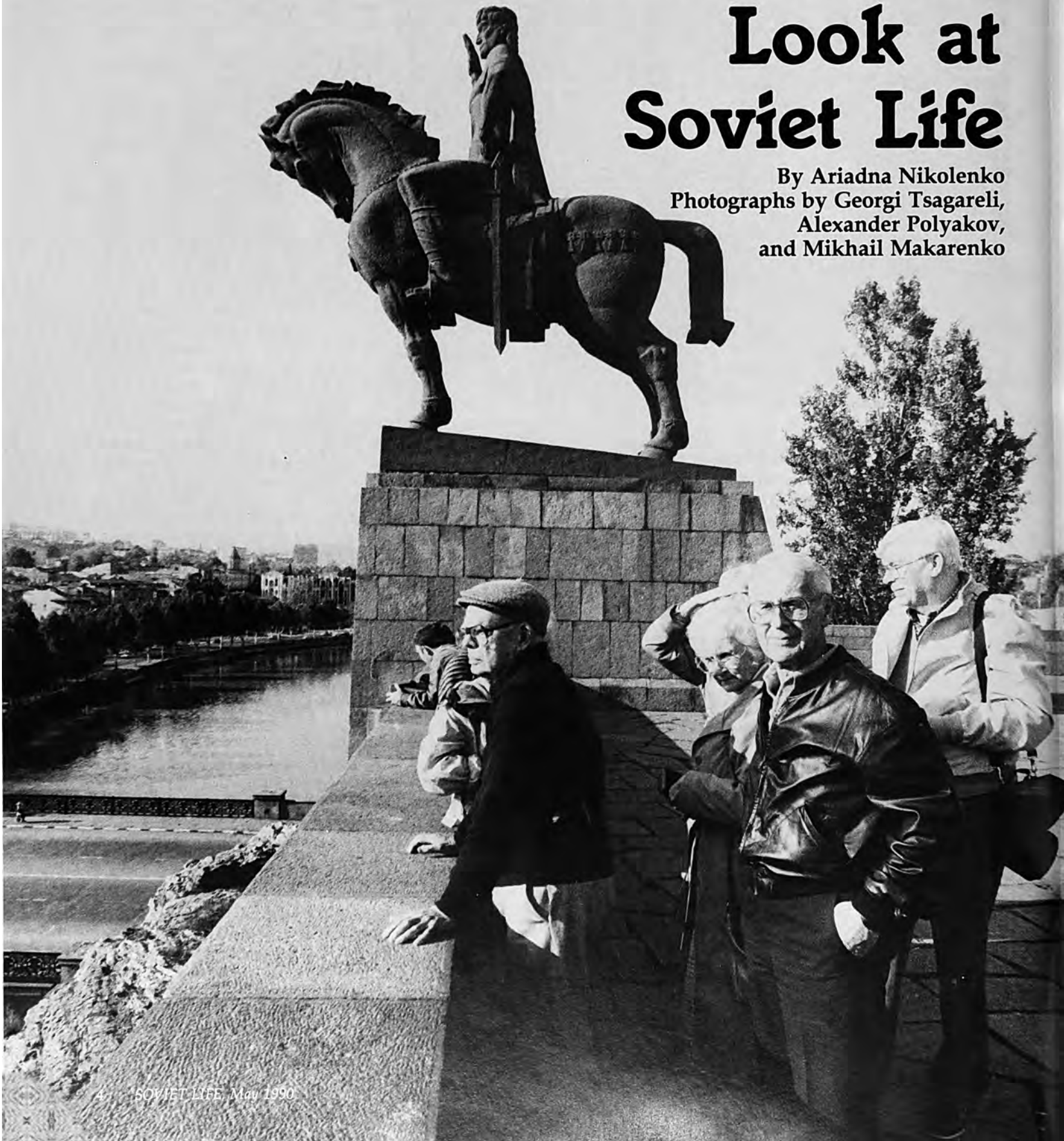
I have no grounds to judge whether Forsyth was right about the U.S. President, but he had a point about the Soviet leaders of the time. A lot of things in the Soviet Union used to be blamed on the "hostile capitalist environment" amid the claims that the USSR's difficulties were nothing compared to the "evils" of the West.

Today the cold war is receding along with the Iron Curtain (largely thanks to Gorbachev's efforts), and millions of Soviet people have seen that living standards in the West are higher than those in the Soviet Union. Their tremendous impatience has come to a head. The people are tired and angry, on the one hand. On the other hand, they still retain their naive belief that the president is a Messiah. Therefore, each step the newly elected Soviet President takes is scrutinized carefully. In short, Gorbachev finds his life far from easy.

Robert Tsfasman

SOVIET LIFE Readers Look at Soviet Life

By Ariadna Nikolenko
Photographs by Georgi Tsagareli,
Alexander Polyakov,
and Mikhail Makarenko



For Intourist, the Soviet foreign travel agency, the six Americans were just another group of tourists coming through the American firm Simiro International

Travel. The group even had its own serial number—I-7191. But for the SOVIET LIFE office in Moscow, they were very special people, the ones for whom we publish this magazine. They were participating in our SOVIET LIFE tour.

In our Moscow office, members of the magazine's staff met with Eloise and Jim Heller, Gretchen and Delbert Leppke, Helen R. Weyant, and Nelson Young. They were finishing up the Moscow leg of their tour and were now waiting for their plane tickets to Leningrad. From Moscow I was to accompany them to Leningrad, Tbilisi, Tashkent, Samarkand, and back to Moscow again. Our guests gave us a detailed description of their Moscow experiences. They'd been on a tour of the city, on a visit to the Kremlin museums, and to a performance by Igor Moiseyev's Folk Dance Ensemble of the USSR.

Leningrad

One of our porters at Leningrad's Pulkovo Airport was a jovial young man who spoke English quite fluently. But his knowledge of Russian history was not as impressive. "Wel-

come to Leningrad!" he greeted us. "It's a marvelous city. It's better and older than Moscow."

As true Muscovites, Irina, our interpreter, and I felt obliged to set the record straight. It is indeed true that Leningrad is a beautiful city. It was originally called St. Petersburg and was founded on the banks of the Neva River in 1703. But Moscow is much older—it was founded in 1147. As for the traditional dispute between Muscovites and Leningraders about whose city is better, we left that question to our American guests to decide.

I must say, on this occasion Leningrad did its best to win the contest. The weather was uncharacteristically fine, creating a beautiful backdrop for the city's many historic and architectural monuments. Our Leningrad guide, Lera Gorbakon, was just superb. The American guests learned a great deal not only about the city's history, but also about the current problems of Leningrad's population of five million. The most serious problems are housing and consumer goods. Our guests had to buy all their souvenirs at Beryozka shops, which accept foreign currency only, because there was not much of a choice of commodities at the regular stores.

In the short time we had in Leningrad, we were able to visit only a few of the city's 50 museums. Our first visit was to the world-famous Hermitage. We couldn't do it justice, of course—it would take 10 years to see

all of its exhibits for just a minute apiece. We also visited the Peter and Paul Fortress, where political prisoners were confined in czarist times. One of the inmates of the fortress was Fyodor Dostoyevsky. Another was the 20-year-old Alexander Ulyanov, Vladimir Lenin's elder brother, who spent a whole year there: He refused to sign an appeal for pardon. The group visited St. Isaac's Cathedral, the third largest in the world. The cathedral took 40 years to build and 400 kilograms of pure gold to decorate. The principle of building its dome was used in building the dome of the Capitol in Washington, D.C.

There were emotional moments too. "It was only here in Leningrad that I really understood what the war was like for the Soviet Union," said Gretchen Leppke. "I can't believe that a people who had lived through such a war would want to fight a new one." The group had just visited the Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery, the burial place of 100 thousand victims of the 900-day siege of Leningrad during the Great Patriotic War.

On the same evening we celebrated the birthday of Gretchen's husband, Del. Then we saw a ballet, *Les Sylphides*, at Leningrad's Maly Theater of Opera and Ballet.

One day, Intourist invited Alexander Serebryakov, a prominent Leningrad scholar, to take part in a round-table discussion on *perestroika* and ethnic relations in the USSR. Our guests said that the discussion was one of the highlights of the journey.

Do you intend to change over to a market economy? Do ordinary Soviet citizens have any influence on the government? Are the slogans and principles of *perestroika* being translated into practical policy? These and other questions received thoughtful and honest answers.

"We still have to pay the bills of the thirties and the forties, when human rights were grossly violated," Serebryakov said, in answer to a question asked by Heller.

Tbilisi

Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia, is a blessed city indeed. According to legend, God reserved the place for himself when he divided up the universe. ☞

The American visitors meet with members of SOVIET LIFE's editorial board in Moscow. Facing page: Overlooking the old section of Tbilisi.





The city welcomed us as hospitably as Leningrad had. On the windshield of the bus taking us from the airport we noticed decals of the flags of Soviet Georgia and of the American state of Georgia. I remembered astronaut Michael Collins, who once remarked that if there had been competitions in hospitality at the Olympic Games, Tbilisi would have collected all the gold medals.

Our guests saw this outstanding hospitality for themselves. Zurab Nutsubidze, an engineer, and his wife, Giuli, a teacher, invited us to their home. The guests were overwhelmed by the beauty and lavishness of the feast waiting for them. The sight of the famous Georgian *khachapuri* (cheese pies), *khinkali* (large, juicy dumplings), eggplants stuffed with walnuts and pomegranates, and homemade May wine, among many other dishes, made everyone's mouth water.

"You should come to the United States and teach your cuisine on American television," the Americans told the hostess. But cooking wasn't Giuli's only talent. She gave a won-

derful vocal performance, accompanying herself on the piano.

The next day we were the guests of another Georgian family—Tenghiz Gviniashvili, a famous sculptor, and his wife, Tamara, a philologist.

Tenghiz showed us his studio and the models of his monuments and sculptures that stand in various Georgian towns. Before dinner we watched a television seance by Anatoli Kashpirovsky, the Ukrainian psychic healer who is now as popular as a pop artist across the Soviet Union.

The atmosphere around the dinner table was extremely genial. "The Soviet people have always had friendly feelings for the people of the United States," our host said. "During the Second World War, the positive feelings we had were expressed especially clearly. Now our relations are on the upswing again. Let me propose a toast to your great nation." "To our two great nations," the guests corrected him. "What about your little Georgia?" one of the guests asked. "If the Georgian mountains were ironed down flat, our republic would be as

large as the United States," Tenghiz said. "Then to all the nations!"

Georgian wine does not make people drunk, but it makes them kinder. Toasts followed one after another. There was also a sad toast in memory of the victims of the Armenian and Californian earthquakes.

Late at night we left our wonderful hosts. "Fantastic people," Helen Weyant exclaimed.

We saw a great deal during our two and a half days in Tbilisi: a church in the mountains; an outstanding open-air museum of rural architecture; Mtskheta, the ancient Georgian capital; and a ballet school among whose students there are three young Americans. But the American guests were impressed most of all by the people they met, and by their generosity and hospitality.

Tashkent and Samarkand

From Tbilisi we flew to Tashkent, Uzbekistan. It was a flight from Europe to Asia. In 1966 Tashkent was almost destroyed by an earthquake. Although the city was built up again by Ukrainians, Armenians, Russians,



Zurab and Gluli Nutsulidze gave the Americans a lavish welcome in their home. Facing page, clockwise from right: Counting the steps to the Shah-i-Zinda mausoleum. Leningrad welcomed the Americans with unusually fine weather. Who can leave Russia without buying a traditional matryoshka doll? Not Del and Gretchen Leppkel

and representatives of other Soviet peoples, Tashkent remains a uniquely Oriental, Uzbek, city. The lace of carved stone on balustrades and loggias, the fountains, the trees whose shade gives relief from the scorching sun—all these things remind visitors that they are in the East.

It is an Uzbek tradition to plant a mulberry tree when a girl is born and a poplar when a boy is born. The birth rate is very high in Tashkent. Many families have eight or more children. Uzbeks like children and respect people who take care of them. In Tashkent there is a monument to Shaakhmat Shamakhmudov, who during the Great Patriotic War adopted 15 orphans who had been evacuated to Tashkent from different parts of the Soviet Union.

It was probably only natural that the first thing we visited in Tashkent was a kindergarten. The kindergarten serves four meals a day. There are various programs for the children's over-all development, from drawing to counting and reading. The kindergarten has its own doctors, who take good care of the children's health. Parents pay only 12.5 rubles a month for each child they send there.

"It is a wonderful, well-organized facility. The children seem to be very

happy here," Eloise Heller said. I thought that the children were perhaps a little too well organized. So I was secretly delighted when, as we tried to leave one of the teachers' offices, we realized that the children had locked us in. The guests burst into laughter. In general, they smiled and laughed a lot during the trip.

Not far from our hotel there was a place where unfaithful wives were executed in the past. Our guide told us that someone had once proposed that unfaithful husbands should also be executed there. But the idea was immediately rejected for fear that the place would turn into a cemetery in no time.

Samarkand, "the brightest gem of Uzbekistan," was the next stop on our itinerary. Founded in the fourth century B.C., the city has many historic monuments and a magnificent bazaar. An immense amount of archeological work is being done there.

In the Middle Ages, Samarkand was famous for its mathematicians, natural scientists, physicians, astronomers, and poets. Omar Khayyam, Avicenna, and Muhammad Taragai, who came to be known as Ulugh-Beg, lived and worked here.

We also visited the famous Shah-i-Zinda, an ancient group of mosques

and mausoleums, most of which were built in the fourteenth century. The great Turkic conqueror Tamerlane (who is also known as Timur) built one of these tombs for his niece, who was "as beautiful as the moon, as slender as a poplar, and as wise as Socrates," but who died at the age of 16.

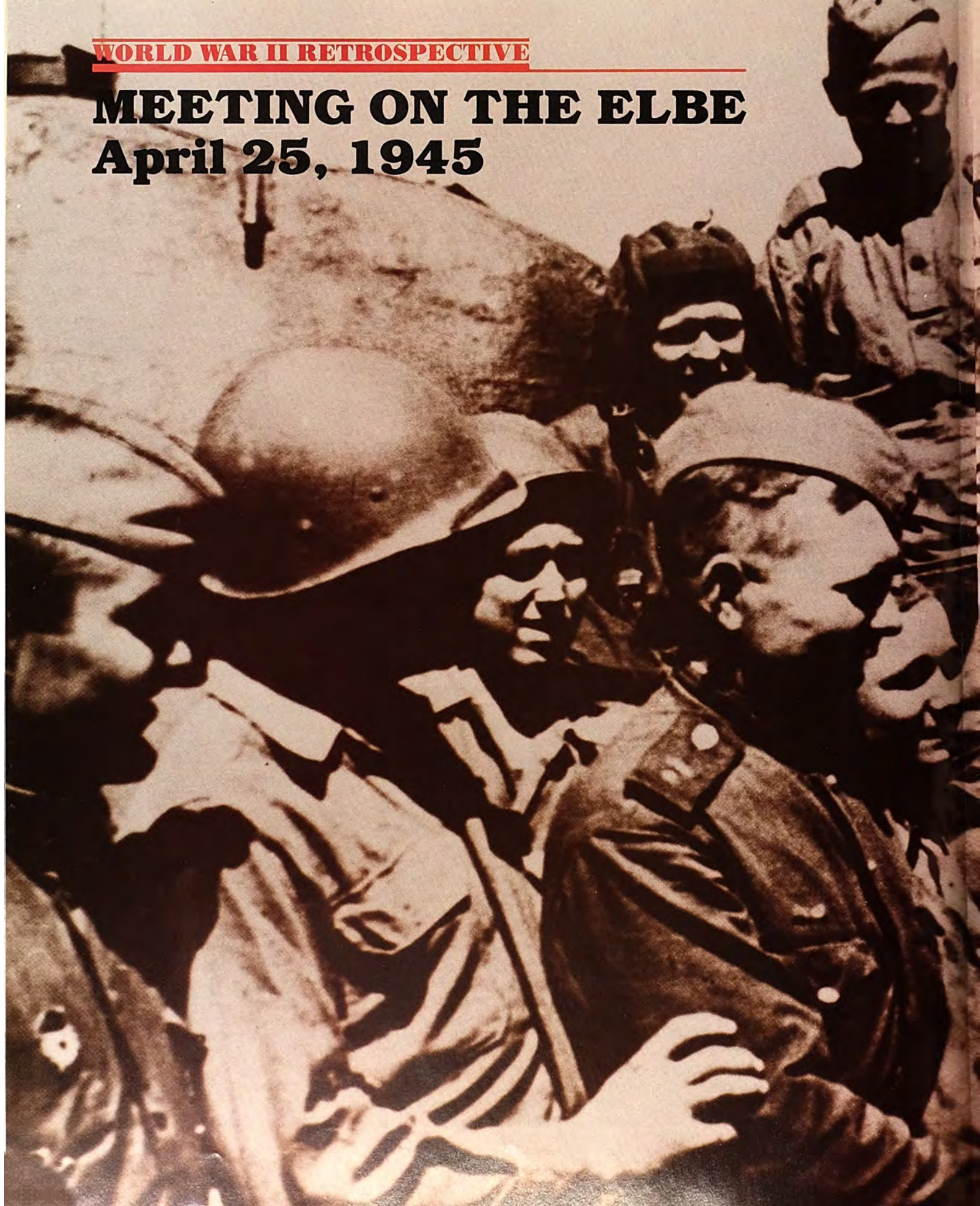
Broad steps lead to the mausoleum. Our guide showed us how to test whether we were sinners or not by counting the number of steps it took each of us to reach the tombs. Those who counted an even number of steps were free from sin, but those who counted an odd number were sinners. Every one of us turned out to be a sinner. But could it be otherwise, if none of us was sure about our own piety in the first place?

In the evening the Americans tasted the local cuisine at a restaurant. It was my last meal with these lovely people. We flew to Moscow the same night and parted ways at the airport. I asked them to write me their brief impressions of the trip. Helen Weyant summed up her impressions as follows: "It was a wonderful journey, and I am very glad I came." "Thank you, SOVIET LIFE, for an outstanding trip. We have much to tell our friends in the States," wrote the Hellers. ■

WORLD WAR II RETROSPECTIVE

MEETING ON THE ELBE

April 25, 1945





Could the Western Democracies Have Survived Without the USSR?

On the forty-fifth anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany and its

allies, SOVIET LIFE interviews historian Alexei Antosyuk.

Could Europe have been freed from fascism without the assistance of the Soviet Union?

I don't think so. Before attacking the Soviet Union, fascist Germany had enslaved nearly all European countries without meeting any serious resistance and established a rule of terror and oppression in the territories it occupied. A deadly threat hung over the planet. Germany used the economies of the occupied European countries to feed its war machine.

A tragic fate was in store for all the world's nations. "We must exterminate the population," Hitler said. "We shall have to develop the technology of extermination. If I were asked what I mean by the extermination of the population, I would say the extermination of whole racial entities."

Speaking about France, which has made a great contribution to the development of world civilization, Hitler claimed that "this race of Negroids will fall into decay, which it deserves a thousand times." According to him, the extermination of the French and the destruction of France depended on the results of the war against the Soviet Union. No wonder the progressive forces of France linked their liberation from the fascist yoke with the victory of the Soviet Union over Germany. General

Charles de Gaulle said: "The French know what Soviet Russia did for them; they know it played the main role in their liberation."

Hitler also planned to occupy Great Britain. Walter Darre, Hitler's expert on racial affairs, said, "As soon as we defeat Great Britain, we will do away with Britons once and for all. Healthy and able-bodied men will be deported to the continent as slaves. The old and the ill will be exterminated."

The Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were to be Germanized. "All Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, and Dutch must be deported to the eastern regions [Eastern Europe]," Hitler said. "They will serve the empire. Before us is a great task for the future—the carrying out of a planned racial policy."

The Nazis also intended to eliminate neutral Switzerland and to employ its population "as innkeepers." Hitler wanted to eliminate all small states, which he called "the junk of Europe."

Hitler's directives, as well as the suggestions and projects issued by different military organizations in the period from June 1940 to July 1941, provided for the occupation of Gibraltar, Portugal, the Canary Islands, Rumania, Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, Crete, Northern Af-

rica, Turkey, the Suez Canal, Iraq, Iran, and India.

On June 11, 1941, shortly before the attack on the Soviet Union, Hitler signed Directive No. 32, "Plans for the Period After Operation Barbarossa," which provided for the enslavement of the peoples of Africa, the Middle and Near East, some Asian countries, and Latin America and the creation of major bridgeheads for the war against the United States.

The fascists had barbarous plans concerning Slavic nations. Under the general plan OST (East), a considerable part of the Slavic population of Europe was to be exterminated, and the land colonized.

Government and military leaders of the United States and Great Britain warned about the deadly threat to European and other nations. President Franklin Roosevelt said in his address to the nation on May 27, 1941, that after the occupation of Latin America the Nazis planned to strangle the United States and Canada.

The military successes of 1939–1941 went to the heads of German political and military leaders. Intoxicated by their military successes in the West, the Nazis became convinced of the invincibility of their army and expected to win the blitzkrieg against the Soviet Union

through powerful strikes of major groups of tanks, planes, and infantry troops. It concentrated 190 divisions (5.5 million personnel) against the Soviet Union. These divisions had more than 47,000 heavy guns and mortars, some 4,300 tanks and assault weapons, and about 5,000 planes. The Germans had a three- or four-to-one advantage over the Soviet Union in the main lines of attack. They benefited not only from the element of surprise but also from the grave mistakes Stalin made in organizing Soviet defenses. The situation became even more critical after the cream of the Red Army's leadership was exterminated in the purges of the late 1930s.

Members of the Soviet armed services fought fiercely against the superior enemy. Some battles became tragedies. The Red Army suffered heavy losses and had to retreat from a considerable part of the national territory in the initial period of the war. The *New York Post* reported on June 27 that only a biblical miracle could save the Reds from the coming destruction.

Later, while the Red Army was fighting valiantly on the vast front stretching from the Barents Sea to the Black Sea, the *Washington Post* wrote that it was terrible to think what could have happened if the Red Army had crumbled under the onslaught of the German forces or if the Russian people had been less courageous and fearless. By conducting such a valiant struggle, the Russians were defending civilization against the enemies of all humanity. They had made an unprecedented contribution to the common cause.

Of exceptional importance was the victory in the Battle of Moscow, in which 50 German divisions were defeated. German losses exceeded 800,000. This defeat destroyed the German army's myth of invincibility, foiled the plans for a blitzkrieg, and gave Europe a hope for victory over fascism.

The victory of the Red Army in the Battle of Stalingrad was a catastrophe for Germany. During that battle 330,000 German servicemen were encircled and destroyed. This was the turning point of the war. President

Roosevelt said in an address on February 5, 1943, that the Battle of Stalingrad was an epic struggle whose decisive results would forever inspire all freedom-loving people.

During the Battle of Kursk in 1943 the Red Army snatched the strategic initiative from the German command and kept it till the end of the war.

By the summer of 1944, when the Western Allies opened a second front in Europe, the Red Army had destroyed more than 370 divisions of troops belonging to Germany and its allies (total strength 5.5 million). General George C. Marshall, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, admitted that without the successful operations of the Red Army the American forces would not have been able to counter the aggressor, and the war would have spread to the American continent.

On the Eastern Front, 607 divisions, 75 per cent of the planes, tanks, and guns, and more than 2,500 ships belonging to the fascist forces were destroyed. To make up for these losses, the Germans had to redeploy 268 divisions from Western Europe.

The liberation of Europe from the fascist yoke would have been impossible without the destruction of the main German forces and its allies on the Eastern Front, the main front of the Second World War, where more than 80 per cent of the Axis forces were fighting. By no means am I trying to belittle what our allies did; we will forget neither the courageous American soldiers and officers, nor the material aid the United States gave to the Soviet Union. SOVIET LIFE has dedicated many articles to this topic.

For more than a year seven million Soviet servicemen fought the fascists in foreign countries, liberating them from the fascist yoke. The Red Army liberated 11 European countries completely or partially.

The Red Army paid a very high price for the liberation of Europe: one million killed, another two million wounded. Three million men out of action all in all, among them more than 600,000 in Poland, more than 140,000 in Czechoslovakia, 140,000 in Hungary, 69,000 in Rumania, 26,000 in Austria, 8,000 in Yugoslavia, 2,000 in Finland, more than 2,000

in Norway, and 102,000 in the Berlin operation.

The Red Army respected the national customs and traditions of foreign countries. The April 10, 1944, Resolution of the State Defense Committee on the entry of the Red Army into Rumania says: "Traditional order should not be disrupted, and Soviet order should not be established in Rumanian regions occupied by the Red Army. All Rumanian bodies of power and the existing economic and political system should be preserved."

It was also said that the Red Army entered Rumania "not as the occupier but as the liberator of the Rumanian people from the fascist German yoke." The same was said in addresses of the military councils of fronts to the population of Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other countries.

The Soviet Union and its army not only played the decisive role in the liberation of peoples from fascism but helped many of them in their reconstruction efforts.

Soviet soldiers who died liberating Europe are not to blame that after the war Stalin pursued a hegemonic policy with regard to East European countries.

Did glasnost provide new opportunities for studying the Second World War?

Certainly. A responsible analysis of the past paves the way to the future, while half-truths about acute problems hamper the elaboration of practical policies and hinder progress.

The establishment of *glasnost* and truth has helped purify the moral atmosphere and stimulated historians to bolder quests.

We are witnessing the beneficial influence of the new thinking, the new world outlook, and the new attitude toward problems of history. Proof of this is the discussion of the Second World War in magazines and scientific societies, in particular, the discussion of the 1939 Soviet-German Non-aggression Pact.

People want to know the truth about such events of the Second World War. Knowing the truth could help us avoid repeating our mistakes, and it is the duty of historians to help people in this noble desire. ■

THOSE MAGNIFICENT WOMEN IN THEIR FLYING MACHINES

Yevgenia Zhigulenko was a courageous pilot during the war. She made almost a thousand flights and was shot down twice. She is a Hero of the Soviet Union. After the war she became a popular film director.

Recently Zhigulenko gave an interview, reprinted here, to Alexander Dlugach, a correspondent for the weekly Veteran.

Q: In 1941, thousands of young women dreamed of fighting the Fascists. But as far as I know, only men were enlisted in aviation units. How did you become a fighter pilot?

A: It's true that in the first months of the war women were not enlisted in aviation units. Women could only serve as nurses, communications operators, or anti-aircraft gunners, even though many of them had been members of aviation clubs before the war.

A friend of mine and I wanted to be pilots. We camped out on many a doorstep, but we were always turned down. Then we got hold of the telephone number of the Air Force headquarters. We called there several times, trying to get somebody to talk to us. We used the pretense that it was about a "top-secret matter." Finally, we got passes.

A colonel met us, saying, "What is it, girls?"

"We're going to sit here until you assign us to an aviation unit," we replied resolutely.

The colonel first frowned, then smiled: "You should have said so in the first place. You're in luck—Marina Raskova is forming a group of women pilots. Go see her."



Zhigulenko
in 1982.

Right:
Zhigulenko
(right) and
another pilot
confer before
a regular
night mission,
1943.

We were ecstatic. Marina Raskova was an exceptional person. A famous pilot and Hero of the Soviet Union, she was still a simple, kind woman. She helped many young women who wanted to fly. We were sent to the regiment of night bombers, which later became the famous Forty-sixth Guards Taman Women's Aviation Regiment.



Q: Your regiment didn't have a single male pilot during the war, did it?

A: No. The women did everything—we flew, repaired and serviced the planes, and built shelters.

We should have been dancing at student parties and falling in love. We still missed our mothers, but we had to do difficult and dangerous work. The youngest of us was 16; the oldest was 24. No, that's not right—our commissar was a little older. What did we fly? My generation still remembers the U-2. We called those planes "bookstands" and "primus stoves." They were fragile, cloth-covered wooden frames with weak engines—and not even a machine gun!

Q: Tell us about your first combat flight.

A: In May 1942, Dina Nikulina and I went to bomb German warehouses in the Donbass, the Ukraine. We completed our mission, but by the time we crossed into our own territory, dawn was breaking. Our fuel tanks were almost empty. Fortunately, we found an airfield nearby. We refilled our tanks, and the fighter pilots there even treated us to a hot breakfast.

When we got back to the base, our friends were very relieved to see us—they thought we'd been shot down. It turned out that the squadron's commander and her navigator were killed that night.

Q: Were you ever afraid?

A: Of course. Sometimes we had to make 15 sorties a night, and each time I thought, "This is my last mission." I was shot down twice, in the Crimea and in Prussia, but I was lucky both times.

You see, if a U-2 catches fire, that means sure death for the pilot. The plane burns up in a matter of seconds, and we always left our parachutes behind, although this was strictly against regulations. Parachutes took up too much valuable space; if we left them behind, we could take more bombs.

In the Crimea I was forced down in the pitch dark. I managed to land in a field. In the morning I looked around and got a shock—the field had been completely plowed up by enemy fire. I had touched down on the only remaining smooth patch of land. Some sixth sense must have saved me.

I'll never forget the Crimea. During the battles on Taman Peninsula, eight of our women died in one night. Sometimes in my dreams I hear Galya Dokutovich scream in her burning plane, shot down by Messerschmitt fighters.

Once Polina Makagon and I bombed a crossing. The antiaircraft fire was so heavy that the wings of our plane were shredded almost immediately. The plane dived. I still don't understand how we managed to keep it in the air and fly it to the airfield. For two days after that Polina and I couldn't utter a word. Yes, it was scary.

Q: Wars harden people, and it's much more difficult for women. Were women pilots an exception?

A: I think that women are still women, no matter what their surroundings. Yes, there was a war raging, but we were so young. We wanted to live, and we dreamed about love. Once in a while, someone would say: "I've never been in love. Will I die without knowing what love is?"

Continued on page 15

Clockwise from right: On the set of the film *Without the Right to Fall*. With other former members of her aviation regiment, 1972 (Zhigulenko is in the center). Zhigulenko in 1945.



Alexander Ilyinsky
Photograph by Yakov Khalip

A WARTIME



“The soldiers were very tired that day, but they asked my friend Grisha Vakulenko and me to play for them. I don’t remember what we played, but the title Nocturne is perfect. I remember playing with great inspiration.”

NOCTURNE

When he regained consciousness in the hospital, the first thing that Victor Miroshnikov did was to check to see that his hands were safe. He moved his fingers a little, then made a fist. The wounded soldiers in his ward didn't know then that this particular private was a member of a front-line orchestra, and he always kept his violin close to his submachine gun.

"Play it again, fiddler!" his fellow soldiers used to beg him between the fighting—his music made the war seem far away.

Now a tall, gray-haired man, Miroshnikov looks with me at a wartime photograph of himself with a violin. It almost seems to me that I can hear the strains produced by this musician private who belonged to the 33rd Guards Infantry Division.

The photograph, entitled *Nocturne*, was taken by correspondent Yakov Khalip in the winter of 1943. Soon afterward it was published in the newspaper *Krasnaya zvezda* (Red Star).

"I've been playing the violin for more than half a century, but I've never seen more appreciative audiences than the ones I played to during the war," said Miroshnikov. "I felt then that my music was absolutely necessary. We gave concerts at the front and played in the trenches and dugouts. Classical pieces, folk songs, and prewar melodies were the most popular."

Sometimes shooting began right after a concert. Miroshnikov's division fought back nazi tanks near Stalingrad. Miroshnikov was severely wounded in East Prussia while delivering a message. He was awarded two medals, For Combat Service.

Khalip took the famous photograph in Novoshakhtinsk, in southern Russia. The division had just liberated the city, and Miroshnikov's orchestra was to perform first for the most heroic reconnaissance officers.

"The soldiers were very tired that day. They asked my friend Grisha Vakulenko and me to play for them. I don't remember exactly what we played, but the title *Nocturne* is perfect. Grisha sat down with his accordion, and I climbed onto a heap of rubble. I took off my coat so it wouldn't get in the way. I remember playing with great inspiration, even though my fingers were stiff from the cold at first."

Afterward, the division suffered many casualties, and the orchestra was broken up to reinforce other units. But Private Miroshnikov never gave up his violin. In East Prussia, reconnaissance officers later presented him with a brand-new instrument.

During the spring of 1945 Miroshnikov was wounded. He was moved from East Prussia to Daugavpils, Latvia. While he was there, he learned about the final victory, and he played his violin until dawn.

Miroshnikov stayed in Daugavpils and finished the musical education that he'd begun before the war at a music school in Rostov-on-Don. He got married and now has two daughters.

Nocturne has appeared so often in various periodicals and books that Miroshnikov has stopped thinking of it as a photograph from his personal album. When, 30 years after the war, the magazine *Muzikalnaya zhizn* (Musical Life) published Miroshnikov's wartime story, he received a letter from Grigori Vakulenko, the accordion player who had accompanied him that evening in Novoshakhtinsk. They had a lot to talk about when they met.

There's another meeting that Miroshnikov will never forget. It was at Moscow's Friendship House. Prizes were being awarded to the winners of photography contests. Among the winners was Yakov Khalip with his entry, *Nocturne*.

Since then the photographer has died, but his "picture with sound," as it has been called, is as moving and truthful as ever. ■

MAGNIFICENT WOMEN

Continued from page 13

Once I was sent to get a new plane in Armavir in Kuban Region, where my relatives lived. I brought back to the regiment my favorite light-blue dress and high-heeled shoes. They were a sensation! One after another, the girls tried them on. Even on the battlefield, women want to be beautiful. Every day we carefully put on our lipstick and mascara.

Q: After the war you made *Night Witches in the Sky* and several other films. What made you turn from flying to directing films?

A: After the war I graduated from the Lenin Military Political Academy, and my life seemed clear and simple. But the war had scarred me too deeply. I was sick with memory. One-third of the women in my regiment had been killed. When I closed my eyes, I could see them burning in their planes. I saw the bloodstained and frostbitten hands of the technicians. I had to find an outlet for these memories.

Before the war I had wanted to become an actress, and that developed into an interest in directing. I enrolled in the directing department of the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography. Understandably, my first film was about my wartime friends. After I made the film, my nightmares about the war stopped.

Q: That movie was released in 1981, and it immediately captured the people's hearts. The characters of the young women pilots—"night witches," as the Germans called them—were magnificent. Were the women who played them professional pilots?

A: No, I discovered them at various drama schools. But they soon began thinking and feeling in character. In a few days they flew in a plane with me, carried heavy bombs, and learned how a parachute works.

I hate war. But my second film, *Without the Right to Fail*, is also about the war and the thousands of nameless heroes who fought behind enemy lines. ■

FLYING THROUGH LIGHTNING

By Andrei Golikov
Drawing by Boris Dolya



During the Second World War, Lieutenant Vladimir Pavlov made 350 combat flights in his two-engined Douglas C-47, supplied by the United States under the lend-lease agreement. Pavlov, now a Hero of the Soviet Union, delivered weapons and ammunition to Byelorussian, Polish, and Yugoslavian partisans. The airfield from which he delivered supplies to the Yugoslavian partisans was in the Italian town of Bari. This is the story of how, in 1944, he saved the lives of 32 American pilots.

Bari, 1944. The narrow, stone-paved streets, descending steeply to the azure sea, resounded with the heavy tread of Allied boots and the mix of different languages. Delicate port cranes reached toward the sky. The air smelled of fish and seaweed, and sea gulls circled over the masts of British vessels sunk by German warplanes.

Not far from the town was a major British-American air force base. A group of Soviet planes was also based there.

At that time the Fifth American Army and the Eighth British Army were waging fierce offensive operations, and airplane engines droned at the Bari airfield day and night. Groups of bombers and fighters took off from Bari, to return splintered and bullet-riddled, members of their crews often wounded or dead.

The Soviet planes were no exception. They

also often returned from the small Yugoslavian partisan airfields badly damaged. Technical servicing of Soviet planes in Bari was the responsibility of the British. They never refused us spare parts, making do with whatever they had.

The nearest British stocks of spare parts were in Africa, but the Americans had a large depot of parts for aircraft and engines right there in Bari. Once our engineer Nikolai Miloslavsky took along an interpreter and went to his American counterpart to ask for parts. The American clapped Miloslavsky on the back and said: "No problem! We're allies. You can have spare parts whenever you want."

Years after the war, Vladimir Pavlov told me: "Once during a mission I came under enemy fire. My passengers made it through safely, but the plane wasn't so lucky. I barely managed to get it to the airfield on the one engine that was left. The plane needed a major overhaul. We asked the American engineer to help. He examined the plane and said: 'I'd say it was ready for the scrap heap. But we have a representative of the Douglas Aircraft Company here. He'll decide what to do with it.'"

"The representative couldn't believe I'd flown the plane back. But he promised to repair it if we wanted it that badly. The plane was driven into the hanger, and in 24 hours it was as good as new."

That was one mission that Pavlov will never forget. But let's go back to the beginning of the story.

A detachment of Yugoslavian partisans had asked for emergency aid: They were surrounded, and their ammunition was running out. The weather that night was foggy and overcast, unfit for flying. The lights of the runway were hardly visible when Pavlov's plane took off, the only plane to leave the airstrip that night.

The control tower reminded Pavlov of the bad weather conditions and told him that a major storm was approaching. After that the controllers wished him good luck and a safe landing.

The weather improved when Pavlov was approaching Yugoslavia, and stars peeked out of the clouds. Soon he detected the partisans' signal fires and touched down. The partisans unloaded the plane quickly: The Nazis were attacking. The sound of artillery fire was very loud.

The commander of the partisans took Pavlov aside and told him that there were some American pilots in his group. They had been downed by the Germans over military targets in Austria and Rumania. The pilots had parachuted to earth and were now trying to get back to Italy.

"All of them are completely worn out. Their feet are blistered. Many of them are sick, and some are wounded," the commander said. "Our detachment's position is critical. We'll have to try to get out of this encirclement through steep mountain passes and dangerous gorges. It will be very hard, and the Americans won't make it. We can't leave them behind, to the mercy of the Germans. So please take along as many of them as you can."

When Pavlov returned to his plane, he saw an American in a shabby and dirty uniform, with a hat instead of a military cap. He saluted Pavlov and said in Russian: "Captain of the U.S. Air Force, pilot Carrigan." He told Pavlov about the request of the American command—to take along the American pilots.

"Our pilots weren't allowed to fly," he added bitterly. "The weather was too bad. But you Russians have come! I know your Douglas can only carry 21 passengers—we'll only be able to take the sick, the wounded, and the exhausted."

"How many are there in all?"

"Thirty-two."

"You're right, there's no way we can take that many."

The Americans helped one another into the plane. When the twenty-first man had climbed up the ladder, Carrigan thanked Pavlov and wished him good luck. Pavlov looked at the Americans who were left on the ground. They hardly seemed any stronger than the ones who were going to fly. "How can I leave them here to die?" he thought.

Pavlov went to take another look at the runway. It was much too short. And those mountains all around! It would be difficult even if the plane were empty. He asked the partisans to cut down three trees at the end of the runway and to roll the plane back at least 10 meters.

"Get aboard, all of you," he called to the Americans.

"Captain, you're risking your life for us," argued Carrigan. "The plane will be much too full—and look at the runway. I'm a pilot; I know what you're doing."

"We are allies," smiled Pavlov. "Everything will be okay."

The engines started up, spinning the propellers faster and faster. The partisans' campfires, reflected on the blades, turned into pink disks. At the very end of the runway, Pavlov pulled on the stick. The plane rose heavily into the air, hovered a second, then started gaining altitude. Pavlov heaved a sigh of relief and felt that his shirt was wet and that sweat was running into his eyes.

"The worst is over," he thought. "In 90 minutes we'll be home." But as soon as the plane had crossed the shoreline, he saw a black wall of storm clouds, crisscrossed with lightning. It would be impossible to bypass that wall or to fly over or under it. The only way was to fly straight through the storm.

The lightning seemed so close that you could reach out and touch it, and it cast a bluish light. The plane rocked and pitched like a toy. Suddenly, the cabin was illuminated by a bright light. The plane's nose seemed to be on fire. Tongues of cold flame danced around the plane, flowing along the wings and dripping from them like fiery arrows.

All the navigational instruments went berserk. Pavlov could hardly keep the stick steady as he tried to maintain his sense of direction. Death seemed certain for all of them in that electrical inferno. The terrible thought suddenly struck Pavlov that if he had not taken the Americans, some of them might have survived in the partisan detachment.

The plane shuddered as another lightning bolt struck it. The engines began to cough, but the center of the storm was past. The electrical fires went out, and the navigational panel returned to normal. The shaking and rolling stopped. Pavlov saw the stars.

"Never before or since then have the stars been such a welcome sight to me," he recalls. "We radioed to the base that we had American pilots aboard, and representatives of the Allied Command came to meet us. I was embraced, my hand was pumped, somebody was telling me something, but I was too exhausted from the nervous and physical strain. My only desire was to crawl into my bunk. I was asleep as soon as my head hit the pillow."

"The next day Carrigan invited my crew to dinner at the Hotel Imperial, by the sea. Allied pilots lived there, and on the first floor was an international club of sorts. We were welcomed by all 32 passengers of the previous night's flight, even the ones whose doctors had tried to keep them in bed. The pilots had new uniforms on and were freshly shaved."

"Carrigan cordially thanked us on behalf of all the American pilots we had saved. He said that the Soviet crew had showed great mastery of the plane and had acted as true comrades in arms." ■

REFLECTIONS AT KHMINKI

By Douglas T. Robertson

In June 1941, when the Nazis crossed into the Soviet Union, Douglas T. Robertson was a young American writer working for a magazine on the U.S. West Coast. At that time Mr. Robertson wrote several columns predicting that the Soviet Union would emerge victorious, although at a terrible human cost. This view proved to be a controversial one among Mr. Robertson's American readers. Recently Mr. Robertson had the opportunity to visit the battle area around the Soviet capital.

Khimki is a pleasant Russian community located near the bustling freeway leading from Moscow's Sheremet'yevo Airport to the city. Every day, thousands of visitors to the Soviet capital pass through Khimki in buses and cars.

During the pleasant summer months, the shoulders of this important roadway are covered with meticulously manicured lawns and shrubs. Only history buffs will be aware of the grim and forbidding steel tank traps that still cling to each side of the highway.

On a visit to Moscow, I arranged for an unhurried stroll along the verdant shoulder of the expressway in the direction of the tank traps. Only a very modest war memorial marks this historic spot. Inspecting the hastily constructed barriers reminded me of the momentous events that occurred here during my lifetime. With startling clarity, I was reminded how close the nazi war machine had come

to achieving Hitler's mad design for world domination.

In the early morning hours of December 2, 1941, advance elements of General Fedor von Bock's Army Group Center were on the outskirts of Khimki. German officers were able to view the Kremlin towers through their field glasses. Hitler, as well as many American military observers, prematurely considered the collapse of the Red Army, and the nazi occupation of Moscow, a matter of days or even hours. Understandably, most of the world held its breath.

When nazi archives were captured intact at the end of the war, Hitler's plans for a vanquished USSR were made hideously evident. After the fall of Moscow, nazi armored units were to strike swiftly through the Caucasus into Iran and then on to the eastern end of Suez. With the canal blocked from the east, British forces in North Africa would have to abandon the war. Hitler was well aware of the Japanese plans for conquest in the Pacific, which would then leave the nazi

war machine in undisputed ownership of the vast oil reserves of the Middle East.

Had the Wehrmacht succeeded in fulfilling this war plan, most of the nations of Europe would have lain helplessly before the tender "special treatment" of Himmler's death squads. If the fearless soldiers of the Red Army had not held firm here at Khimki in December 1941, Poland would have ceased to exist as a nation. The Slavic people were slated for "liquidation" as *Untermenchen*, or little more than animals. The current celebration now going on in Poland and Hungary would never have occurred without the gallant defense by the civilian units of the Red Army at Khimki during the frightful winter of 1941.

Leisurely sipping a cold soda near the rusting tank barriers while the traffic roared along the nearby expressway, I found it difficult to reconcile the present with the somber events that once unfolded near these barricades. I reminded myself that not

only the entire Soviet Union had been at serious risk at Khimki; the fate of Western civilization hung by a slender thread on December 2, 1941.

What would have lain ahead for a prostrate USSR was outlined with deadly accuracy by Hermann Goering in a conversation with Count Ciano at the time the invasion commenced:

This year [1941], between 20 and 30 million persons will die from hunger in Russia... perhaps it is well that it is so, for certain nations must be decimated.

The now-jubilant Poles and Rumanians and the people of the Baltic states were slated for the same kind of "purification."

In any event, the Red Army held at Khimki until Marshal Georgi Zhukov unleashed 100 divisions on December 6 in one of the most devastating offensives of all time. According to retired German generals, the Wehrmacht never fully recovered from the blows inflicted on its fleeing troops in the winter months of 1941-1942. Only nazi prisoners of war would ever again see the Kremlin towers.

Oddly, the most accurate description of German losses in this period was to be found in the captured diary of Franz Halder, Chief of Staff on the Eastern Front. According to Halder, by the end of 1941 the Nazis had lost one-quarter of the entire invading force.

Bearing these nazi revelations in mind, we can say that Khimki probably marks the true high-water mark of Hitler's unprovoked invasion of the Soviet Union. While the Battle of Stalingrad resulted in a paralyzing blow to the Nazis' hope of victory, the German disaster at the Battle of Moscow convinced Hitler that the domination of the entire USSR was an impossibility. Long before Stalingrad, the demented Führer began talking about an "Eastern Wall" of defense against the probability of a Red Army offensive at some later date.

On our return to our comfortable hotel in Moscow, my thoughts were no longer focused on the pleasant vacation in the Soviet Union. The period following the war has not been pleasant for either the Soviet Union

or the United States. Mistrust and misunderstanding replaced the close alliance that had prevailed during the joint struggle against a common and brutal enemy.

With misplaced nationalism, most Americans remain convinced that only snow, ice, and frigid weather had saved the Soviet Union from defeat at the hands of the nazi invader. Endless accounts of the Normandy invasion on television have left the firm impression upon Americans that the true victory over Hitler was due to the cross-channel operation. Even now many Americans do not realize that the Red Army was nearing East Prussia at the time of the Normandy invasion.

It is still difficult, if not impossible, to persuade my fellow Americans that the contest between the Allies and nazi Germany was decided, at a

The German disaster at the Battle of Moscow convinced Hitler that the domination of the entire USSR was an impossibility.

frightful price, over the endless miles between the Volga River and Berlin. According to the captured and meticulously kept German war archives, the Wehrmacht, in its retreat from the Soviet Union, left behind the broken bodies of three million of Germany's finest youth.

The Soviet Union is currently in severe economic distress. The fact is that it never fully recovered from the devastation left behind by the barbaric Wehrmacht. At war's end, there was no Marshall Plan for the prostrate Soviet Union. While America heaped mountains of aid on our former common enemy, the Soviet Union was left with the monumental task of replacing the destroyed homes and factories left behind by the departing foe. This reconstruction effort would be equivalent to replacing all the structures in the United States east of the Mississippi.

Reflections on the 1989 developments in Eastern Europe led me to an unsettled contemplation of future events. Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia will now assume a new national identity with complete freedom of personal and political choice. Had the Soviet youngsters faltered at Khimki on December 2, 1941, this new national identity would have remained only a dream for these nations, which were slated for slavery under the Third Reich.

As I gaze through our window on the upper floor of the Cosmos Hotel, more events surge into my memory. The twilight hours in Moscow are extensive during the summer months. There's a Metro station on the far side of the nearby park next to the hotel. Downtown Moscow is only minutes away via the clean and efficient Moscow Metro. I remember how in 1941, with the heartless Nazis only a few kilometers from the Kremlin, the Soviet High Command had established its headquarters in a very deep station of the Metro system. Captured nazi war records indicate that the Wehrmacht planned to divert the Moskva River into the Metro system, drowning all the occupants, including the thousands of civilians who had sought shelter in the subway.

While the enemy was within rifle shot of the city, a Soviet communiqué was issued to the defenders. This document still embodies the Russian spirit of resistance to the advancing foe:

We will defend our beloved Moscow, block by block. . . . If they want a way of extermination, they shall have it. . . . Death to the German invader.

With the approaching end of the cold war, this would seem an appropriate time to consider an international marker near Khimki in memory of the millions of Soviet young people who made possible the reconstruction of a new Europe. Perhaps a huge arch like the one in St. Louis, would be in order. I can think of no better inscription than the one issued by the Soviet High Command from a Metro station in the gloomy winter of 1941, when the very survival of the USSR hung in the balance.

HONOR ETERNAL

Text and Photographs by
Joseph S. Ajlouny

Although many years have passed, the memory of the Great Patriotic War, as World War II is known here, is still deeply burned into the hearts of the nation. The war's staggering toll of death and destruction shaped an entire era—an era that is only now coming to a close.

In the wake of national misery and grief, images of stone and bronze arose on battlefields and in death camps to glorify the fallen. In the years that followed, thousands of memorials and monuments were dedicated across the vast Soviet heartland. Piskaryovskoye Memorial Cemetery and the Green Belt of Glory in Lenin-

On their wedding day, a young couple pay their respects with flowers at the eternal flame in the Park of Eternal Glory in Kiev. Such tributes from newlyweds are traditional in the USSR.

grad, Mamayev Kurgan in Volgograd, and the Brest Fortress are the most widely known.

Other, smaller sites capture the twin themes of tragedy and triumph in equally stirring expression. Collectively they form a moving portrait of the horrible events that culminated in the loss of more than 20 million citizens. It is therefore no surprise that such memorials have become popular attractions for both Soviet citizens and foreign tourists.

On this page you will see examples of just a few of the beautiful memorials that have been erected in remembrance of the sacrifices exacted from the Soviet Union and its people. They serve as an eternal reminder that war must never again be allowed to scar the earth and humankind. ■

The author is a writer and attorney from Detroit, Michigan. His book, The Great Soviet War Memorials, will be published next year.



Memorial to the Salaspils Death Camp near Riga, Latvia. Above: The ensemble The Immortal Ones, around which the complex is laid out. Below: The Cemetery of Villages, outside Minsk. Each marker contains an urn of soil from 187 Byelorussian farming villages that were torched by Nazi troops. All the residents of these villages were executed.



FIRST ELECTION

Continued from page 1

Institute, made a speech on behalf of the Inter-Regional Group of Deputies. He said that "presidential power is a dangerous and unknown quantity that would multiply our difficulties, concerns, and worries." He advanced five arguments against it: 1) Before introducing the presidency, we should conclude a new federal agreement of the sovereign states that are now republics of the Soviet Union. 2) We also need a Supreme Soviet that would provide a real legislative balance to a strong executive. 3) The president must be elected by popular vote. 4) Normal political competition must be guaranteed by the establishment of a multiparty system, complete with opposition. 5) The president must not be allowed to hold a concurrent post in the party.

The morning session on March 13 was addressed by Vaidotas Antanaitis of Lithuania. Antanaitis announced that the deputies from Lithuania, which had proclaimed itself an independent state, did not consider themselves empowered to take part in the voting on the presidency and in the election of the president. "We are here as observers," Antanaitis said.

As a result, deputies discussed the issue of excluding from the voting list about 40 Lithuanian deputies. It would have been a tactical advantage for Gorbachev to exclude them, because he needed two-thirds of the votes to be elected. All others—the absent, the abstainers, and the "observers"—increased the ranks of the opponents of the presidency.

But Gorbachev did not use this tactical advantage. Instead, he suggested that the regulations be followed and the list of deputies include the representatives from Lithuania.

I think that Gorbachev's democratic position greatly influenced the results of the voting. Many more deputies than expected—1,817—voted for his proposal, with 133 against and 61 abstaining. Some deputies from the other Baltic republics, which in princi-

ple support the position of Lithuania, voted for the presidency. One of them was Mikhail Bronshtein, one of the proponents of economic independence for Estonia.

The deputies also discussed another key issue—whether the future president of the USSR may also hold the position of a party leader. A group of deputies proposed an amendment that read: "The president may not head a party or be on the leading bodies of political parties or public organizations."

A majority of the deputies (1,303) voted for the amendment that would prohibit the president from serving concurrently as the leader of a party, with only 607 deputies voting against it. Even so, the proposal was not adopted because 1,303 is less than two-thirds of the deputies. Consequently, the Constitution does not disqualify the president from being,

**There were 33
positions of high
authority in the
country, but no one
was in charge.**

say, General Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee.

As was expected, the issue of where to elect the president—at the Congress of People's Deputies or by direct popular vote—proved one of the most complicated. In theory, all of the deputies called for direct election. But some thought there should be no exceptions to this constitutional norm, while others argued that the first president should be elected at the Congress in view of the extraordinary situation in the country.

The issue was debated on the afternoon of March 14. Opinions were divided equally: Six speakers called for electing the president at the Congress, and six called for direct elections.

Following the example of the Lithuanian deputies, the Estonians refused to take part in the voting. As he had with the Lithuanians, Gorbachev did not call for their exclusion from the list of deputies.

The results of the voting were just enough to pass the resolution—1,542 deputies voted to elect the first president at the Congress, 368 voted against, and 76 abstained. Since the majority needed to carry an issue is 1,497 votes (two-thirds of the total number of deputies), the proponents of a nationwide referendum fell short by 46 votes.

The concluding stage of the first Soviet presidential race in history was the nomination of candidates. And it was truly dramatic. Three candidates were nominated: Mikhail Gorbachev; Nikolai Ryzhkov, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and Vadim Bakatin, Minister of the Interior. The latter two withdrew from the race.

The situation was aggravated by the accusations of deputy Anatoli Sobchak, who had mentioned Ryzhkov's name in connection with a scandal concerning a state cooperative that had attempted to export military hardware illegally.

Ryzhkov regarded this as an attempt to discredit both him and the government. He spoke up in defense of several members of the Council of Ministers who were accused of corruption: "Either we are allowed to work normally, or we will resign."

Gorbachev remained the presidential nominee. This did not mean that his road to election was easy. Some deputies categorically demanded that his candidacy be withdrawn too.

But few deputies doubted that Gorbachev would become the first Soviet president. Gorbachev was elected President by 1,329 votes to 495. The remaining delegates did not cast their ballots. Fifty-four ballots were declared invalid. This means that Gorbachev won 59.2 per cent of the total number of votes, or more than 66 per cent of those who took part in the voting.

The culmination of the elections was the oath that Gorbachev took in front of the deputies: "I solemnly pledge faithfully to serve the peoples of our country, strictly to abide by the Constitution of the USSR, to guarantee citizens' rights and freedoms, and diligently to fulfill the high duties of President of the Soviet Union placed upon me." ■



WORKING TOGETHER FOR THE SAKE OF OUR PLANET

Photographs by Vyacheslav Bobkov and Alexander Kurbatov

This past January Moscow hosted the Global Forum on Environmental Protection and Development for Survival. It was attended by 1,000 political and religious figures from 83 countries. The participants attached special importance to this meeting in the land of *perestroika*. They hoped that the conference would make possible a major new step toward mutual understanding in the vitally important sphere of environmental protection. By all appearances, their hopes have been justified.

The Hour of Decision

President Gorbachev addressed the forum's participants on the last day of their work. This is an abridged version of the speech.

The five days that you have spent here in Moscow, your meaningful discussions, and the documents that you have adopted give me reason to say that an important step in molding humankind's ecological self-consciousness has been made.

And this is very important.

We have been aware of the threat of a military thermonuclear catastrophe for a while now. The scientists also made an invaluable contribution to this. International forces at all levels—political, diplomatic, and public—have already been mobilized to stave off this threat. We are witnessing the first results of this. But a second threat, the assessment of which was until recently clearly inadequate, considering its gravity—the threat to life on earth as a result of damage to the environment—has emerged.

Some of the great minds of the past foresaw the consequences of the thoughtless "conquering" of nature by humankind. They warned that our species could annihilate itself by destroying the plant and animal kingdoms and poisoning the soil, water, and air. At the end of the twentieth century, we have a very acute crisis in relations among the individual, society, and nature.

It is safe to say that the ecological imperative has forcefully entered the policy of states and people's everyday lives. It is becoming categorical, and not only because nature has suffered what is perhaps irreparable damage. The new scientific, technical, and technological revolution, all the consequences of which we do not know yet, can make this damage irreversible. We are not fatalists. But the hour of decision—the hour of historic choice—has come, and there is no reasonable alternative for humankind, because we are not predisposed to suicide. Humanity is a part of the single and integral biosphere.

I must admit that in the Soviet Union we have only recently come to understand the vital importance of the ecological problem to a proper extent at the level of policymaking. We were blinded by the threat of war. That is the main, but not the only, reason. After the Revolution, having started industrializing our country, we were not inclined to divert our attention to "secondary questions," as it seemed to us at that time. We were especially reluctant to spend our

limited funds on this. The size of our country and its riches encouraged us in our ecological carelessness.

Even when the pollution of the environment in some regions began to reach dangerous levels, this was not properly assessed at once. The credit for sounding the ecological alarm goes to our scientists, and the public followed them. Having changed the philosophical approaches to the problems of the development of society, *perestroika* has also altered our views on ecology. A detailed report on the national ecological situation, the first in the history of the Soviet state, has recently been published in our country. An unbiased analysis of our problems and dangers was made in this "green book." The pollution of the atmosphere in some large cities exceeds the admissible level. The state of our water resources spells grave consequences for our flora and fauna. Soils degrade, harm is being done to people's health, and the potential of future generations is being compromised.

In its resolution "On the Guidelines of Domestic and Foreign Policy of the USSR," the First Congress of People's Deputies envisaged a radical revision of our entire development, including our attitude toward nature. What do we mean by this?

- A radical change in the character of production activity from the standpoint of its ecological consequences. We must take into account the ecological capacity of territories when planning the construction of economic complexes.

- Looking at the problem of consumption more rationally. People's living standards should not be raised by exhausting natural resources. This process should be accompanied by a restoration of the living conditions of the animal and plant world.



Mikhail Gorbachev talks with the participants in the conference.

Continued on page 61



Alexei Yablokov,
biologist, Deputy to
the USSR Supreme Soviet:

This forum was convened to attract the attention of millions of people to questions of the environment and global survival. Parliamentarians, community activists, and members of the clergy—people who have the strongest influence on worldwide public opinion—were invited.

I would have liked to say a quiet word of hope and consolation to my foreign colleagues at this forum, but this is not the time for such words. Slowly and inexorably, the world is coming closer to environmental disaster. Destructive human influences on the biosphere are stronger every passing year. The impending catastrophe haunts me.

Ecologically unsafe farming and other careless activities have already deprived the world of half of its arable lands. The total area of paved land equals the area of Europe.

Mother Nature is taking revenge on us for the violence we have done her. The concentration of lead in human blood exceeds the average of preceding centuries by several hundred times. Almost everyone on earth is affected to one degree or another by pesticides and other harmful substances, which we get with our food. In my country, for instance, more than 30 per cent of tested foodstuffs revealed dangerous concentrations of such substances. Unborn babies are exposed to the poisons in their mothers' blood. A woman breast-feeding her child gives it poison along with her milk. I

Global Forum on Environmental Protection and Development for Survival.



Albert Gore, Jr.,
United States Senator
from Tennessee:

am sure that the effects of this will tell on many generations to come.

My good friend Carl Sagan has spoken and written about the ominous changes that are taking place in the world's climate. I not only share his anxiety but see an even greater danger in the situation. What worries him most are the mineral fuels that are being combusted in huge quantities all over the world. I see other destructive factors too, such as the large-scale farming of virgin lands, with the attendant microbiological damage to the soil. Logging is being done on a disastrous scale. The permafrost is thawing in arctic areas. In fact, every country is doing its dirty bit to upset the world's climate and to damage the environment. We all share the responsibility here. The world can now be described as the United Polluted States, at war with nature.

Several years ago, Ronald Reagan, then President of the United States, said that his country would join forces with the Soviet Union if, for instance, beings from another planet attacked Earth. It was well said, but I don't think we ought to wait for extraterrestrial dangers to join hands. The danger threatens the global environment. The time has come for the Soviet Union and the United States to teach their industrialists and politicians to exercise some environmental circumspection.

Let's get to work right now! Tomorrow may be too late.

All around us, old forms of organization and old conventions of thinking about the world are undergoing radical change. Millions of people are at this moment engaged in a great struggle to redefine the relationship between the individual citizen and the state. Leaders of great governments are in the midst of an effort to redefine the very basis for the conduct of international affairs. And both the people and their leaders are awakening to the urgent need for a fundamental revision in the relationship between the human species and the rest of the natural world.

It is this latter purpose that brings us all here. This is an assembly of those who are among the first to assert that the search for new thinking must extend beyond society to the global environment. We have come to realize that we are in the midst of an ecological crisis, on a scale unlike anything the world has yet seen.

When you consider the relationship of the human species to the planet Earth, not much change is visible in a single year, in a single nation. But if you look at the pattern of that relationship from the beginning of the modern era until today, the contrast is stark. Seen in historical perspective, it is clear that dozens of destructive effects have followed the same pattern of unprecedented acceleration in the latter half of the twentieth century.

We need a second Green Revolu-

tion, focused on increasing the productivity of small farms on marginal land with low-input agricultural methods, and on resolving the problems created by policies of governments around the world that lead farmers to undervalue the soil, water, and genetic diversity on which food production depends. In many ways, however, the real challenge will be in developing policies and institutions that will encourage farmers throughout the world to adopt these new technologies and practices. Nor will technology alone completely solve the problems that arise from inadequate distribution of food supplies, which are more often attributable to a failure of politics than of crops.

At the international level, however, if this process of debate becomes one of accusations and re-creations, we will go nowhere. We must begin anew, first by agreeing on the problems we face, then by deciding together on the requirements for dealing with them, and finally by working jointly to gather the resources that are needed. Moreover, in this discussion, nations must concentrate on identifying their own responsibilities and on defining what it is that they would wish to do in order to deal with them. We must avoid the trap of pointing out only what others have done wrong and what others owe the process of correction. And above all, we must avoid the ultimate trap, which is to hold the global environment itself hostage to our disagreements—demanding satisfaction on narrow matters while withholding agreement on things that are absolutely necessary.

We can only conclude that the environmental crisis is not merely material but spiritual in nature. The adaptation that modern civilization must make, therefore, should be guided not only by specialists, by heads of state, or by lawmakers: It must also be a product of individual insight and inspiration. Human survival demands a new way of thinking. This event and others like it in the months to come, may—if our hopes are realized—mark the birth of that new way of thinking. Let us strive to make it so.



Nikolai Vorontsov, chairman
of the USSR State Committee
for Nature Protection:

The world is reappraising its values. I've been aware of this process for several years, and this forum has proved it once again.

An anthropocentric ideology predominated in the world for 25 centuries or more. This ideology presented humankind as the center of the universe. It had much in common with today's technocratic mentality, which is ready to satisfy human needs no matter what the cost.

Now, with our deplorable experience of the humankind-nature confrontation, it has at last occurred to humanity that our planet's biosphere is a dense network of interrelations. When we violate the environment in one location, there are repercussions in other places, often great distances away, and the whole world suffers.

So ecology has rapidly acquired a prestige unheard of for such a young science. Millions of people have pinned their hopes on it, as the Moscow forum has clearly demonstrated. But it will still require a team effort to raise in people an awareness of environmental concerns.

In this respect, my country has something to be proud of. Russia set up the world's first nature preserves about a hundred years ago. Russia was home to several great ecology pioneers: Vladimir Vernadsky, Heinrich Haeuser, and Pyotr Semyonov-Tian-Shansky. From the 1920s to the 1940s, Soviet ecology reached such heights that American histori-



ans of science write theses and monographs about it to this day. In 1988 Professor Douglas Wiener of the University of Arizona wrote a book on Soviet nature protection in the 1920s that reintroduced us to our own forgotten compatriot, Vladimir Stanchinsky, the trailblazing theorist of nature protection.

Now that Soviet ecology has revived, we have to start from scratch after all the years of stagnation and reaction. The State Committee for Nature Protection, which I have the honor to head, was recently created to coordinate this vital work. But I am a scientist, and it is my deep conviction that to protect nature, we need in-depth research more than any offices, however efficient. We need pure science even more than research and development in ecologically safe technologies, water-purification systems, and other applied research. Breakthroughs in zoology, genetics, and general biology are vital.

I was born an optimist, and I believe that we will do away with the technocratic approach to nature protection that still holds sway. We have to replace it with an ecological approach and protect not only water, air, and soil but all living communities that account for environmental survival—communities consisting of landscapes, the riches hidden underground, wildlife, and domesticated flora and fauna. Humanity is doomed unless these communities survive. If we don't rescue them, future generations may be subjected to unimaginable genetic damage. Even national efforts will not be enough to prevent it—the entire international community must work together toward this goal. That's what makes meetings like this forum so important. ◊



Carl Sagan,
professor of astronomy,
Cornell University:

The earth is the birthplace of our species and, as far as we know, our only home. When our numbers were small and our technology feeble, we were powerless to influence the environment of our world. But today, suddenly, almost without anyone noticing, our numbers have become immense, and our technology has achieved vast, even awesome, powers. We are now able to make devastating changes in the global environment—an environment to which the beings that inhabit the earth are exquisitely adapted.

We are now threatened by self-inflicted, swiftly moving environmental alterations about whose long-term biological and ecological consequences we are still painfully ignorant—depletion of the protective ozone layer; a global warming unprecedented in the last 150 millennia; the obliteration of an acre of forest every second; the rapid extinction of species; and the prospect of a global nuclear war that would endanger most people on earth.

By their very nature these assaults on the environment were not caused by any one political group or any one generation. Intrinsicly they are transnational, transgenerational, and transideological. So are all of the conceivable solutions.

Problems of such magnitude and solutions demanding so broad a per-

spective must be recognized from the outset as having a religious as well as a scientific dimension. Mindful of our common responsibility, we urgently appeal to the world religious community to commit itself to preserving the environment.

The environmental crisis requires radical changes not only in public policy but also in individual behavior. History clearly shows that religious teaching, example, and leadership are powerful influences on personal conduct and commitment.

As scientists, many of us have had profound experiences of awe and reverence before the universe. We understand that what is regarded as sacred is more likely to be treated with care and respect. Our planet should be so regarded. Efforts to safeguard and cherish the environment need to be infused with a vision of the sacred. At the same time, we need a much wider and deeper understanding of science and technology. If we do not understand the problem, it is unlikely we will be able to fix it. Thus, there is a vital role for both religion and science.

We know that the well-being of our planetary environment is already a source of profound concern in religious councils. We hope this appeal will encourage a spirit of common cause and joint action to help preserve the earth.



Pitirim, Metropolitan of
Volokolamsk and Yuriev,
People's Deputy of the USSR:

We've all had enough experience and to spare of international conferences—they're usually noisy affairs. This one is different. Never before has the voice of conscience been heard so well as it has here. Conscience is a mighty force. You cannot kill it, and it retains its precious value forever.

We have all gathered in Moscow to call worldwide attention to the innumerable disasters that we humans have caused the earth with our activities. Until quite recently, we saw nature as a slave to our selfish desires. We started by killing animals and finished by inventing horrible weapons, capable of killing not only all of us but every living thing on earth.

We face a deadly threat. We face fratricidal wars and conflicts. The time has come to stop and reflect that in a decade we will cross the threshold into the third millennium A.D. Civilization is old enough to have brought forth wonders. What has it actually done? What do we have to offer the future?

Yes, we really need to stop and think. We have already crossed the border beyond which the thoughtless exploitation of nature brings irrevocable disaster. Only conscience can set our reason right and bring salvation to humanity. The Church has no weapon but conscience. ■



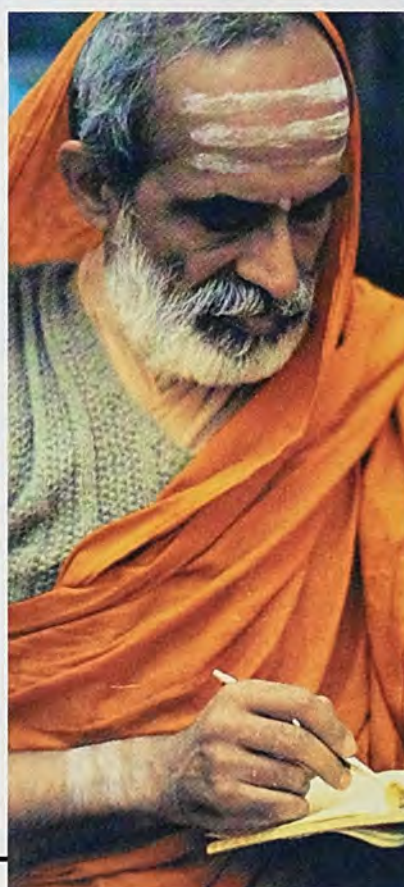
Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, United Nations Secretary General, was the forum's honorary guest.



Syria's Grand Mufti Ahmad Kuftaro (right) cochaired the forum. Above: Soviet Buddhists Zhigmitov Zolto (left) and Rinchip Dagva.

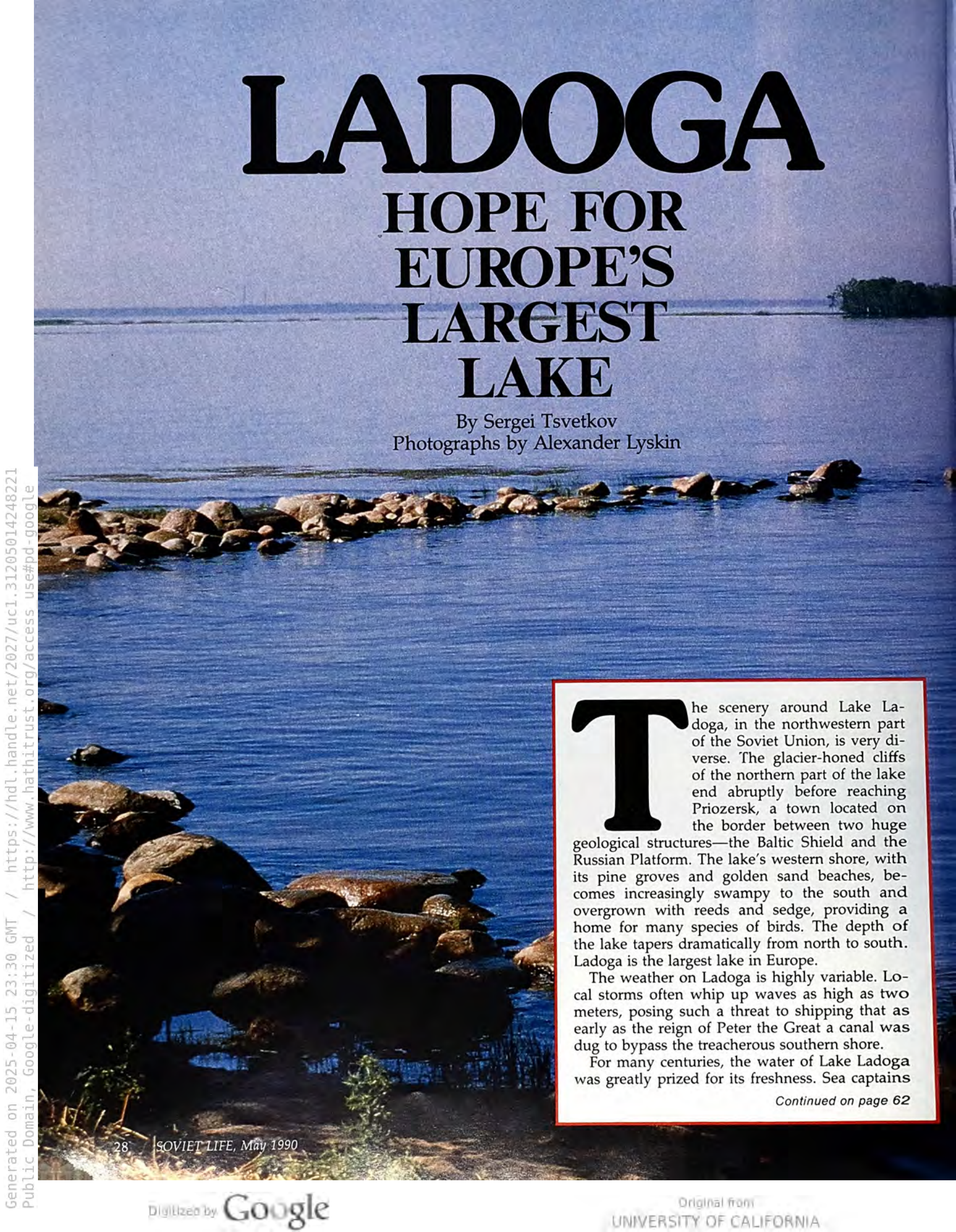


His Eminence Gurudewa Sivaya Subramuniasuami, president of the Himalayan Academy, talks to Moscow students during a break. Left: A participant from India.



Japanese priest Fuji (above). A delegation of Native Americans (right).





LADOGA

HOPE FOR EUROPE'S LARGEST LAKE

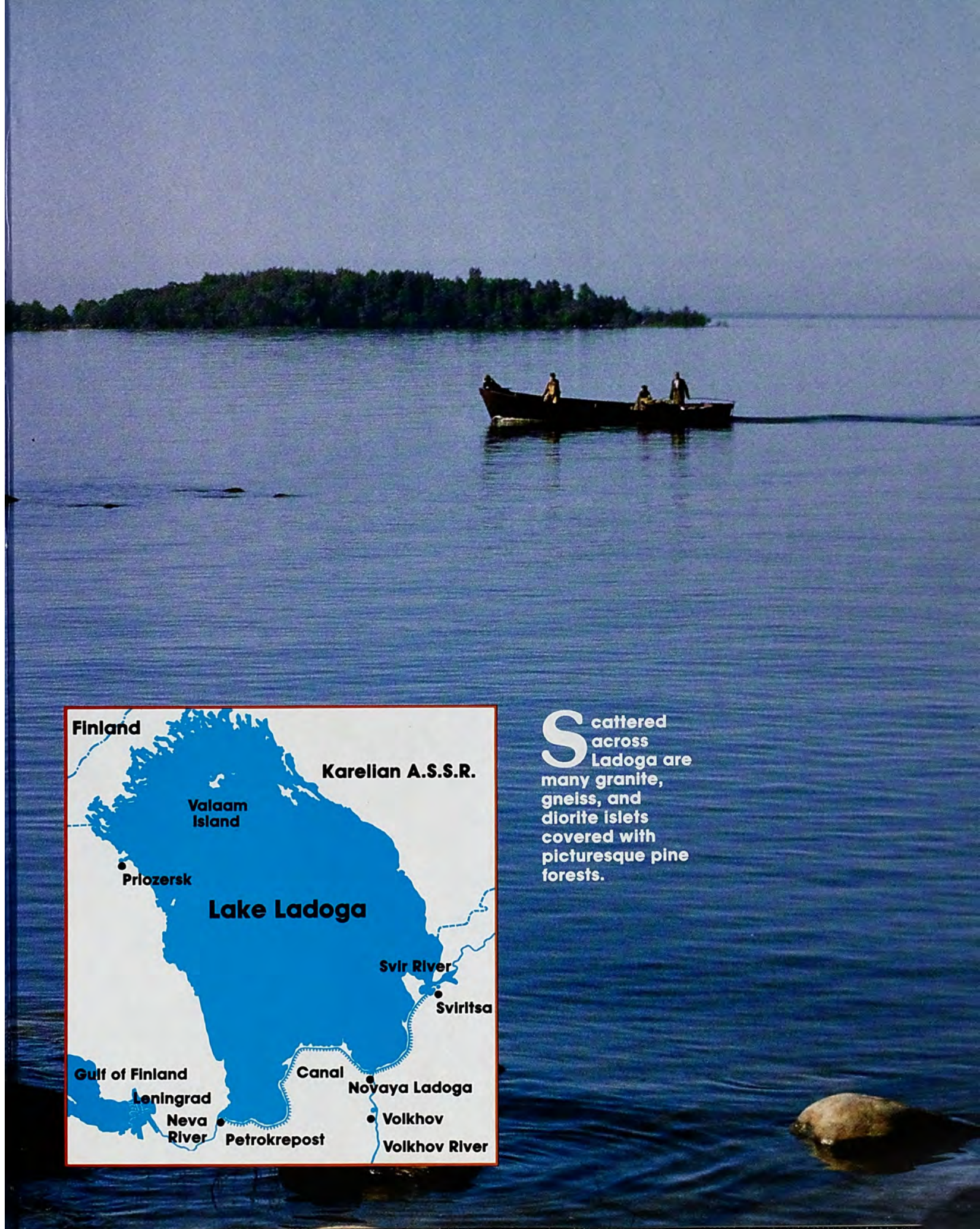
By Sergei Tsvetkov
Photographs by Alexander Lyskin

The scenery around Lake Ladoga, in the northwestern part of the Soviet Union, is very diverse. The glacier-honed cliffs of the northern part of the lake end abruptly before reaching Priozersk, a town located on the border between two huge geological structures—the Baltic Shield and the Russian Platform. The lake's western shore, with its pine groves and golden sand beaches, becomes increasingly swampy to the south and overgrown with reeds and sedge, providing a home for many species of birds. The depth of the lake tapers dramatically from north to south. Ladoga is the largest lake in Europe.

The weather on Ladoga is highly variable. Local storms often whip up waves as high as two meters, posing such a threat to shipping that as early as the reign of Peter the Great a canal was dug to bypass the treacherous southern shore.

For many centuries, the water of Lake Ladoga was greatly prized for its freshness. Sea captains

Continued on page 62



Scattered across Ladoga are many granite, gneiss, and diorite islets covered with picturesque pine forests.

LADOGA

Ladoga's water was famous for its purity (facing page, top). For many centuries the people of Ladoga's coastal villages traded in fishing and boatmaking (facing page, bottom). The Syassky Pulp-and-Paper Mill (inset) is a major polluter of Lake Ladoga.

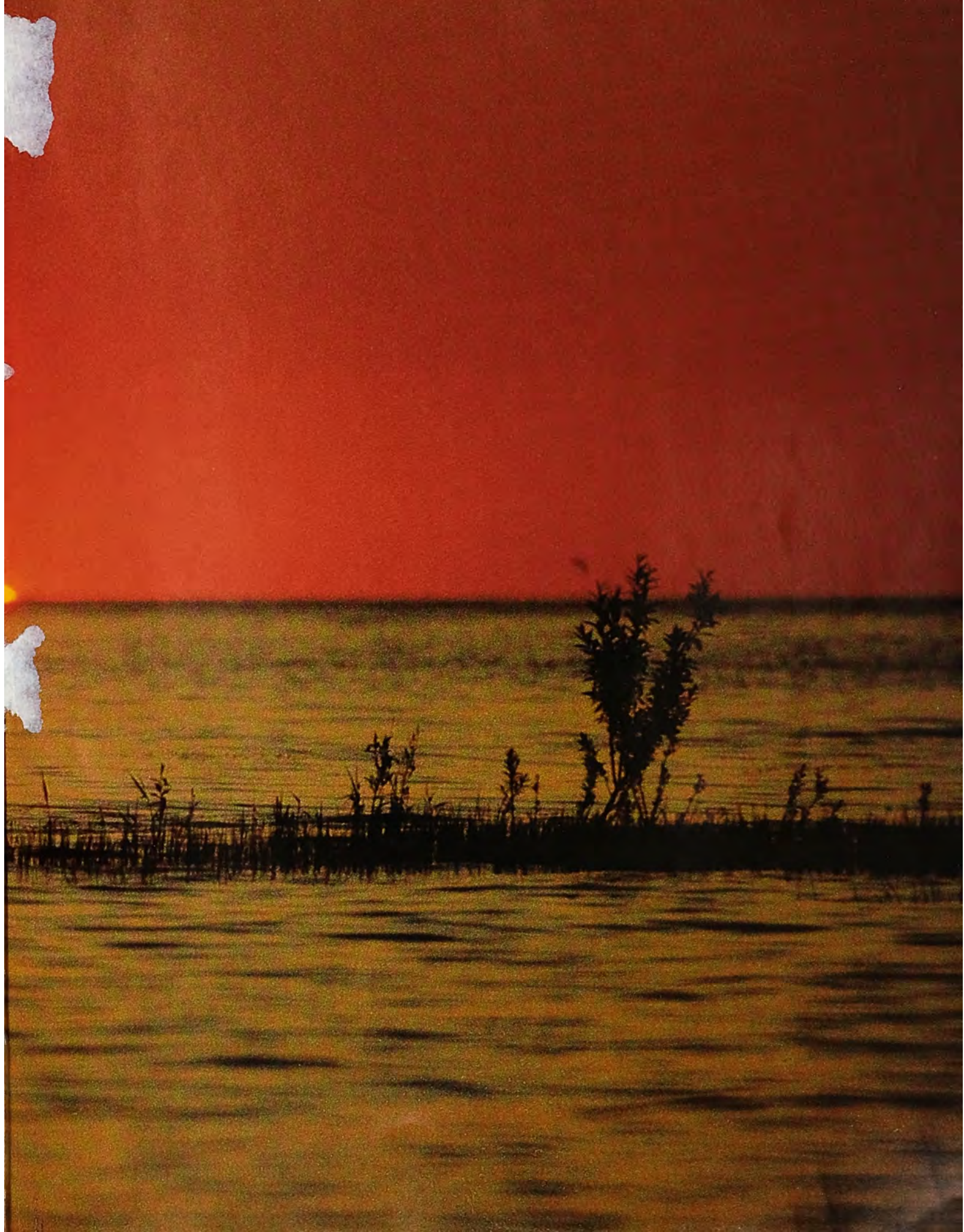




LADOGA

Until recently, the lake's natural cleansing mechanism worked so efficiently the water became cleaner every year.





It was a warm spring night when disaster struck. On April 26, 1986, at 1:24 A.M., massive explosions ripped through the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, one of the newest and most powerful nuclear power plants in the USSR. A ball of flame, accompanied by clouds of black smoke, rose into the sky. The wind carried the deadly cloud, 10 times more radioactive than the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, to the northwest, sowing panic in the Soviet Union and Western Europe alike.

Twenty-eight people died in the immediate aftermath of the accident. The surviving victims of the disaster—firefighters and station operators—were airlifted to Moscow, where doctors tried hard to save them. But many of them died. Officials of Moscow's sanitation department insisted that the bodies be buried in zinc coffins because they were radioactive.

In Byelorussia, 7,000 square kilo-



The ruined reactor at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant. Many villages in the area show no sign of life.

THE CHERNOBYL SYNDROME

By Pyotr Mikhailov
Photographs by Igor Kostin





meters of land were contaminated; in the Ukraine and the Russian Federation, the figures were 1,500 and 1,000 square kilometers, respectively.

The day after the accident, an emergency plan for the evacuation of people living within 30 kilometers of the plant was drawn up. The 40,000 residents of Prip'yat, a town near Chernobyl, were evacuated in the space of three hours, although farmers were reluctant to leave because fieldwork was in full swing. Approximately 26,000 people were evacuated from 50 villages in the high-radioactivity zone. At the same time a mas-

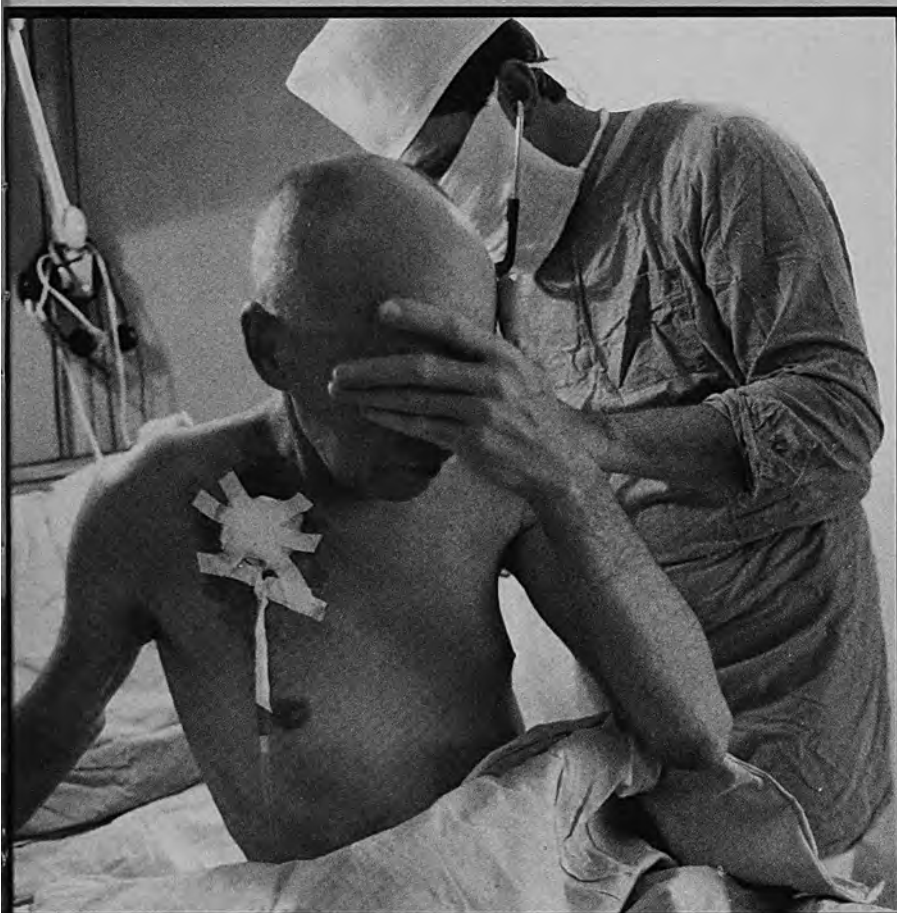
sive cleanup effort was launched in the area within a 30-kilometer radius of the disaster.

During the initial cleanup, 116,000 people were evacuated from the danger zone. Altogether, more than 600,000 people, including those who took part in the cleanup efforts, have been directly affected by the disaster.

A unified nationwide system of registering all the people affected by radiation was introduced. So far, some 650,000 people have been registered. Once on the list, a person remains there even if he or she moves to another place.

Radiation has affected agriculture and fish and animal life in the area. A large but weak fish is removed from the plant's cooling reservoir. Inset: Apples show signs of radiation blight as far as 30 kilometers from the plant. Facing page: Physicians did all they could for patients with radiation illnesses. A mutant foal born three years after the accident.





At this writing, the state has spent more than 10 billion rubles to counteract the effects of the disaster. But it is not nearly enough. In Byelorussia alone, an additional 17 billion rubles will have to be spent over the next six years. The Russian Federation and the Ukraine will also require great infusions of resources.

The diverse and interconnected consequences of the Chernobyl disaster constitute a horrible and hitherto unknown national malady. Let's take a closer look at how the Chernobyl syndrome has affected the Soviet Union as a whole.

Even though radiation levels were slashed several times in 1986 and 1987, the people are still paying a heavy price. In late 1989, 145 people were diagnosed as having acute radiation sickness. Fifty-nine people were pronounced disabled, of whom 16 are unable to work at all. An increase in the incidence of thyroid disease has occurred in contaminated areas. Newborns fall ill more often than in other areas, and the number of babies born with birth defects has increased.

Some public figures, including Byelorussian writer and people's deputy Ales Adamovich, have sounded the alarm. Adamovich maintains that the radiation levels in a number of towns and villages in Mogilev Region are much higher than acceptable.

However, Ilya Dibobes, Doctor of Science (Medicine), claims that neither the International Commission on Radiological Protection nor the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation has questioned the calculations made by Soviet experts concerning the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident.

Still, many of the people living in the affected regions don't trust the scientists or the authorities.

One of the most unpleasant aspects of the Chernobyl syndrome was the desire of some officials to play down the consequences of the disaster or to hush them up altogether. Mistakes and deliberate distortions of the truth were represented as a sign of concern for the people.

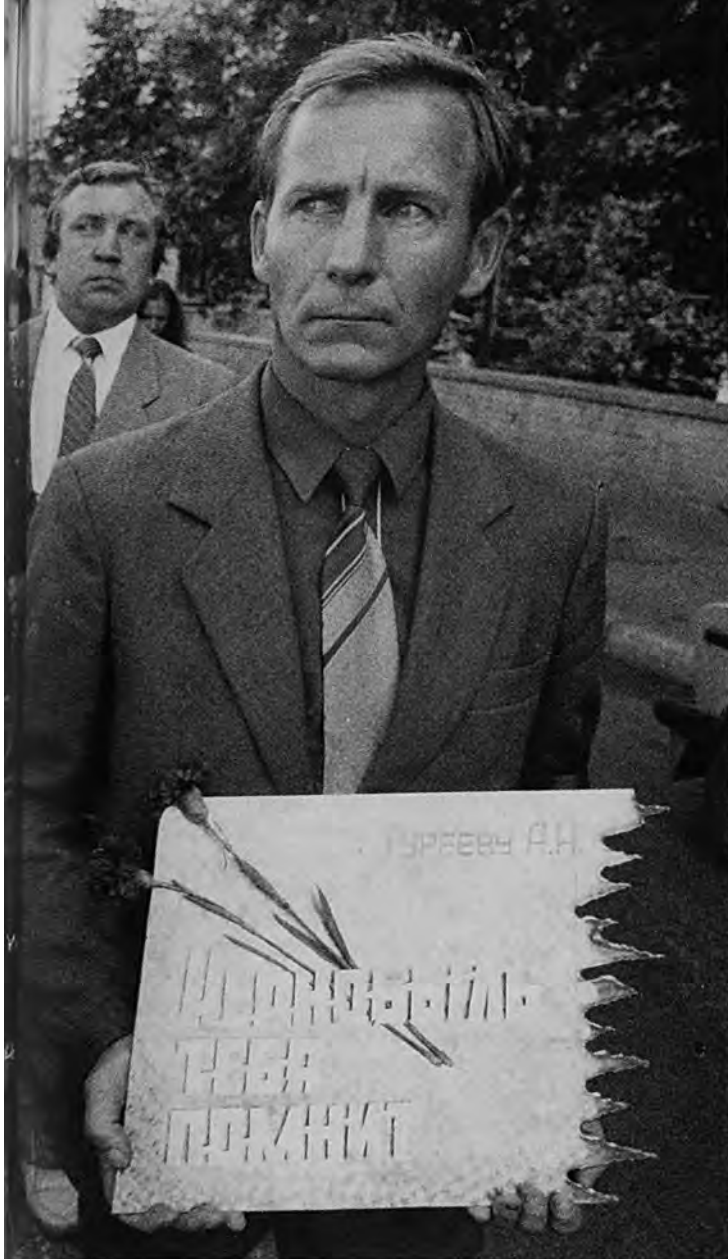
Ten days after the Chernobyl plant exploded, Yuri Israel, chairman of the State Committee of the USSR for Hydrometeorology, spoke to reporters at a press conference. On that occasion he understated radiation levels in the vicinity of the plant by several orders of magnitude. His error has not been forgotten.

In 1989, 50 Soviet deputies appealed to USSR Procurator General Alexander Sukharev, demanding that court proceedings be instituted against those who concealed information about the Chernobyl disaster and who failed to take immediate action.

When it comes to protecting the people's interests, *glasnost* and democratization are manifesting themselves more clearly all the time. ◀



Tribute to the victims. Left: Protesters in Kiev demand that the government act resolutely to cope with the aftermath of the disaster. Facing page: Chernobyl today is a closed zone, but many people have returned to their homes despite the danger.



Photographer Igor Kostin has chronicled the events since the tragic explosion of April 26, 1986.

What's done is done; but people are becoming more and more confident that in the future they won't have to pay a horrible price for the hare-brained decisions of the nuclear power industry.

Four years after the Chernobyl catastrophe, what is the future of nuclear power in the USSR?

Valeri Legasov, the former deputy director of the Kurchatov Institute for Atomic Energy, committed suicide two years after the disaster. Legasov was convinced that another accident could well happen at a similar nuclear power plant. Legasov argued that it was not yet possible to create fail-safe accident-prevention systems for power stations like Chernobyl.

Even so, new nuclear power plants are still being constructed. Although the nuclear power program was cut back to some extent and safer reactors were installed at some plants, the map of the European part of the USSR is studded with nuclear power plants. These include both operating stations and those that are still in the research and development stage.

The designers of nuclear power plants have developed new types of reactors and have provided them with protective domes of reinforced concrete. These are designed to withstand huge pressures and temperatures inside a runaway reactor, as well as earthquakes, explosions, gale-force winds, and plane crashes.

Nevertheless, a number of experts insist that nuclear plants must be constructed underground, inside 100-meter wells. These people say that building costs would increase only by 20 to 30 per cent. Many ecologists think that the construction of nuclear power stations must be stopped altogether and that a number of operating plants must be dismantled.

Some scientists say that, now that safety precautions have been taken, another accident like Chernobyl is unlikely to occur in the next million years or so. But people are terrified to think that it could conceivably happen in their lifetime. As a result, the number of protests against new nuclear power projects is on the rise. Rallies and demonstrations against the construction of more plants, as well as round-table discussions, con-

ferences, and so forth, are being held.

The opponents of nuclear power do not tend to compromise on the issue. When experts try to make a point, they are jeered at. In Kazan, the capital of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, protesters even switched on an air-raid siren.

Popular opinion has become a force to be reckoned with. For example, when the management of the Tatarskaya Nuclear Power Plant construction project, near the city of Nizhnekamsk, learned that a protest march was approaching, buses were sent to bring the protesters to the construction site. The plant's management offered the marchers a nice place to pitch their tents. Nuclear experts stayed at the campsite for an hour and a half, trying to convince the protesters that nuclear power was relatively safe and that its development was necessary. Nevertheless, the demonstrators surrounded one of the reactors, chanting, "Down with the nuke plant!"

And it turned out that their uncompromising stand was well justified—during the first six months of 1989, several earthquakes shook the construction site. One tremor reached 6.5 on the 12-point scale, damaging one of the reactors.

Are the protesters being heard by the powers that be? As a matter of fact, it looks as if some bureaucrats are really listening. As a result of public protests, the designing and construction of nuclear stations in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Krasnodar Territory, Minsk, and Odessa were halted. The Chigirin Nuclear Power Plant in the Ukraine has been closed down. The Crimean Nuclear Power Plant has been restructured: From now on it will be used for training personnel.

The late Andrei Sakharov touched on the problem in 1989, when he addressed a Tokyo symposium on *perestroika* and Soviet society. "We have no alternative but to develop nuclear power," he said.

Scientists who share Sakharov's views on this question argue that the development of nuclear power is imperative not only because oil and gas reserves are being depleted. The huge amounts of coal, oil, and gas that are burned every year also release about

20 billion tons of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, which may well cause a greenhouse effect. Alternative energy sources like solar and geothermal power are not very promising. In short, the development of nuclear power is an imperative of our times.

Sakharov did not forget about the Chernobyl disaster. Its consequences would continue to manifest themselves in the form of "radiophobia," he said. But he still insisted that the nuclear power industry must be developed. In his opinion, nuclear reactors must be constructed underground only, and an international law banning the building of reactors on the earth's surface must be adopted.

When people no longer trust the officials, they form unions to protect their rights and interests. Late in 1989, a union called Chernobyl was formed. Its first conference took place in Kiev and was attended by people from 30 cities.

The Chernobyl Union supports the development of the industry, provided that both experts and the Soviet public exercise strict control over it. The union will strive to make the industry as safe as possible. It will select the best power station designs on a competitive basis and will exercise constant public supervision over the construction and operation of nuclear power plants.

Another goal of the union is to protect people who have suffered as a result of the accident: The Chernobyl Union's activists have already conducted talks with West German, Italian, Spanish, American, and Finnish public organizations on cooperation in the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of radiation sickness.

Could the union, intentionally or unintentionally, become an obstacle in the way of the nuclear power industry's development? No, says the union's chairman, Lev Khitrov, a Lenin Prize winner who heads a permanent expedition of the Institute of Geochemistry and Analytic Chemistry of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. "Panic and complacency are equally dangerous here. That's why we plan to set up a national education network to help people learn more about the industry, so that they'll be able to guide themselves by facts." ■

NEW SOVIET LEGISLATION ON LAND OWNERSHIP

By Alexei Dumov

The Soviet state has officially abandoned its monopoly on land. A new law on land ownership, entitled "The Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republics Legislation on Land," was passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet and has been in effect since March 15 of this year.

For many decades, land in the Soviet Union has been under the exclusive ownership of the state. In actual fact, however, the land in most cases belonged to no one. Thousands and thousands of impoverished villages and tens of millions of hectares of farmland rendered unfit for cultivation, overgrown by shrubs, and suffering from erosion are the price society has had to pay for the neglect of our country's national wealth. The case has been made that the state monopoly on land is one of the reasons for the Soviet Union's dependence on imported food.

Land needs an owner. This demand was repeated over and over again during the lengthy debates that preceded the passage of the new legislation. But views on the issue varied widely, both in the Supreme Soviet and among the general public.

Proposals ranged from cosmetic innovations to the complete conversion of land to private property. It wasn't easy to forge a compromise between such different views. And sometimes the resistance to new proposals was vehement indeed. It turned out, for instance, that most managers of collective and state farms were not at all enthusiastic about the idea of sharing their land with independent farmers, cooperatives, and leaseholders.

Even so, consensus was finally reached. The progress that was made on the issue was quite obvious: The new law spells the end of the state monopoly on land.

Land will now be considered the property of the people living on it.

Each Soviet citizen, including the urban dweller, will have the right to a plot of land. The terms and procedures for allocating land are laid down in this law and in the legislation of each constituent republic. The laws of the individual republics are expected to be drafted within the next few months.

All powers regarding land management are being transferred to the Soviets of People's Deputies, thereby ending the sway of all-powerful ministries and other governmental departments. These are the same departments that once undertook many huge projects that turned the land into practically lifeless desert.

It is the Soviets of People's Deputies that will allot land to citizens for

*Land will now be
considered the
property of the
people living on it.*

agricultural use in perpetuity. The law allows land to be inherited but forbids its sale. Collective and state farms and other entities of the public sector will have permanent tenure of the land.

So the new legislation provides a framework for the development of family farms, cooperatives, and other types of independent producers. They will be allowed to compete on an equal footing with collective and state farms. This opens up the prospect of a switch to market principles in the agricultural sector.

A great deal of emphasis was placed on the law's environmental aspect. The law seeks subsidies, tax rebates, and low-interest loans as incentives for careful land management, conservation measures, and the eco-

logically safe methods of growing produce. At the same time, it provides for sanctions against those who violate existing regulations.

The law provides important prerequisites for further progress on the road to political and economic reform. But for all its significance, this development does not warrant euphoria or excessively high praise. We should guard against letting ourselves be too optimistic. The law still has to be tried and tested in practice. And, as the past few years bear witness, by no means all of the new ideas our lawmakers have produced have proved to be workable. There is a possibility that the law may still require major changes.

But at this juncture, that is not the issue. In fact, the law is not likely to work at all before the necessary spadework is done. This includes the calculation of how much land, and of what type, is involved.

It was with these caveats in mind that deputy Anatoli Sobchak, once the law had been passed, proposed that the Supreme Soviet resolution have the following three provisions added to it: (a) That all existing patterns of land use be declared temporary and subject to reform in 1990 and 1991 under the new legislation; (b) that land reform committees be set up at all district, city, town, and village Soviets of People's Deputies; and (c) that all persons allotted land for farming purposes be exempt from land tax in the first three years after the acquisition of the land.

However, action on these proposals is bound to call for major organizational efforts and financial outlays. For this reason the Supreme Soviet found it necessary that its committees and commissions consider thoroughly every side of the issue before making a final decision. So the country is beginning to develop ways of enforcing the new legislation on land. ■

PERESTROIKA REQUIRES REALISM

The Soviet Union is now going through a complicated period. Interethnic conflicts are rife, social tension is on the rise, and many people are seething with rage.

The "enemy image" with regard to other countries and systems has vanished into thin air. But now we have started looking for enemies in our own country instead. Intolerance toward people who belong to different social strata or ethnic backgrounds, or who hold different political convictions has, regrettably, become common nowadays.

Alexander Yakovlev, a member of the Politburo and of the USSR Presidential Council, who also holds the post of Central Committee Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, discussed his views on the subject in the newspaper Literaturnaya gazeta. Excerpts from the article are reprinted here.

There are probably several reasons why so many of our compatriots seem to have an unquenchable need to perceive enemies around them. One reason is the centuries-long dependence of the people on the state, which protected them from both internal anarchy and external enemies.

Russia, for instance, was always either being besieged by enemies who were trying to tear the country apart or was itself conquering new territories, seeking access to seas and oceans from the Baltic to the Black Sea, from the Pacific to the Arctic Ocean.

More than once, Russia nearly disintegrated as a result of internecine strife or social upheaval, although it later pulled itself together. But no matter whether Russia was winning or losing, it was struggling against an



enemy—and what country *didn't* it fight against?

Strife has always been a dominant theme throughout Russian history. This is our psychologically crippling heritage, which has molded our national consciousness and our national character. It is the same mentality that prevailed during the decades of Stalinism, when millions of people were forced to seek out and destroy "enemies of the people." A great many people perished in that witch-hunt, and many more became spiritually impoverished as a result of the constant hatred, the spying on one another, and the degrading struggle for power. Fear turned many people into cynics or cowards.

This is the price we paid for that

hunt for enemies, which to this day drives certain people who hope to turn the clock back and regain their former power, honors, and privileges. These people have no principles or morality. Fortunately, however, the wave of reaction that would clear the way for a rightward shift is doomed to failure.

So we have inherited a history of struggle; we have become so accustomed to fighting that if no enemy exists, we need to invent one. But in addition to our historical heritage, there is a more subjective level to this attitude. On this level, factors such as personal hatred, inordinate ambition, vanity, stupidity, ignorance, and arrogance play a role.

Such is reality. And reality molds consciousness. Consciousness may be destructive sometimes: It may create social groups and forces that need an enemy, no matter who it may be. Such consciousness cripples the soul of new generations, which under certain circumstances may also begin to feel the need to create some sort of an "enemy image."

Who needs all this, and why? Enemies are useful to people who are angry and lazy and jealous, who would not hesitate to trample others underfoot for the sake of their own career and ambitions. Many writers in Russia, especially Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Gogol, and Chekhov, identified and despised this trait in humankind.

Ironically, the need for an enemy has gained new force with the advent of *perestroika*—because *perestroika* is truly a revolution. It has brought about many new and sometimes incomprehensible and unexpected phenomena. Many people cannot accept these new phenomena. They know they must either try to understand

these phenomena or reject them. The most important thing is that *perestroika* requires constructive action. Many people are unable to take such action because for many years they were taught not to.

The same is true of *glasnost*. For creative and independent-minded people, *glasnost* has been a great boon. But for people who are used to taking their cues from others and to trusting trite stereotypes, *glasnost*, which has opened a floodgate of new information, may become a source of nervousness and irritation. No wonder so many people write in their letters about a "loss of faith" and a "loss of ideals" and ask how they ought to live. They do not always realize that they should be guided by such simple principles as kindness, honesty, and justice. Once again society is falling under the spell of dogma, which so frequently deceived it in the past.

So as the old structures and practices disappear, while new ones have not yet taken hold, economic troubles and psychological confusion foster the growth of this disease at both the societal and the individual level. I think we have not yet passed the critical point as far as this is concerned. The desire to resort to social demagoguery and to blame our current troubles on *perestroika* may continue to spread as long as the social and economic situation remains tense and as long as de facto law has not become de jure law.

When our living standards improve and the levels of our culture and democracy increase, the authoritarian features of our national and individual psychology will become obliterated. Even so, judging by some of the articles and statements I've read, some people seem to be doomed to live in caves and hunt other people with clubs.

We should be realists and understand that these are processes of inertia, which take a long time and develop with the change of generations. In fact, the establishment of a democratic society means the establishment of a new way of life, the formation of democratic attitudes, and the education of people who are receptive to new ideas and who are unprejudiced.

I would say that a desire to create an "enemy image" is the main and

most insidious danger to *perestroika*. The enemy image may be used as a means of inciting discontent and as an ideological basis for social upheaval on any scale.

First, the social need to have enemies may push people onto the path of mistaken, sometimes tragic decisions. We have ethnic unrest, declining discipline and responsibility, and large-scale mismanagement. All these facts point to a simple answer: This country needs someone to rule it with an iron hand. Such arguments have their logic—there really are people who deliberately organize sabotage or are simply responsible for mismanagement. So we do need iron rule, but this rule should be based on law.

But if we yield to the exigencies of objective conditions and deliberate pressure, and if we place curbs on democracy, we will overlook or fail to

Many people are unable to take constructive action because for many years they were taught not to.

understand the fundamental processes and causes. We will glide over the surface without touching the heart of things. We will drive the disease deeper inside and prepare the ground for a serious, perhaps catastrophic, crisis. Such things have happened many times before. *Perestroika* requires realistic thinking, intelligence, common sense, and balanced judgments and decisions.

Second, historically we are now at a crossroads. We may either return to the old way, which leads to an impasse, or resolutely overcome the vestiges of the authoritarian past, which stifle our initiative and cripple our souls.

The more important question is this: What is the actual motivation of our efforts to give up authoritarianism in favor of democracy? Is there any proof that history is moving in this direction?

Well, I think we have convincing proof: It is, above all, the continuous development of the democratic and humanitarian tendency in all times, with all peoples, and under all systems, in spite of all the flare-ups of violence. The drive toward democracy and humanism, defeated many times, has not disappeared. Moreover, civilization and social progress signify the growth of the democratic and humanitarian potential of the individual and society, the state, culture, the political system and its institutions, and the law.

The contemporary economy, science, and creative endeavor require self-regulation, self-government, and a high level of democracy. It is impossible to control complex systems with rigid formulas and rules. Every system needs a self-tuning mechanism.

Although analogies are not always appropriate, one may say that if the relationship between the spirit and nature is the main question of philosophy, the relationship between democracy and authoritarianism is the main question of politics.

In an ideal society, the use of different systems and methods of governing its various sectors and of performing the various tasks that face it under different conditions would be the best way to run such a society. To achieve this goal, we need democracy and administrative control and the ability to combine them and use them at the same time in related spheres. This is the way it should be in theory. Contemporary life also requires flexibility and the ability to maneuver.

We should bear in mind, however, that for all its outstanding achievements, humankind has lived most of its history in a state of poverty, ignorance, inequality, and extremely limited possibilities for self-fulfillment. Consequently, most human beings have lived in a state of violence and war and their inevitable concomitant, authoritarianism. Our aim today is to learn democracy and to understand and ensure in practice the individuality and importance of every human life and every human being. This means that we must become a truly humane society in thought and deed, in the base and superstructure.

I'm sure such a time will come. ■

Teaching English the Cooperative Way

By Dmitri Marchenkov and Robert Papikyan
Photographs by Robert Papikyan

*Julia Farkas (top
inset) and Avram
Brown (bottom
inset) teach English
at the cooperative
school.*



*A "family portrait"
of the school's
personnel. Sitting
second from the
right is Natalya
Promyslova.*



The lesson that evening dealt with pig Latin. Teacher Seth Goldman (who speaks the language fluently) explained the rules and broke his class into pairs to chat. The 13-year-old pupils, stammering and laughing, started making phrases: "Ymay amenay isay..."

The lesson took place at a two-year-old English-language school in downtown Moscow. The American teacher was 10 or 12 years older than his Soviet pupils.

In the Soviet Union, all high school and college students must study some foreign language, usually English. But, except at schools that specialize in languages, the standards are so low that high school graduates can surely say, with Socrates, "I know only that I know nothing." The same is true about colleges and universities.

This situation cannot be blamed entirely on the teachers. The official curriculum is rather primitive and very uninspiring. Of course, nearly every teacher has his or her own ideas about how to conduct a lesson. But for a long time, unfortunately, initiative was not encouraged in our schools.

Natalya Promyslova, a Moscow State University graduate who majored in philology, was eager to teach but found a job as a translator. For six years she worked as a simultaneous interpreter at the Institute of Cinematography and then at the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal. At the 1980 Moscow Games, she chaired three commissions of the organizing committee. This turned out to be useful experience when she decided to open her own school.

The idea of opening the school occurred to her when she was teaching English at the Moscow Power Engineering Institute. "There I saw all the vices of our educational system. I realized that it was impossible to teach that way any longer. So when the Law on Cooperatives went into effect, I knew what I was going to do," said Promyslova.

In October 1987, she registered her own cooperative—a part-time Eng-

lish-language school. The students range in age from 6 to 16. They come to the school after classes at their regular schools are over.

The cooperative occupies an old Moscow mansion called the Stankevich House, which was named after the nineteenth century poet and philosopher Nikolai Stankevich. But the building was in such poor condition that restoring it used up most of the 257,000-ruble loan that Promyslova had taken out.

In all, getting the school started cost about 350,000 rubles. Promyslova had to economize on salaries to pay off the credit. In the beginning, a teacher's salary was about 300 rubles a month, only slightly more than at other schools.

The payment question was a painful one. Teachers who came to the cooperative to make a lot of money were disappointed. They tended not to stay long.

"That isn't to say the school was left with no teachers," said Promyslova. "We had to change staff in midstream without interrupting the lessons. But everything turned out fine. After the first enrollment, of 340, the school became so popular that many people wanted to work with us. This time only the ones who are really dedicated to their profession and willing to improvise came."

Some of the teachers who came to the school were Americans. Much of the credit for attracting them is due the Soviet-American Friendship Society; the Anglo-American school at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow; Mrs. Inna Medow, a Canadian of Russian origin; and Professor Marshall Goldman, associate director of Harvard University's Russian Research Center. Dr. Goldman advertised the school at his university and inspired his son Seth, a Harvard graduate, to go.

As a result of their efforts, 10 of the 30 teachers on the school staff are Americans, including several teachers at the U.S. Embassy school and Harvard graduates who are interested in the Soviet Union.

The only Harvard graduate working at the school who is a professional teacher is Seth Goldman. That worried Promyslova at first. "But then I saw the way the others worked, and

all my doubts disappeared. They found a common language with the kids very quickly. Of course, their age helped a lot—they're all very young."

The school administration rents an apartment in downtown Moscow for each American and pays them eight rubles an hour. There is a limit of 12 hours a week that a teacher can work at the school.

The curriculum covers 12 years of study and is subdivided into four three-year parts. The fee is 40 to 55 rubles a month.

The methodology used for each part of the curriculum is different. The youngest pupils have Soviet teachers. A team comprising one American and one Soviet teacher instructs the intermediate pupils, and senior students are taught by Americans. Classes meet twice a week, with video films and choral singing on Sundays. Among the subjects taught are world literature, the history of ancient civilization, the history of the United States and Great Britain, and social studies.

The American teachers are impressed with their Soviet students. Says teacher Avram Brown: "I think maybe Soviet kids are more serious than American young people. I mean, they're more serious about social aspects of life."

The school administration is unlikely to announce a new enrollment this year. After the second enrollment, the student body reached 600—the school's limit (study groups are made up of no more than 8 to 10 students). Also, the Harvard group is going home in May. But Promyslova hopes that her school won't go for long without American teachers. As for Seth Goldman, he's sure that that won't be a problem.

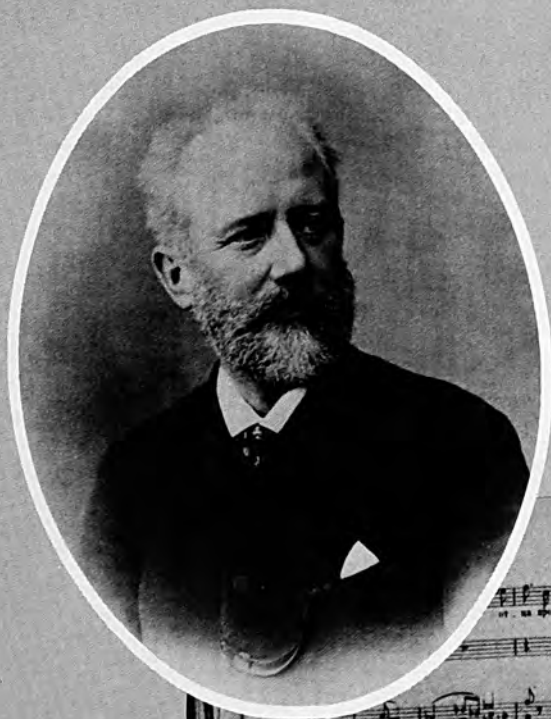
"As soon as people in the United States find out about this school—and they've already started to find out—there will be no shortage of applicants," he said. "My father's been training people for next year, and he's already been flooded with calls. All kinds of people are interested."

"From the very beginning, not a single pupil has quit," says Promyslova. "And it's not hard to see why—interest in America is growing all the time." ■

Tchaikovsky at 150

*Composer Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky
(1840-1893) described himself as "a Russian
in the fullest sense of the word."*

By Alexander Sokolov
Music Critic



Il. Tchaikovsky



UNESCO has declared 1990 the Year of Tchaikovsky, to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the great Russian composer's birth. It was only logical. There is hardly a top-class orchestra in the world that does not have Tchaikovsky in its repertoire, or a major theater that has not staged Tchaikovsky's operas and ballets. Every four years Moscow hosts the prestigious Tchaikovsky International Music Competition, which is attended by talented young musicians from all over the world. The famous Moscow Conservatory was also named after Tchaikovsky.

Even during the composer's lifetime, his music was almost always a great popular success both at home and abroad. The composer was always very well received by the general public and appreciated by connoisseurs, including such pillars of culture as Leo Tolstoy and Anton Chekhov. Here is an entry from Tchaikovsky's diary, made after a concert in 1886:

I had probably never been so flattered and touched as when Leo Tolstoy, seated next to me and listening to the Andante cantabile of my quartet, burst into tears.

Tchaikovsky's path to the pinnacle of international musical culture was not a straight line. It began conventionally enough. His childhood was spent in a typical family of the provincial Russian gentry. Tchaikovsky was educated by a French governess who, apart from other things, taught him music. The boy was a very delicate and sensitive creature. "A boy of glass," his governess used to say.

The young Tchaikovsky's love for music did not go unnoticed by his parents. They encouraged the boy. When Tchaikovsky was 10, his family moved to St. Petersburg. There he began taking lessons from the famous musician and pedagogue Rudolph Kunderling. After a while, Kunderling told Tchaikovsky's father that a career in music was hardly a workable prospect for his son.

The inevitable decision was made, and Pyotr Tchaikovsky found himself

enrolled in the preparatory department of the School of Jurisprudence. After graduation he was given a job at the Ministry of Justice. Music remained an important part of his life, but nobody took his first experience in composing seriously.

Soon Tchaikovsky became disillusioned with his job, and in 1862, in spite of his father's objections, he joined the first Russian conservatory, which had just been founded in St. Petersburg by Anton Rubenstein. "Sooner or later I will give up my public service for music. Whether I become a famous composer or a poor teacher, my conscience will be clear," Tchaikovsky wrote at that time. In the spring of 1863 he retired from his position at the ministry, never to return.

*The music of
Tchaikovsky has become
part of a dialogue with
music being composed by
our contemporaries.*

Tchaikovsky's tastes and ideals were formed during his years at the St. Petersburg Conservatory. He particularly worshiped Mozart: "Thanks to him, I know what music is all about." Tchaikovsky referred to Beethoven as a "giant among all musicians." His greatest Russian influence was Mikhail Glinka.

In spite of Kunderling's pessimism, Tchaikovsky did well at the conservatory, and upon graduation he received a lucrative invitation to move to Moscow and teach a class at the new conservatory that was being opened there. This was how Tchaikovsky, at the age of 25, became a professor of harmony. He threw himself into his work, translated some pedagogical works from German, and wrote an excellent textbook of his own on harmony. Nikolai Rubenstein, the

founder of the Moscow Conservatory and the brother of Anton Rubenstein, invited Tchaikovsky to work on the draft rules for the new conservatory.

Moscow extended a warm welcome to the young composer. His premières were a remarkable success. However, some of the newspaper music critics remained strongly opposed to Tchaikovsky. The reviews were not profound analyses, but casual and superficial assessments that accused the composer of banality. "Thin themes, interesting elaboration . . ." said a review of his String Quartet No. 3. "In the area of romances, instead of progress ahead, we can see the composer [Tchaikovsky] move back." Three different critics, reviewing the famous Piano Concerto No. 1, wrote about "vagueness, verbosity, and excessive details"; "lack of consistency in choosing themes"; and "a talented work, but one that lacks depth."

What accounts for such negative reviews? Was it the same inexplicable blindness that prevented the tutor Kunderling from identifying his young pupil as a future genius? It's easy to brush aside such barbs of criticism now that the truth has been established by the court of time. Still, these barbs are interesting as documents of Tchaikovsky's epoch.

The public's attitude toward Tchaikovsky as a person was very sympathetic. His extraordinary personal characteristics could not but be appreciated. The prominent music critic German Larosh wrote:

He had both the type of kindness that catches everyone's eye and a kindness that no one could suspect. He was kind in every way. He was somehow predisposed to all the good movements, and he liked to search for and knew how to find the good things both in works of music and in people's souls. Without much fuss, on the strength of his presence alone, he was able to alleviate extremes and bring peace, warmth, light, and joy.

Tchaikovsky's early career coincided with acute contradictions in the artistic life of Russia. It was a time of irreconcilable struggle among people who advocated different roads for national art. The basic difference was whether to rely on the massive

inheritance of Western classics or to follow the authentic Russian tradition that reached deep into folklore and ancient sacred music. Apart from musical styles, the question touched upon people's philosophies and even their way of life.

What position did Tchaikovsky choose for himself? Even before he had left St. Petersburg for Moscow, he was aware of his differences with his teacher, Anton Rubinstein. Rubinstein was a strong supporter of the values of Western culture. "With regard to my works, [Rubinstein] never displayed anything but cold reserve and favorable indifference," Tchaikovsky would recall later.

Neither did Tchaikovsky accept the esthetic platform of the opposing camp, which rallied around the critic Vladimir Stasov. Tchaikovsky was, however, friendly with the group of Stasov's followers that made up the association of composers called "The Five"—Mily Balakirev, Alexander Borodin, Modest Mussorgsky, César Cui, and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov.

Tchaikovsky was not part of any rival group, nor did he speak against them. Stasov and his fellow thinkers publicly "swore an oath of allegiance" to the great Glinka, considering themselves to be his disciples, but it was probably Tchaikovsky more than anyone else who followed Glinka's well-known admonition to "arrange a legal marriage between the Russian song culture and the Western fugue." The first major Russian composer to receive an academic conservatory education, Tchaikovsky always thought of himself as a truly Russian artist:

As far as the Russian element in my music is concerned... it is the result of the fact that I grew up in an out-of-the-way place and that from my early childhood I was influenced by the inexplicable beauty of the characteristic features of Russian folk music, from the fact that I passionately love the Russian element in all of its manifestations, from the fact, in

a nutshell, that I am a Russian in the fullest sense of the word.

To Tchaikovsky, the main problem of creativity was not the choice between Slavophilism and Westernism. Russia was entering a time of arduous moral trials, a time of realization that the ideals of the broad democratic movements of the 1860s and 1870s were unattainable. Tchaikovsky's first creative peak occurred in the late 1870s. In these works, the main idea centered on the life of an inspired individual who ran up against the hard realities of life. A case in point is his Symphony No. 4, which clearly echoed the tradition of Beethoven's heroic-drama symphonies. The powerful opportunities for expression provided by the genre of symphony best conformed to Tchaikovsky's ideas, his concept of dramatic composition geared to unveil the hero's psychological portrait.

Tchaikovsky's works for the stage also feature the broad breath and nerve of the symphony. "Ballet is also symphony," the composer said. This can be seen in his ballet *Swan Lake*, completed in 1876. His opera *Eugene Onegin* (1878) is also very symphonic. Before beginning the opera, Tchaikovsky wrote:

I am looking for an intimate yet powerful drama, based on the conflict of situations that I have either experienced or seen, situations that can strike a resonant chord deep inside me.

An even greater psychological strain is to be found in the music written in the last decade of Tchaikovsky's short life. True, he did write some light and touching songs for children, the sparkling *Capriccio Italien*, and the fairy-tale opera *Cherevichki* during that time. But undoubtedly, the main works of his last decade were the Piano Trio *To the Memory of a Great Artist* (Nikolai Rubinstein), his Symphony No. 5, and the opera *The Queen of Spades*.

The tragic culmination of Tchaikovsky's creativity is his Sym-

phony No. 6, written a few months before his death in 1893. It came as an astonishing prophecy by an artist who had comprehended and reflected the world perceptions of the coming century. The semantic versatility of this masterpiece gradually became clear over the following decades, as if resonant with trends that were to emerge later in the history of music. Examples of this are reflections of the paradoxical allusions of the future neoclassicism, the "double bottom" of the march-like Scherzo, in which the energetic, victorious intonations are overshadowed by the sinister ghost of runaway bacchanalia, and the "open" finale, which ends in the incompleteness of a sorrowful epitaph.

Indeed, Tchaikovsky seems more of a contemporary to us than he seemed a century ago to the people around him. One of the reasons for this is now clear from the historical perspective. It is the musical language that Tchaikovsky employed. The vocal nature of his melodies, his reliance on city folklore, on the genres of song and dance music, these were perceived as archaic and banal by music critics who were in a hurry to discuss intriguing innovations, whether the mysterious, endless melodies of Richard Wagner or the exotic, symmetrical sounds of Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov.

Tchaikovsky's music, however, was not destined to be forgotten. But it has been perceived in different ways at different times. Even today, while captivating us, as before, with its sincerity, passion, gentleness, and pain, Tchaikovsky's music reveals yet another unexpected element, a resonance of sorts with the esthetics of neoromanticism, the New Simplicity. The New Simplicity has been in the vanguard of world musical culture for the past two decades. The music of Tchaikovsky, Anton Bruckner, and Gustav Mahler has become part of a dialogue with music being composed by our contemporaries. And it is not just a voice from the past. Rather, it presents the issue of today's life, today's world and, at the same time, it is the voice of the eternal that lives in every sensitive human soul.



Tchaikovsky's New World Triumph

By Irina Skvortsova
Music Critic

In December 1890 Pyotr Tchaikovsky was invited to visit the United States for the inauguration of Carnegie Hall in New York. His dream of seeing the New World had come true. He wrote to his brother at that time: "I will go with great pleasure—the trip itself will be very interesting." A concert schedule was immediately arranged for mid-April 1891. In an unexpected way, the trip was to affect the rest of Tchaikovsky's career.

Everything seemed to be going smoothly. But the three months before the trip brought about a sharp change both in the composer's inner state and in his attitude toward the upcoming tour. Things were going so badly that the day before his departure he was on the verge of canceling the tour completely. Only the advance that he had already received induced him to go through with the trip.

During those three months, which had begun so happily, Tchaikovsky had been plagued by many problems, which had had a deeply disturbing effect on his nervous and sensitive nature.

The imperial theaters were the first to upset him. At the height of the season in St. Petersburg his beloved creation, *The Queen of Spades*, was struck from the repertoire as a result of a petty intrigue. And his operas were not being staged in Moscow at all during that time.

Tchaikovsky was further irritated by the exceedingly demanding deadlines of the theater commissions he was given. He was asked to write a one-act opera (*Iolanthe*) and a two-act ballet (*The Nutcracker*) before the beginning of the 1891-1892 season. This enforced haste was unnatural for the composer, and he was keenly dissatisfied with the results of his work.

He was also extremely tired after

his grand recital in Paris at the end of March. Exhausted physically and emotionally, Tchaikovsky went for several days to Rouen, France. He asked Ivan Vsevolozhsky, director of the imperial theaters, to postpone the deadline for the opera and the ballet for a year. At this time he wrote:

The prospect of exhausting work and a pressing deadline has begun to frighten me. Here in Rouen, I have to make a great effort and muster all my strength in order to work. The result is something insipid, dry, ridiculous, and foul. This thought torments me to the point of tears. I am in despair.

Vsevolozhsky allowed him to suspend work on his commissions, but fate had a heavy blow in store for Tchaikovsky. On the eve of his departure for the United States, the composer read in the newspapers about the death of his sister, Alexandra Davydova. When he left Europe on April 6, he was in a state of grave depression.

But, unexpectedly, the eight-day voyage across the Atlantic and his new surroundings in the United States relieved his anguish.

In America, Tchaikovsky conducted four concerts in New York and gave performances in both Baltimore and Philadelphia.

The 25 days that Tchaikovsky spent in America were as cloudless and happy as the previous three months had been dark and dismal. The United States impressed him at first sight. He was carried away by the country's technical achievements, which were far more advanced than those in Europe—the skyscrapers, the telephones, the elevators, the electric lights, and the hospitality. He wrote:

American life, habits, and customs are very interesting and original. At every step I see something great and enormous, especially in comparison with Europe. Life is bustling here, and although it is guided chiefly by profit, Americans are quite sensitive to art.

The Russian composer was hailed everywhere. He received requests from all over America to send his autograph. In one of his letters home, he wrote:

I am caressed, praised, and adored here. I see that in America I am 10 times more famous than in Europe. When I was told about this before, I thought it was exaggerated courtesy. But now I see that it was the truth. Some of my pieces that are still unknown in Moscow are performed here several times a season, and reviews and critiques are published afterward. I am a more important person here than in Russia.

Almost a hundred years after the event, it is not so hard to see why Tchaikovsky, and not some other composer, was invited for the opening of Carnegie Hall. The color and warmth, the melodic richness, and the openly emotional quality of Tchaikovsky's music, as well as its democratic idiom, proved to be consonant with the American character. Besides, many common features of the Russians and Americans also account for the composer's popularity at home and overseas. Tchaikovsky wrote about the Americans' friendliness in his diary, "You can see the same only in our country."

The American journey saved him from a nervous breakdown and bolstered his creative potential. Within the next two years, the last two years of his life, he wrote his great works *The Nutcracker*, *Iolanthe*, and Symphony No. 6.

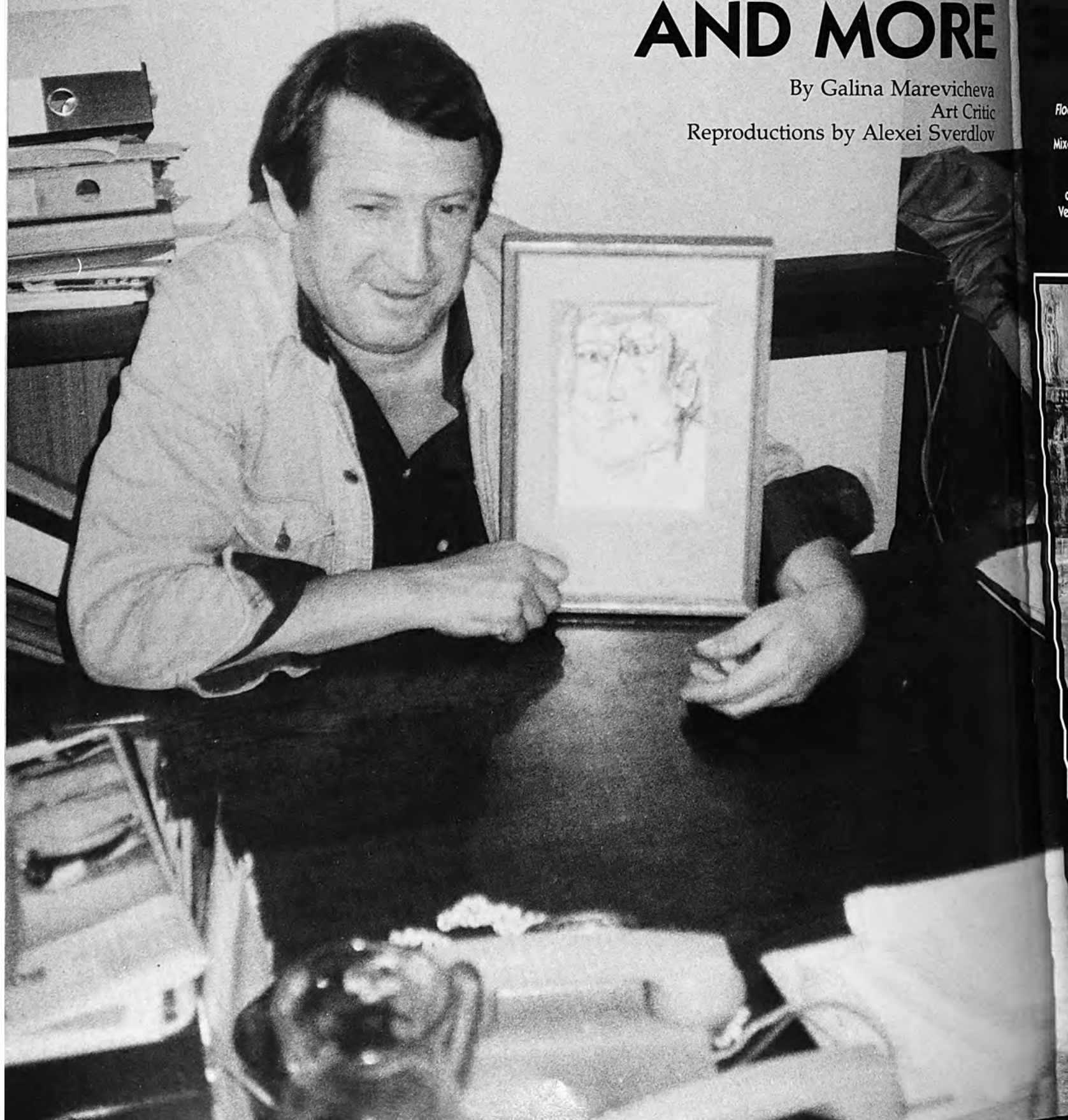
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NIKOLAI SMOLYAKOV: A LAYOUT MAN AND MORE

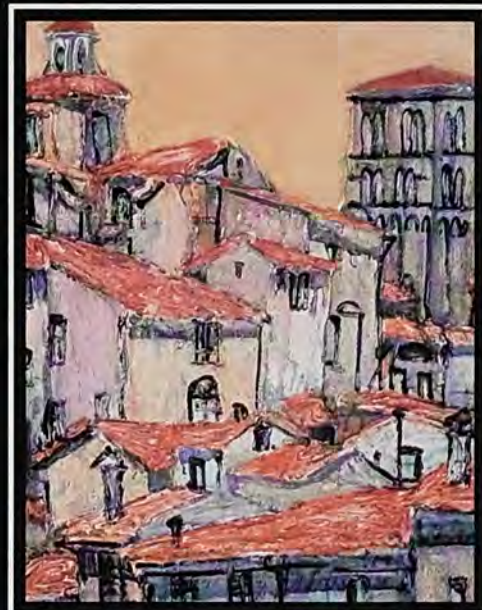
By Galina Marevicheva

Art Critic

Reproductions by Alexei Sverdlov



Flood on the Po River. 1969. Mixed media. Far right: Roofs. 1969. Oil on canvas. Below: Venice. 1969. Oil on canvas.



You may have been familiar with Nikolai Smolyakov's work for years without realizing it. That's because Smolyakov has worked on this magazine for two decades. But he isn't just a layout artist who reports to the magazine's editors. On the contrary, he's often the one who comes up with the breakthrough idea for a whole issue of SOVIET LIFE.

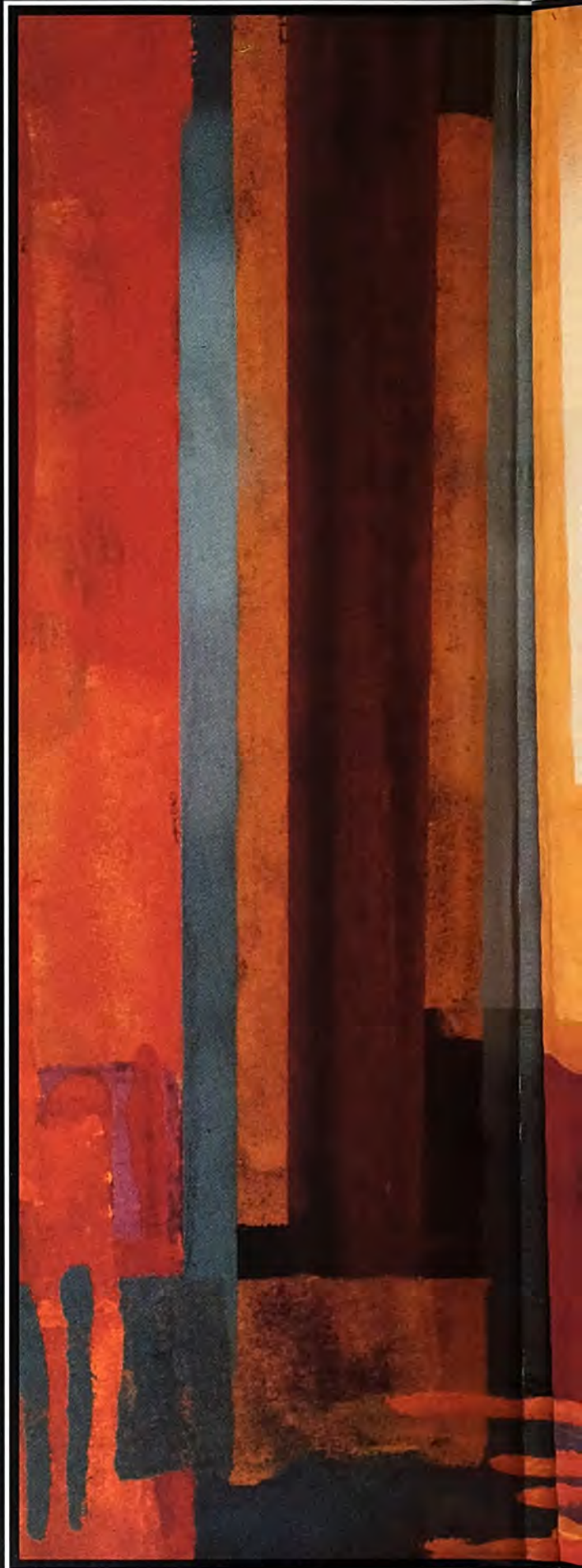
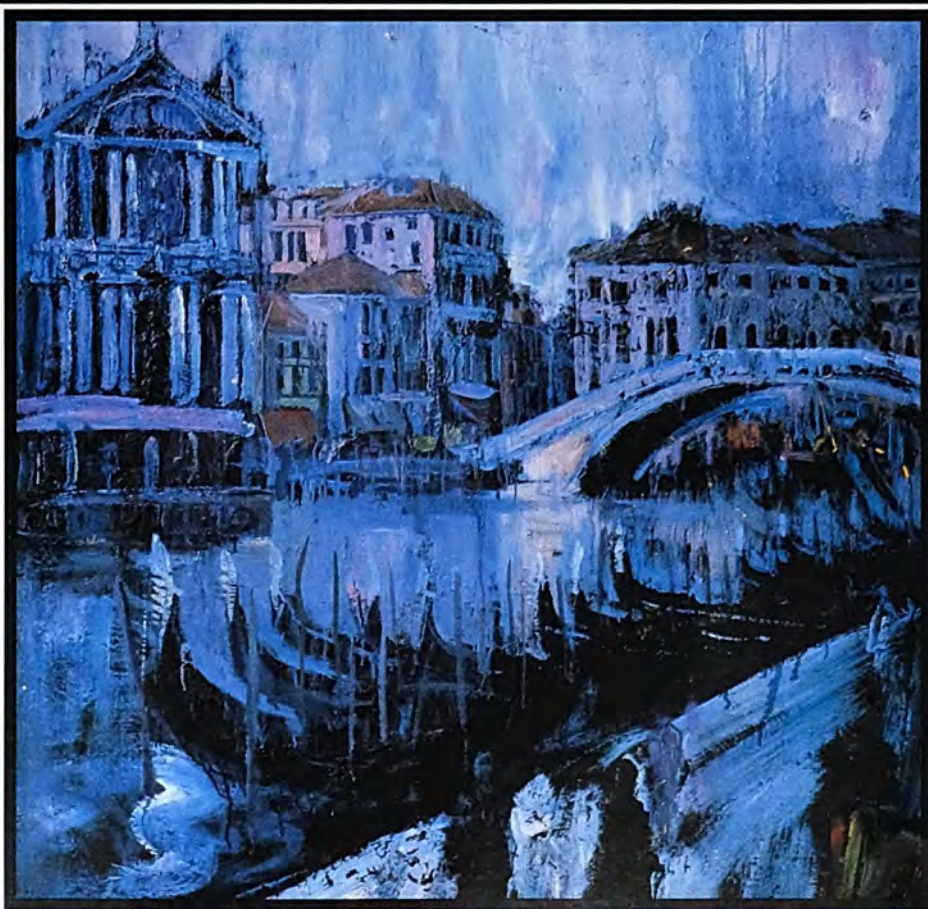
Rather than merely providing illustrations, Smolyakov unfolds the main idea of the issue visually, from article to article. In developing the design, he always proceeds from an over-all concept, in order to create a sense of unity from page to page.

As an artist, Smolyakov has developed a style that is as personal as handwriting. The drawings and paintings in which he records his impressions present this personal image most vividly. In Smolyakov's sketches, we find not only the happiest discoveries of his long artistic career but also the continual attempts to enrich his artistic language and to expand on his achievements. In his graphic art, we sense strains of fantasy and open possibility. In his canvases, we see that the very basis of his artistic perception lies in his inner feelings. The paintings that convey his impressions of his travels in Italy in 1969, for instance, reveal exceptionally powerful emotion.

Few of Smolyakov's paintings are heavily loaded with colorful pigments. Instead, we usually feel that his brush has lightly glided over the surface of the canvas. His technique



▲ *Florence*. 1969. ▼ *Gondolas*. 1969. Both oil on canvas.

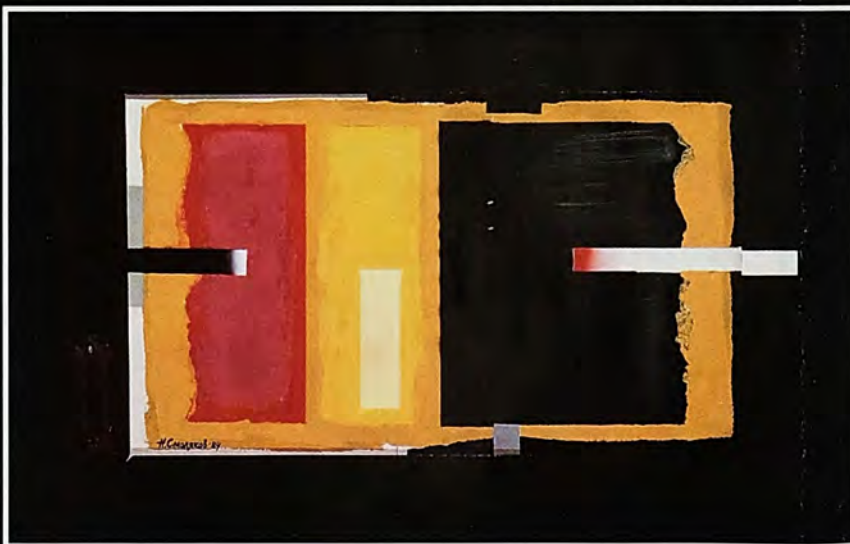




◀ *In a Church*. 1989.

▲ *Corrida*. 1989.

▼ *Exit*. 1989. All tempera, gouache on canvas.



has undergone changes, however, as he has experimented through the years under the influence of new ideas. The dynamic growth of his compositions is sometimes captured in moving colors that breathe life into a momentary impulse.

The *Cabaret* series (see back cover) centers on a subject the artist often returns to and enriches with fresh imagination. Notice the dexterity, the confidence of his strokes, the whirlwind of color—all executed with an apparent spontaneity, free of affectation. In the work of Smolyakov we can see the inspiration of a lively mind, a light hand, and an indisputable talent. ■

Russian America

By Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski
Professor, City College of New York

MISS RUSSIAN AMERICA PAGEANT



Clockwise from right: On the road to Fort Ross. Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski. Innokenti Venlaminov, descendant of St. Innokenti, with his grandson. Museum of family life.



In September a Miss Russian America contest will be held in Peoria, Illinois.

Why Russian America? Russian America, provocative as the name may sound, does not allude to a takeover of the United States. On the contrary, it refers in part to a U.S. takeover of Russian territory. Russia owned it for 126 years. Its name was not Alaska until the United States bought it in 1867. Americans by and large are apt to forget that the forty-ninth state, Alaska, was first explored and settled by Russians, who left a definite mark on the vast northwest.

In the past few years the theme of Russian America—the history of Alaska, California, and even the Hawaiian Islands—has become very popular. However, the current period of improving relations between the United States and Russia is not an historical anomaly. Many examples of dialogue and interaction between the two countries exist in the distant past. Russia supported America in its struggle for independence from the British Crown. During the Crimean War, American doctors worked in the besieged Russian city of Sevastopol. Residents of what is now California may have read the sentimental pages in the diary of Maria de la Concepcion Arguello, the beautiful daughter of the Spanish commander of San Francisco, and her romance with Nikolai Rezanov, a young Russian nobleman and adviser to the czar.

In Alaska and the nearby islands (Pribilof, Aleutian, Kodiak), the indigenous peoples remember Father Veniaminov, St. Innokenti, who brought literacy, education, and medical assistance among other things to the native Eskimo.

When the Russians emerged on the Alaskan frontier in 1741, adventurers, traders, and pioneers had already been fighting their way across Siberia for two centuries. In search of furs, the Russians traveled in small ships and leather kayaks as far as San Diego, California. Russian whalers reached Hawaii, where it has been recorded that they celebrated their friendship by feasting and dancing with Hawaiian warriors.

Russians also worked with French-Canadian trappers in the Colorado

Rocky Mountains. They rode with Kit Carson and John Frémont as members of the California Battalion of Mountain Volunteers in 1846, and they were among the first gold rushers in 1889.

Russian America, a U.S.-Soviet film coproduction, is another testimony to the friendly relations between the two countries. Moscow film makers have joined hands with the American-based Slavic American Cultural Association to produce a feature-length historical documentary, *Russian America: A Page of American History*.

The film will focus on a "vast panorama of history, including the story of various friendships between Russian emperors and American presidents, of an American president spying for a Russian emperor, of the romance of a Russian prince and an Indian princess, combined with numerous adventure scenes chronicling years of pirating and fur trading. The film will not only show history, but most probably make history. It will portray Russians and Americans as they have never been portrayed before, in the building of the 'other frontier.'"

The current interest in the history of Russian America includes not only scholars, but many ordinary American citizens as well. In order to satisfy that interest, I decided to shoot a documentary about Russian America with Soviet film makers. I wanted to preserve this page of American as well as Soviet history. It will live again on the screen. Russian America is still very much with us and will continue to live as long as there are people interested in the history of America and of Russia.

The documentary was announced at the 1989 International Film Festival in Hollywood. Articles about the project appeared in the *Hollywood Reporter*; in *Pravda*, *Moscow News*, *Komsomolskaya pravda*, *Sovietskaya kultura*, *Moskovsky komsomolets*, *Izvestia*, and other newspapers.

Based entirely on documents, memoirs, and letters of Russian and American explorers, political figures, and traders, the film is set against the backdrop of Russian exploration of Alaska, the Pacific Northwest, and California from 1770 to 1890. It will

be produced in two parts by both Russian and American units. The feature will be shot in Russian for worldwide release, although no distribution arrangements have been concluded. Current plans call for dubbing the film in English (rather than using subtitles) for its American theatrical release. The first shooting has been completed in Zagorsk and will continue in Moscow, Leningrad, and Siberia, followed by American locations in Alaska, California, Hawaii, and New York.

Russian America, a very specific account of the Russians' place in American history, will be the real story about our past, and it will be a step toward bringing closer together the Russians and the Americans. The movie will emphasize how much of the United States was first explored by the Russians.

In order to bring our two nations even closer, we have decided to sponsor a Miss Russian America contest. The contest will emphasize the intellectual and spiritual qualities of the contestant rather than her physical appearance. The first prize for the winner on the Soviet side is a trip to the United States, where she will visit New York, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Fort Ross, Hollywood, and other places. The contest will be filmed and will become a part of the movie *Russian America*. A number of organizations and business enterprises have offered to sponsor this contest. The American sponsors include the Slavic American Cultural Association, the American Russian Heritage Association, PAN AM, and Hilton Hotels.

A similar contest will also take place in the United States for an American citizen, whose winner will travel to the USSR to visit Moscow, Leningrad, and other Russian cities. Contestants must be a citizen of each respective country, must be between 16 and 25 years of age, and must exhibit a good knowledge of and interest in Russian and American history as well as an ability to represent their country abroad. The contest is set for May in Moscow; a similar contest will be held in Peoria, Illinois, in September. A panel of judges will comprise citizens in various fields, including the movie industry and academia.

REBIRTH OF A MONASTERY

By Valeri Dyomin
Photographs by Oleg Makarov

*Thousands of people
came to the famous
Optina Pustyn
Russian Orthodox
monastery to
celebrate the
discovery of the
relics of St. Ambrose.*

Optina Pustyn at a distance.





Above left: Archimandrite Yevlogi, father superior of Optina Pustyn. Above: Only a few monks now live at the monastery, where restoration is still under way.

The holiness of Optina Pustyn gives us hope for the holiness of all of Russia, without which we Russians cannot imagine living," said the well-known Soviet writer Valentin Rasputin during the millennial celebrations of Christianity in Russia in 1988.

During those celebrations the famous Russian Orthodox monastery Optina Pustyn was restored for prayer and worship after 65 years of oblivion and desolation. The monastery, which stands in a remote corner of Kaluga Region, 270 kilometers southwest of Moscow, has long been venerated by believers as the very heart of Russian monasticism.

For many years the monastery had been in the possession of an agricultural technical school. In the winter of 1987, soon after the Soviet Govern-

ment's decree on returning Optina Pustyn to the Russian Orthodox Church, the first monk, Father Josef, was sent here with a novice and a dozen workers. A deplorable sight met their eyes: Ramshackle churches whose crosses and cupolas had been removed spoke eloquently of six decades of neglect and vandalism. A roaring diesel engine shook the sooty, cracked walls of the altar in the Cathedral of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin in the Temple. Frescoes showing through the soot—the stylized face of a saint, a blessing hand, the childish foot of an angel—were silent, heart-rending monuments to the epoch of Stalinism. Three other churches in the monastery were also in terrible disrepair. The Church of the Blessed Virgin of Vladimir and a belfry that had once dominated the local landscape had been razed.



Donations for the restoration keep coming in from all over the USSR.



Top: Volunteers came from all over the country to help. Above: Archimandrite Yevlogi appointed historian-archeologist Sergel Belyayev (right) to head the work.

Local resident Ulyana Gaidukova, 83, is one of the few people still alive who remembers the monastery from the days before it was closed down in 1923. She described how a huge bell, weighing about a ton and a half, was cut down from the belfry. "It fell down, but it didn't break—only a little piece broke off. Then they started pounding it with sledgehammers. We heard it ring for a week," she told me.

Before that, the famous bell could be heard for miles around, asserted Yekaterina Selivestrova, from the village of Parfyonovo, who had listened to its music every morning and night. "How happy I am, young man! I didn't think I'd see this happen in my lifetime!" This tiny old woman's withered face, framed by a neat white kerchief, shines with joy. She walked by my side in the solemn cross-bearing procession.

Today the monastery's 40 monks represent only one-tenth of the number that lived there in czarist times. And the bells of the reconstructed Optina are less impressive than the one that was destroyed. But the new bells' joyful sound daily informs the people of the glad event.

The procession that Selivestrova and I took part in was the first of its kind since the 1920s. Until recently the authorities allowed them to be held only near churches. Passers-by could not believe their eyes as a group of people carrying gonfalons and burning candles and singing prayers went past. Selivestrova walked along, weeping with happiness and trying not to lag behind the procession.

In accordance with a newly revived Orthodox tradition, worshipers brought the venerated icon of Our

Lady of Kaluga, believed to perform miracles, to the monastery. It was with this event that the first celebration of Optina's revival began, on October 23, 1988.

"It turned out to be beautiful!" a woman we met said in surprise. Later she told me that she was a teacher from Kazakhstan, in Central Asia, who had come to visit her relatives in the nearby town of Kozelsk. There she had learned about the procession and had decided to walk in it. She gave me only her first name, Nadezhda. Haunted by fears, no longer justified, of openly acknowledging her interest in religion, she is in a quandary: "Does it befit a Soviet teacher?"

"The singing, icons, and faces are fabulous.... And I told my pupils that all this is obscurantism. Why did I do that?" she asks herself. Now that common human values are officially

In the Orthodox Church, the unearthing of a saint's remains is a very solemn ritual, accompanied by prayers and hymn singing.



declared to be the state's priorities, now that several hundred churches have been reopened in the Soviet Union, and the festive millennial service has been televised, this question puzzles more than just this provincial chemistry teacher, who had come to see the procession out of curiosity.

Some 5,000 believers came to Optina to celebrate the discovery of the relics of one of the nine recently canonized Orthodox saints. St. Ambrose, "the miracle performer of all Russia," was one of Optina's renowned startsy. These were wise monks who were believed to possess supernatural gifts and were sought after as spiritual counselors. Attending the event were pious women, prominent cultural figures, and teenagers, the very same students at the above-mentioned school who not long ago lounged in the monastery yard.

The last celebration of this kind took place in Russia 87 years ago, in 1903, when the relics of St. Seraphim of Sarov (d. 1833) were found.

"The significance that a saint has for the Church is determined by his or her life," I was told by the monastery stoker, Brother Vyacheslav, 35. This archetypal broad-shouldered Slavic athlete was assigned to be our guide. He must have been chosen because he is still a novice—monks are not supposed to talk much. I observed that the monastery's brethren were exceedingly well educated.

"So, who are the startsy, and why were they so important for Russia?" A knit cap pulled down low on his brow, Brother Vyacheslav rubs his hands, black with coal dust, to warm them. "A wise monk is not necessar-

ily an old man, although 'starets' means 'elder' in Russian. As we know, monasticism is the supreme form of man's love for God, and the startsy phenomenon is the supreme form of monastic life. It is a special charisma that a person may be endowed with after years and years of incessant spiritual endeavor. It consists in profound humility, self-sacrifice, and inner harmony.

"The startsy were sometimes rewarded with any combination of several other charismata as well, including clairvoyance. This is not equivalent to what is called today a 'bioenergetic field' or 'extrasensory perception.' The starets's vision of a person's soul, past, and future is subordinate to his moral and spiritual forces. Wise monks were never elected, as their holy mission was not a rank to be elevated to. To use the modern vernacular, they were Orthodoxy's 'unofficial leaders,' and their relations with the Church and secular administration were not cloudless."

To be honest, I was surprised to learn from Brother Vyacheslav that monks were often persecuted in czarist Russia as well, beginning with the Petrine reforms. There was a period when hermits had to hide from the police in the empire's outlying areas and remote forests. The government once issued a decree to close Optina down, but it was soon reopened.

"When the persecution was over, our monastery became a cup that collected the precious spiritual wine of Russian Orthodoxy, to use a metaphor from a book about Optina," Brother Vyacheslav continued. "For more than a century, it nurtured a whole galaxy of wise monks. Thou-

sands of pilgrims seeking spiritual solace flocked here. The wise monks' spiritual endeavor set brilliant examples of service to the nation. Theirs was not only a moral, but a physical feat as well: For instance, the rigorous ascetic rules of monastic life prescribed that they sleep no longer than three hours. And can we measure the burden of other people's sins, which wise monks often shouldered? A secluded cloister was built inside the monastery for them in 1822, and the great Optina startsy served the community of believers until 1923."

We are standing between two churches—one freshly whitewashed, the other roofless, with yawning dark windows. A fence frames the area where wise monks' tombs are located.

Now we are talking in whispers, as we stand in the church where vespers are celebrated.

"Nikolai Gogol and Leo Tolstoy also visited this place," my guide went on to say. "Today people know about Optina mostly because writers frequented it. There's even a special museum here. Yet people seem to forget that the writers all came for advice and consolation."

"We have lit the luminous icon-lamp of this holy cloister!" Archimandrite Yevlogi, Optina's father superior, declared in his sermon for the exhumation of St. Ambrose's relics.

From my talks with workers, novices, and monks, I already knew what great moral and physical effort was behind this statement. Donations from this country and abroad to restore the monastery already total 700,000 rubles. Among them were 50 kopecks that an unknown woman mailed in an envelope. ■

GORBACHEV

Continued from page 23

- New methods of handling many social problems, especially damage to people's health as a result of damage to the environment.
- All possible support for scientific research and fundamental studies of the biosphere and its ecosystems.
- Acknowledging the priority of universal human values and making ecology a part of education from an early age, molding a new, contemporary attitude toward nature and, at the same time, returning to humankind a sense of being a part of nature. No moral improvement of society is possible without that.

We have already begun a major overhaul of the entire system of nature conservation in this country. Specific programs have been adopted or are being drawn up for individual regions and sites. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR has passed the resolution "On Emergency Measures to Improve the Ecological Situation in the Country." Work is almost completed on the draft of a national long-term program for environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources, which provides for the gradual attainment by the year 2000 (in some cases by 2005) of a standard quality of the environment, the preservation of the diversity of biological resources, and the working out of scientifically sound standards for the use of natural resources.

The ecological situation is different in every country. Many countries have accumulated valuable experience in nature conservation, and we believe that any successful experience deserves general attention and practical use. The ecological crisis we are experiencing today is tragic but convincing proof that the world we all live in is interrelated.

This means, however, that we need an appropriate international policy in the field of ecology. Only if we formulate such a policy will we be able to avert catastrophe. True, the elaboration of such a policy poses unconventional and difficult problems, which sometimes affect the sover-

eignty of states. Yet a solution can be found, but only through cooperative effort and a search for consensus. Many interesting proposals about ways to formulate a global ecological policy have been put forward at this forum. I assure you that we will study them all. In principle, the Soviet Union is in favor of working out, as soon as possible, an international program to save the biosphere and restore its vitality. Here are our main ideas.

First: The Soviet Union fully supports the nature conservation plans and actions of our global universal organization, the United Nations, and its bodies. We want the UN Conference on the Environment and Development, which is to be held in Brazil in 1992, to be conducted at the summit level. It would be right if that conference discussed the question of drafting an international code of ecological ethics. It should be binding on all countries and it should contain common standards for a civilized attitude toward nature. Such an action would symbolize the willingness of the international community, represented by its top leaders, to arrange life in the twenty-first century in accordance with new laws. The 1992 conference could also adopt a global program of action on environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources.

Second: The Soviet Union finds it necessary to develop an international legal mechanism for protecting unique natural zones of global importance. This refers especially to the Antarctic. The thick Antarctic ice cap is an invaluable treasury of the earth's past, of its geological and ecological history. Significantly, the Antarctic was the world's first nuclear-free zone and the first territory ever to be made fully open for international research programs. The Soviet Union shares the concern of many scientists and public figures over the exploitation of the Antarctic's natural resources. Our grandchildren will never forgive us if we fail to preserve this phenomenal ecological system. The USSR is ready to join the program to create a life-support system for the Antarctic—a nature preserve that belongs to the world and is our common laboratory.

Third: The Soviet Union believes that the world is in urgent need of an international mechanism for technological cooperation in nature conservation. Our civilization is indivisible and demands united efforts in this area as well. We are in favor of developing an international system of exchanging ecologically clean technologies effectively accessible to all nations without any limitations and under the most-favored-nations system. Also, we are ready to open our territory for inspection in order to dispel all fears that technologies might not be used for their correct purpose.

Fourth: The transition to new forms of cooperation worthy of the twenty-first century has highlighted the need to create an international mechanism of ecological monitoring and control. Today, ecological confidence-building measures could be based on the methods, procedures, and instruments similar to those used in arms control, including on-site inspections. We could begin by establishing national preserves.

Fifth: The right to a healthy environment is one of the basic human rights. However, we should also ensure the right of the individual and of groups to participate in drafting ecological policies. The Soviet Union supports this conclusion of the Sofia ecological conference of the states involved in the European process. What is meant here is the completeness and authenticity of ecological information.

Sixth: Last but not least, the Soviet Union believes that the time has come when the limitation of military activity is needed not only to reduce the threat of war but also to protect the environment. The best thing to do here would be to ban all nuclear tests. Before this authoritative international forum, I reiterate the Soviet Union's readiness to ban nuclear tests completely, forever, and at any moment, if the United States does the same.

In conclusion, I would like to say the following: The problems you have discussed and the documents you have adopted are a call for the triumph of the trinity of scientific knowledge, human reason, and universal moral principles. This task is as imposing as it is complicated. I wish all of you and all of us success. ■

LADOGA

Continued from page 28

setting out on a long voyage would lay in a supply of this water, which, in addition to being soft and tasty, remained fresh for a long time. Ladoga's water contains half as much mineral salts as the water of the famous Lake Baikal. Perhaps only Lake Onega, which is connected with Ladoga through the Svir River, can boast greater freshness.

More than 20 years ago, research showed that more nutritious salts flowed out of Ladoga than into it. The lake's natural cleansing mechanism was so efficient that its water became cleaner every year. The inflow of minerals was insignificant enough to make the lake environment suitable mostly for valuable fish species such as salmon and trout. For the more common food fish—pike, perch, bream, and roach—Ladoga's water was too clean in the 1960s.

But it would not be long before the situation changed. As early as the 1970s, researchers were struck by a sharp change in the chemical content of the water. Phosphorus, phenols, and heavy-metal salts were found in progressively greater quantities, as pulp-and-paper mills began to spring up on the shores of the lake.

The Priozersk Pulp-and-Paper Mill was built before the Second World War, and it has been considerably expanded since then. Treatment plants had never been built. The mill uses the pure water of Ladoga and discharges effluents that flow first into the Vuoksa River and then into Lake Drozdovo, turning it into a reeking cesspool. The poisoned water from the overflowing Drozdovo spilled over into Shchuchi Bay, killing the living things in its path. The town of Priozersk had to start importing its water from other places. I remember seeing the pollution pattern from aerial photographs. It spread in a hazy arc from Shchuchi Bay to the Neva estuary.

An accusatory file on Ladoga was compiled by ecologists and had long been circulating among various agencies and ministries before any action was taken to correct the problem. Fi-

nally, however, the decision was made first to close the mill temporarily, and later to regear it toward environmentally benign production.

But even now that those steps have been taken, the problem is far from completely solved. There are still six more facilities like the Priozersk Pulp-and-Paper Mill in the Ladoga basin. The Syassky Pulp-and-Paper Mill alone—the main culprit on Ladoga since the closing of the Priozersk factory—discharges 75 million cubic meters of waste a year, and its treatment plants fall far short of modern standards.

There has been a great deal of talk about the need for adequate treatment plants at pulp-and-paper mills and other polluting factories. This is true, of course, as far as it goes. But it is not enough. It is essential to develop new technologies and to bring about a change in the attitudes of senior industry officials. Admittedly, this process will not be easy. The burden of our past mistakes is still making itself felt.

"The recent heavy rains have been good for Ladoga. They've gone a long way toward diluting the pollutants," said Alexei Tryoshnikov, of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. "But if we get several droughts in a row, their impact will be disastrous. We scientists are expected to make accurate predictions, but surely modern science cannot predict all the implications of human activities. What we can do is to warn of possible dangers. But this, unfortunately, does not always have an effect on the people who make the decisions. The only way to save Ladoga is to focus the efforts of science, industry, and government on the task at hand."

As my conversation with Tryoshnikov went on, it became increasingly clear that Lake Ladoga mirrors the environmental problems of the vast region around it. The Ladoga basin boasts 5,000 lakes and 3,500 rivers. The water flowing into Ladoga accumulates on a vast area of almost 300,000 square kilometers. If the unique lake is to be saved, we must change the whole pattern of the area's industry and agriculture, whose potential is comparable to that of an average European nation.

In addition to pulp-and-paper mills, the Ladoga basin hosts many other factories and plants, livestock farms, and urban centers without sewage treatment facilities.

So what should be done to enable the long-suffering Ladoga to return to normal? The most important problem is that the lake's basin covers several of the country's administrative regions. Ladoga needs one good steward instead of the many useless ones it has now. We need a single coordinating center to ensure the protection and rational use of the resources of the Ladoga Basin.

The fact that Ladoga is under the control of numerous organizations is widely understood to be extremely harmful. Funds set aside for research projected many years into the future are being scattered. Meanwhile, time is running short. There is no guiding center to sort out research priorities. Sadly, the recently formed State Committee for Environmental Protection in Leningrad and Leningrad Region seems hardly capable of controlling the situation, since its basic units are administrative rather than geographic. Considering that the basic environmental challenges in the northwest deal with bodies of water, this division is simply unacceptable.

In 1974 a team of Leningrad scientists called on the Leningrad Region authorities to set up a Neva basin committee. (The Neva basin is actually the same as the Ladoga basin.) The committee was to have comprised scientists, public figures, and members of public interest groups of the northwest region, which includes several administrative divisions. But the proposal came to naught. Now the idea has been revived. At last a decision has been made to establish a coordinating center that will be independent of government departments and will possess real power to control the use of all natural resources in the entire Ladoga basin. The center will provide sound rationale for decisions on environmental management. It is expected to make tentative plans for restructuring the economy of the region and to ensure unflagging compliance with its guidelines. The new body will be open to public scrutiny in its activities. ■



Rostropovich's return to the Soviet Union was "yet another beautiful instance of justice prevailing," said Nikolai Gubenko, USSR Minister of Culture.

By Tamara Grum-Grzhimailo
Photographs by Vladimir Vyatkin

SLAVA IS BACK!

All the cameras in the world seemed to be flashing at Moscow's Sheremetyevo-2 Airport on the day when Mstislav Rostropovich, world-renowned cellist and conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, arrived there with his wife, prominent opera singer Galina Vishnevskaya.

The couple had involuntarily left the USSR 16 years ago. When they returned, they found an atmosphere quite different from that of the 1970s and the people behaving very differently—in those days they had not dared to protest the persecution of the country's greatest talents.

Shortly after their arrival, Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya visited the graves of friends who have died since their departure—Andrei Sakharov, Dmitri Shostakovich, and David Oistrakh—to pay their respects.

Then they met with relatives and friends in the apartment on Ogaryov Street where they had lived with Shostakovich and Aram Khachaturian as their neighbors. Rostropovich was overjoyed when composer Alfred Shnitke gave him the score of his new cello concerto. "I'll start learning it right away," he said.

Later, Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya visited the editorial offices of *Ogonyok* magazine, where they donated one million disposable syringes to a fund to combat AIDS.

At a press conference Rostropovich commented, "We have spent 16 years in the West. Sixteen years is a long time, indeed. We understood when we were stripped of our citizenship that it was for life. I thought about the return of Shalyapin's remains to his country 34 years after his death and hoped that in 50 years or so at least some of my bones would be brought to my homeland. No, I do not compare myself with Shalyapin, that genius of Russia, but you must understand that we thought that no return would ever be possible, either in our lifetime or after death."

Rostropovich looked happy; he still has his legendary energy despite all the strain. This is the man about whom poet Andrei Voznesensky wrote: "Being a philosopher and an excellent manager, he could have become president of a major corporation or of a nation, but he has given himself to Russian culture, and hence, to world culture."

"As a Russian musician, I'm happy to have come here with the National Symphony Orchestra of the United States of America," Rostropovich said. "I'm happy to be playing here both American and Russian music, old and modern. This orchestra, of which I've been the conductor for 13 years, is my musical family. We have achieved some results, and I would like to demonstrate them to my people, to the country where I was born and educated."

An obvious theme running through Rostropovich's interviews and speeches in Russia was his dream of merging in his life and art the different cultures, different nations, old friends and new. Rostropovich's American colleagues describe him as "a great artist and a great Russian."

"We have known friendship of the people in the West," Rostropovich said. "And it would be a great joy to me if our new friends and those friends we still have in Russia united in art, in mutual understanding. In the West we see ourselves as envoys of Russian culture; here, as envoys of Western culture. It seems to me that we have accumulated all the good both here and there. We have become people of the world. When we lost the citizenship of our motherland, we were not naturalized anywhere, though we've been offered citizenship everywhere."

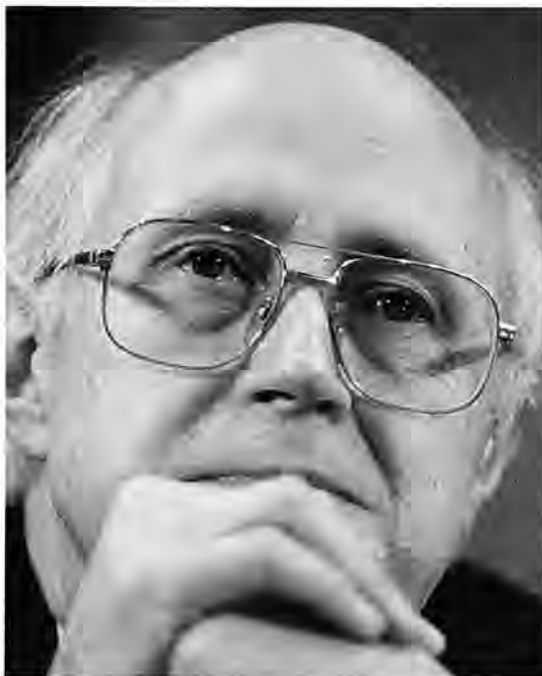
"I told Alexander Solzhenitsyn that people here would be sure to ask me whether he was going to come back or not. He answered: 'Tell our people that I will return, but only when every person in the country can get my books, so they can see what I have done there and in 16 years abroad. When that happens, I will return to my people.'"

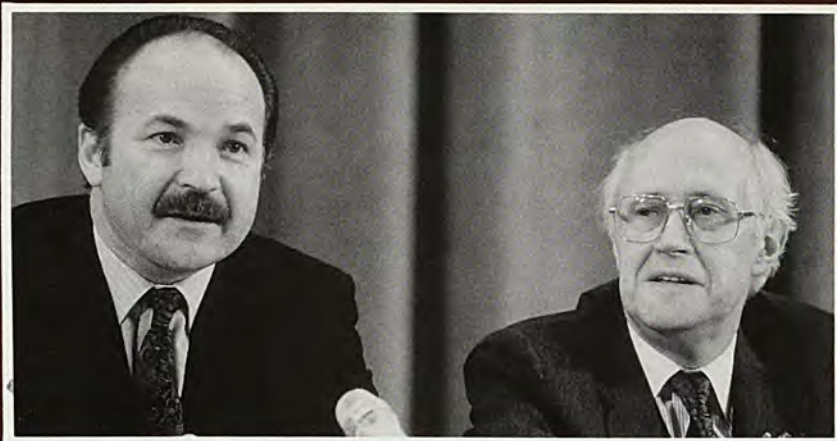
Words fail to describe the first moments of the great musician's reunification with his people. For the first concert on February 13 Rostropovich chose to perform Tchaikovsky's Sixth Symphony, which was on Rostropovich's last program in May 1974 before he left Moscow and his country. And the orchestra captivated the audience from the very first bars of Samuel Barber's *Adagio* with the purity and beauty of its sounds and refinement.

Other program selections included Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony, performed in Moscow, and his Eighth Symphony, performed in Leningrad. These were real masterpieces of interpretation, the orchestra and the conductor demonstrating their virtuoso techniques particularly impressively and making a truly powerful musical statement. Describing Rostropovich's interpretation of Shostakovich's works, a critic wrote: "Every performance of Shostakovich's symphonies by Rostropovich and the National Symphony Orchestra is an event."

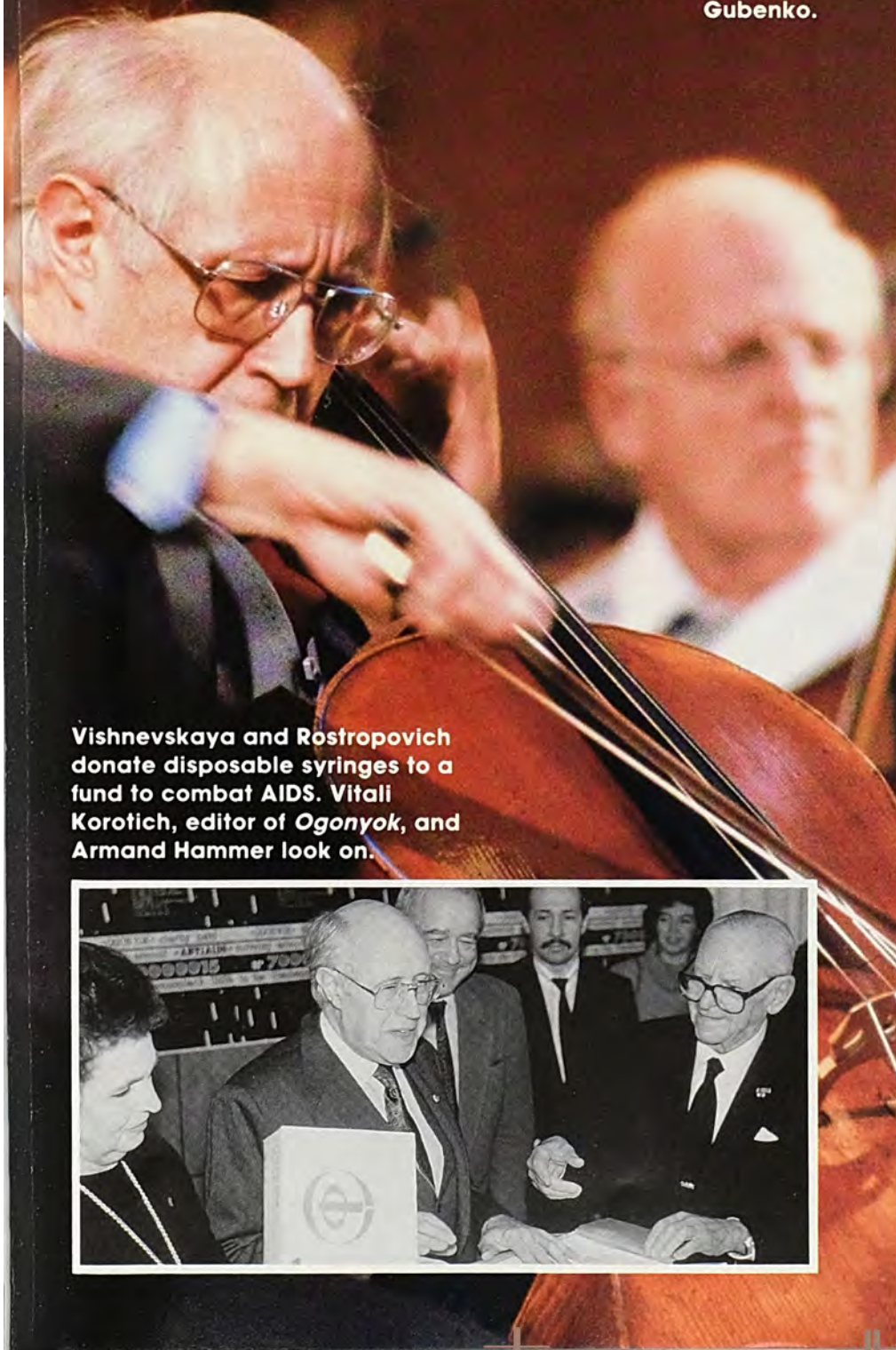
Some people maintain that Rostropovich's achievement as a conductor is even greater today than his achievement as a cellist. "I've always envied conductors; I've always dreamed of a cello having 100 strings," Rostropovich said in the 1960s, when he first tried his hand at conducting. But his performance in Moscow of Dvorak's Cello Concerto was truly masterful. "He transcends technique, and the music is the purest kind of emotion I could ever imagine," said one member of the audience.

Rostropovich has gone West again, but he said he certainly plans to return for a longer visit as soon as he can. ■





Rostropovich and Nikolai Gubenko.



Vishnevskaya and Rostropovich donate disposable syringes to a fund to combat AIDS. Vitali Korotich, editor of *Ogonyok*, and Armand Hammer look on.



**NEXT
ISSUE**



HAMBURGER DIPLOMACY

Muscovites gathered in droves for the arrival of the Golden Arches in Pushkin Square. The crowd of 30,000 on opening day at the Moscow McDonald's, built to accommodate 15,000 a day, surpassed all expectations. The organizers of the joint venture hope to open other outlets around the city.



SUSPICION GIVING WAY TO TRUST

That's the over-all finding of Nikolai Popov, Doctor of Science (History), in his in-depth and eye-opening analysis of opinion polls taken of Soviet citizens on various issues, including the prospects for peace in Europe and in the world.

COMING SOON

The Twenty-eighth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.



Nikolai Smolyakov. *Cabaret*. Tempera, gouache on canvas. 1989. See story on page 50.

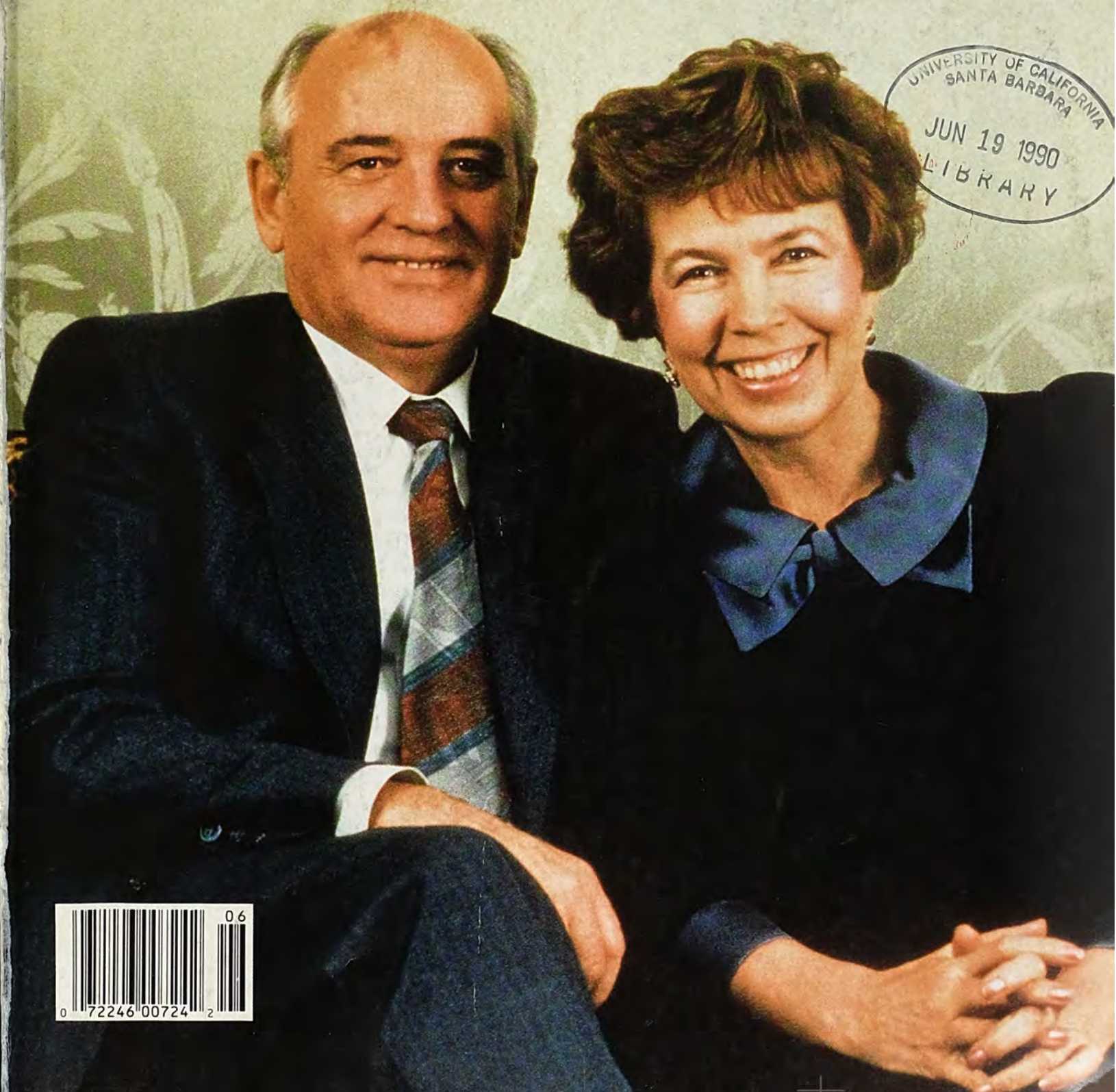
THE GORBACHEVS
Mikhail and Raisa
at home and abroad.

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Soviet Life

June 1990

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To SOVIET LIFE Readers

Dear Friends:

The presidents of the USSR and the United States are meeting in Washington. On this meeting, the people of our two countries pin hopes for a more secure peace, for a continued humanization of international relations, and for an expansion of the Soviet-American dialogue at various levels and in different fields.

There are grounds for optimism. Having begun to disarm, we are moving away from the nuclear abyss. We are overcoming the enemy image in our minds. Having put general humanitarian values above ideological differences, we are coming to respect each other's ideals, way of life, and achievements. I see all this as a transition from confrontation to diversified cooperation.

There were quite a few positive and instructive things in the history of Soviet-American relations. Forty-five years ago the joint struggle of the Soviet and the American people against the Nazis ended in the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition. Although since that time our relations have had their ups and downs, people on both sides have been making tangible contributions to strengthening mutual understanding between our citizens.

Among the people who are fulfilling this honorable mission today are certainly the readers of SOVIET LIFE.

I would like to wish all SOVIET LIFE readers, both veteran and new subscribers, peace, prosperity, and happiness.

Respectfully,
Albert Vlasov
Chairman of the Board
Novosti Press Agency

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Front Cover: The Soviet President and the
First Lady, Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev—the
new image of the country. Stories start on p. 2.



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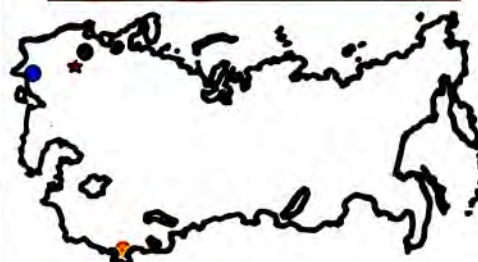
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The Soviet people are looking to their newly elected President for leadership and inspiration as the nation goes through the difficult process of restructuring its economy and enhancing the well-being of its citizens.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

the first Soviet President

On March 15, 1990, Mikhail Gorbachev took the oath as President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics before the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. Gorbachev is the first person to hold this newly established office. In his speech to the deputies he said in part:

"All of us can feel the first real re-

sults of political change here. A system of genuine people's power is being created, and the groundwork is being laid for building a rule-of-law country. A hard, yet vital transition has been started from a centralized state to a full-fledged federation.

"Having launched *perestroika* in this country on the basis of new thinking, we have also come up with a new foreign policy. It altered the

perception of the Soviet Union's role in the present-day world. Most importantly, this was done right at the point of no return, when the world was on the brink of global catastrophe.

"That perilous march of events has been halted, and international relations have begun to be put on the right track.

"In short, Comrades, the turn being executed is of historic significance.



The Soviet leader with Vice President George Bush and President Ronald Reagan on Governors Island, New York, December 1988. Left: With President Bush on Malta, December 1989.

"Some people have expressed fears about the President being able to usurp power.

"Let me assure you, there is no reason for such fears. The Constitution, which is now safeguarded by the powerful, elected body of supreme state authority with real rights—the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet—guarantees this.

"The carefully designed system of

checks and balances, which rules out the possibility of power being arrogated by one person, guarantees this.

"Public openness and political pluralism, which have become realities here, guarantee this.

"The fate of *perestroika* will be largely determined by the way we reshape our federation. As President, I reaffirm my commitment to the country's integrity.

"All of us live in one home—sons and daughters of more than a hundred peoples with various ethnic and cultural backgrounds and unique differences. I believe the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should promote national accord, the spirit of mutual respect, and good-neighborly relations in the country. My supreme goal and duty as President of the Soviet Union are to promote the principles of civil peace and to express and protect the interests of the people.

"In executing my presidential authority, I will rely on the support of our people, their will, moral strength, wisdom, intellect, and common sense."

Academician Stanislav Shatalin, a prominent economist and a member of the Presidential Council, expresses the feelings of many others: "Gorbachev is the first politician we can judge as a human being.

"His very policy unveiled him as a man. . . . A man who has dared to put an end to anonymous responsibility and who has assumed personal responsibility for the future of his



Soon after the devastating earthquake in Armenia in December 1988, the Gorbachevs flew to the disaster site to comfort the grieving victims.

country surely deserves to be trusted."

Mikhail Gorbachev was born and grew up in a peasant family, in Stavropol Territory. His parents and grandparents were peasants. His maternal grandfather, Pantelei Yefimovich, was active in organizing peasants into partnerships to jointly work the land and later into collective farms. He was the chairman of one of these farms for many years.

Mikhail's father, Sergei Andreyevich, and his mother, Maria Panteleyevna, also tilled the land—first on their own peasant plot, then as part of a partnership in jointly working the land, still later on a collective farm and at a machine and tractor station.

Gorbachev's father worked as a machine operator for 40 years and was a decorated veteran of the Great Patriotic War. As a combat engineer, he fought in the Battle for Kursk

Bulge, took part in the liberation of Kharkov and Kiev, and received his first combat decoration, the Medal for Valor, for his part in crossing the Dnieper River. At the end of the war Sergei Gorbachev was wounded in battle near Košice, Czechoslovakia, and received medical treatment in Krakow, Poland. During the war he joined the Communist Party.

"My father was highly respected for his diligence, modesty, and responsiveness," recalled Mikhail. "I'm very proud of him."

Like other peasant children, Mikhail started helping in the fields at a young age. From the age of 13 he worked on a collective farm from time to time. When he was 15, he worked as a harvester operator's assistant at a machine and tractor station, combining his school studies with work in the field.



Growing up in a peasant family and working together with adults from a young age naturally influenced his personality and the development of his world view. After graduating from high school, he enrolled in the Law Department of Moscow State University (MSU) in 1950.

Throughout his five years of study at the university, Gorbachev was active in the Komsomol (Young Communist League). He joined the Communist Party in 1952.

Recalling his university years, Gorbachev said: "I'm grateful to my teachers, to the party and the Komsomol, and to my friends, with many of whom I'm still in touch, for helping me study and for their comradeship and friendship. Those were unforgettable years, years without which I cannot imagine how my destiny would have been shaped."

Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev, née Titorenko, met in 1951, when they were students at the university. Raisa was born in Siberia, in the city of Rubtsovsk, Altai Territory. Her parents worked on the railroad. After graduating from high school with a gold medal, Raisa entered the Philosophy Department at MSU. The couple were married in 1953, and they have been together ever since.

After graduating from the university, Mikhail and Raisa went to work in Stavropol Territory, where Mikhail was born. But Gorbachev didn't work in his law profession for long, as he was soon appointed deputy head of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Stavropol YCL Territorial Committee and after that First Secretary of the Stavropol YCL City Committee. Subsequently, he held many offices in the YCL and in the



party. He has been a member of the CPSU Central Committee since 1971.

While her husband moved up the professional ladder, Raisa Gorbacheva taught at higher educational institutions, wrote and defended her candidate's thesis on the life of collective farm peasants, and became an assistant professor. She has taught philosophy for over 20 years and has worked with students and participated in the activities of the Znaniye Society.

The Gorbachevs have a daughter, Irina, who was born in Stavropol. Irina grew up, attended school, and got married there. Irina and her husband, Anatoli, are physicians. She is a Candidate of Science and a research assistant at a medical institute. Anatoli is an assistant professor and a surgeon. He has worked for the past 10 years at a Moscow city hospital and has defended his thesis on vascular surgery. The Gorbachevs are the proud grandparents of two granddaughters, Kseniya and Anastasia, who were born in Moscow.

Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev live in an apartment in Moscow, and, as President and First Lady, they have the use of state-owned dachas. Neither Mikhail nor any member of his family has ever had a privately owned dacha.

The Gorbachevs meet with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (center) at the Soviet Embassy during a visit to Great Britain in April 1989. Facing page: The President surrounded by reporters at the Congress of People's Deputies, December 1989.

In his spare time, which is a rarity, Mikhail Gorbachev enjoys reading and attending the theater, concerts, and movies. Most of all, he likes to take walks in the forest.

Gorbachev's personal qualities have played a far from minor role in his rise to the presidency. His close acquaintances point out his intellect, swift reaction, powerful memory, debating skills, and charisma. And another thing—a mere five years ago, following the deaths in rapid succession of Brezhnev and Chernenko, those two paragons of stagnation, the Soviet Union stood at a tragic juncture. The direction the country would take was by no means clear. Waiting in the wings to continue with "developed socialism" was Victor Grishin, a proponent of old policies.

The choice of Gorbachev as General Secretary in March 1985 was no guarantee for the future. The party and state machine had put forward

one of their own in the hope that the new man would give the system a facelift without significantly altering it. The subsequent and by and large unexpected "Gorbachev revolution" brought to the fore what is his most important characteristic—his instinct for democracy. Neither the "new thinking" authored by Gorbachev nor *perestroika* would have been possible had he not sensed and then fully understood that there could be no changes in his long-suffering country without democracy and freedom. And these are the key factors of his life and success.

However, being elected President does pose a number of challenges to Gorbachev himself. The public's distrust of the authorities is at an all-time high, not to mention inflation, rising crime rates, and increasing food shortages, causing discontent and disillusionment. By insisting on the rapid introduction of the presidency, Gorbachev has, in effect, assumed a great responsibility for satisfying people's demands and for solving the country's problems. It's a tall order and a hard one to fill, and sometimes it might mean implementing unpopular measures. Nevertheless, Mikhail Gorbachev's election as President is a historic event. ■



"This essay is not so much about Raisa Gorbacheva as about Russian women in general," Kerstin Gustafsson said when she gave her essay to Sobesednik (Interlocutor) for publication. Presented here is a slightly abridged version of that article.



RAISA GORBACHEVA

the first First Lady

Raisa Gorbacheva always keeps three paces behind her husband, and she has good reason for doing so. Many Soviet people think they see too much of her all the same.

Since Nadezhda Krupskaya, Vladimir Lenin's wife, no First Lady in the Soviet Union has been as socially prominent as Raisa. The wives of Nikita Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev, and Yuri Andropov seldom attended ceremonial occasions, and even more rarely did they appear in press photographs. Nina Khrushcheva was the only exception since she accompanied her husband on some of his foreign visits.

Raisa defies the custom. President Gorbachev never ventures out without her, at home and abroad. Some people, including a surprisingly large number of women, consider her presence a thorn in the side. "She should mind her own business," says my Russian friend Lyudmila with a wry smile. "We didn't elect her President; we elected her husband." Others consider her high visibility a victory for women's liberation.

Raisa keeps in the background during official visits but enthusiastically mixes with people in the streets. She's much better at that than her husband. He prefers public addresses. Whenever the President has an important speech scheduled, the First Lady is most likely visiting an art gallery or a school.

She often has surprises up her well-cut sleeve. On one visit to a kindergarten in the Ukraine, for instance, she said that perhaps it would be better if young children stayed at home with their mothers. Characteristically, she corrected herself almost immediately, saying that both parents should attend to the children. It was the first public statement of this sort in the country.

Another, still more unexpected incident happened during the same trip. While her husband was talking to a street crowd, Raisa broke in, "Wait, there are only men here!" She then cut into the crowd to bring an amazed woman from her obscure position in



The camera catches the Gorbachevs in a private moment (top) and with their granddaughters (bottom).

the back to the foreground. "Now we are ready to continue," she announced triumphantly.

I saw Raisa Gorbacheva last at the parade in Red Square on November 7. The First Lady was several steps away from me in the guest stands with her daughter, Irina, and her granddaughters.

Defying a contingent of plainclothes security, members of the press deftly tried to get near the Gorbachevs with their tape recorders and cameras. One American news hound, the cleverest of all, pushed forward with a large bouquet of carnations. He alone made it into the august circle.

"She told me she liked flowers," he reported to us when he returned to the flock. But, to his regret, she had brushed aside his political questions, smiling, "Perhaps, if you have more flowers next time, I'll tell you more."

Even that was a victory, though. On similar occasions before, she had allowed herself only to be photographed without saying a word.

Raisa Gorbacheva is known for dressing in good taste. On official visits, when every step the Gorbachevs take is shot for Soviet television, she changes three or four times a day.

"Very tactless of her," says Svetlana, another one of my Russian friends, "to dress up when the rest of the country is living from hand to mouth! It's shameful."

As rumors have it, Raisa is crazy about jewelry. I'm not so hard on her as her compatriots for this forgivable touch of vanity. Anyway, she is growing older with dignity and is avoiding facelifts.

The ideal Soviet woman, at least in the European part of the Soviet Union, the area of the country with which I'm most familiar, is a Russian aristocrat, slender, with chiseled features. Soviet ladies are, as a rule, femininity incarnate, dressed as if for court presentations, swaying on high heels, hands manicured. God help you if you don't have these attributes of gentility. A grandmother once addressed me as "kiddie" in a store.

Raisa Gorbacheva is a woman from head to toe, every inch the perfect lady.

Academically, Raisa has more degrees than her husband. She defended her thesis in philosophy and went on to teach at Moscow State University after he joined the Politburo. She was one of the first Soviet researchers to study working women. Her doctoral dissertation about rural life in Stavropol Territory (Northern Caucasus) emphasized the low social status of country women. Without a trace of scholarly equanimity, she described the peasant women slaving in the fields while the men received technical training to operate large farm machinery.

At present, Raisa Gorbacheva is devoting her time to community work. As the vice president of the Soviet Culture Foundation, she attends all monument-laying ceremonies and exhibition openings. Whatever she does, she means to prove that Soviet women should stay away from manual labor.



Raisa Gorbacheva mingles with East Berliners during a visit to the German Democratic Republic in 1989.



While visiting the Federal Republic of Germany with her husband in June 1989, Raisa Gorbacheva meets with an average German family.

Russian men think women are weak and defenseless. One day, a man firmly gripped my elbow as I was stepping off a bus. I gazed at him in horror, sure that he was after my handbag. But no, he only meant to be helpful.

Mikhail Gorbachev always takes into account his wife's opinions, including political ones. The whole country knows how strongly she opposed, from the start, the hare-brained project to divert Siberian rivers southward to irrigate vast, arid areas. With the nationwide Green effort, the project was shelved—many people hope, for good.

After the editor of the monthly *Rabotnitsa* (*Working Woman*) wrote to the First Lady about the poor quality of care at women's health clinics, that is, the absence of painkillers and disinfectants, Raisa had a serious talk with her husband. On his initiative, 40 per cent of all medical allocations are now channeled into maternal and child health care.

Women account for over one-half of the able-bodied Soviet population. As automation reduces the number of workers needed in factories and plants, demands to drive women out

of the workplace and back into the home become louder and louder. According to opinion polls, over 30 per cent of all Soviet women would prefer to be homemakers if they could afford it. Not one woman who was polled wanted men to assume any household chores. Evidently, patriarchal patterns are deeply rooted in the Soviet mind and meet no opposition.

Immediately after the October 1917 Revolution, Soviet legislation proclaimed the equality of the sexes. Yet, it remains true only on paper to this day. The higher men climb on the career ladder, the more women they leave behind. Women account for close to 30 per cent of the country's Communists, but only six per cent hold elected party offices of any rank. The Politburo of the Central Committee cannot boast even one woman who has full membership, while only one is an alternate member—Alexandra Biryukova, the only Soviet woman to hold the office of minister.

Social leadership is firmly sexist. The only woman ambassador is the exception that emphasizes the rule. Once the Soviet Union had Alexandra Kollontai, the world's first woman ambassador, yet decades passed be-

fore another woman received an ambassadorial appointment in the country. There are no women news analysts, no editors in chief of national newspapers, and only one woman in the vast Soviet press corps scattered around the world.

Women once accounted for one-third of the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Now that showcase election quotas have been forgotten, that number has fallen to a mere 15 per cent. The figure would have been even smaller had it not been for the right of public organizations, including the Soviet Women's Committee, to nominate their delegates.

Will Raisa Gorbacheva help improve the situation of Soviet women? In a sense, her public image plays into the hands of the conservatives as the nation sees her as a model wife, a fashionable art lover, and an exemplary mother—the retrograde Ideal Woman.

But with time, this ideal may become what is suited to the Soviet community. You can never tell. ■

Kerstin Gustafsson, 30, is a Moscow correspondent for the Swedish magazine Norskensflamman.

**USSR****USA**

PROSPECTS FOR THE 1990s

**Sergei Volovets,
SOVIET LIFE observer,
interviews Nikolai
Shishlin, foreign policy
expert of the Central
Committee of the
Communist Party of
the Soviet Union.**

Q: In the 1980s the Soviet Union had, or seemed to have, a strategy of relations with the United

States based on negotiations and agreements on nuclear arms reduction. What do you think will be the strategy of relations between the two countries in the 1990s?

A: Some might disagree with me, but I believe disarmament is going to be the main issue between the two countries in future as well. I mean all kinds of weapons—nuclear, conventional, and chemical. There has been some progress, but I repeat: Disarmament must be our top priority.

The way political relations with the United States are developing is very satisfying. Now we are listening to each other—rather than just stating our positions to each other—and we are beginning to understand each other better. That's why I think the evidence of our working together in the political field is already visible. When the Soviet Union and the United States can openly take similar positions, say, on the situation in Lebanon, this signifies a very promising departure from the usual practice.

There is no doubt that cultural and spiritual ties between the two countries are going to expand dramatically

as well. As you know, the existing air links between the USSR and the USA are already insufficient for the growing people-to-people exchanges. And, of course, our capability of accommodating our American guests is still very limited.

Q: Over-all, you're optimistic, right?

A: Yes and no. I see major problems in economic relations—not because the United States still has the traditional COCOM restrictions on trade with the Soviet Union and not because the United States has not yet abandoned the Jackson-Vanick Amendment. That amendment is doomed, and I hope we'll hear about its elimination before or during the next meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush.

But for economic relations to expand dramatically between the countries, the necessary conditions should be created by both the American and the Soviet sides. And here, we do have serious problems.

As a matter of fact, hundreds or even thousands of protocols of different intentions have already been signed with American business people. Unfortunately, signing the protocols of intentions is usually as far as we get. This is a result both of the existing restrictions in the United States and, to a considerable degree, of our inability to enter the American market, our economic woes, and our lack of competitive goods that we could offer on the American market.

Anyway, I am far from being pessimistic because this area too has potential. We present our economy in such a poor light that many people simply do not know what we could offer the American market. Americans have only a faint idea of the level of Soviet science and technology. And,

of course, joint efforts in these fields could lead to breakthroughs, but that will take time.

So my point is that we need to gradually develop cooperation and interaction in the 1990s. Prospects here are limitless.

Q: Don't you think we are still being hamstrung by ideological considerations? For example, could that be why the idea of granting business concessions is still unpopular in this country, while back in the 1920s Lenin considered the idea one of the most promising forms of economic cooperation with the West?

A: The economic ignorance of Soviet managers is to blame. Unfortunately, they have a poor understanding of the laws of the market, or of how foreign trade and relations with partners should be conducted, and, of course, they are afraid of their own fears. Here I think there's a future today for developing business concessions—taking into account new features in both the Soviet economy and in American capital. I don't see any danger of our selling out our national resources or of our experiencing a loss of face. One should distinguish between pride and prejudice. I have nothing against pride, but prejudice is an ignorant and a pointless attitude. One shouldn't be afraid of new challenges. One should be open to any new initiatives.

Q: Some people say that, in the search for new relations with the United States, we are losing ground and accepting the American rules of the game—what do you think?

A: Yes, opinions like that are being voiced in this country. However, I think a nostalgia for the great empire underlies them. In the first place, I'm positive that new political thinking as a new philosophy of foreign policy and our realistic attitudes toward international affairs have increased the prestige of the USSR. The Soviet image has never been so close to the values we cherish as it is today.

Second, speaking about foreign pol-



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

icy results, one should measure them in clear terms. For example, has the military threat to this country increased? No, it has been reduced. Do we have more opportunities now to develop mutually beneficial relations with the rest of the world? Yes, we do. Is it in our national interest that the cold war is losing momentum and is practically coming to an end? Yes, this is in our interests. We have much more room to maneuver now, more room to attend to our home affairs.

Analyzing our current relations with the rest of the world, we see a change for the better in all areas.

Q: We repeatedly say that *perestroika* can be successfully completed solely by our own efforts, which is absolutely true. Still the question arises again and again: What kind of assistance could the West, and particularly the United States, offer?

A: As far as I know, the United States does not have a government program of economic assistance to the Soviet Union. Yet, I know that American big business is greatly interested in using the Soviet market's potential and in doing business with us. And their conditions are rather acceptable and beneficial for this country. However, there are two issues. First, we should clearly identify our economy's ailments; otherwise, no cure will help. And second, Americans should have a better understanding of the situation in this country. In turn, we should educate a generation of managers that are competent in contemporary trade, marketing, credits, and banking.

This doesn't mean that Western countries, particularly Western European countries, rather than the United States, cannot work out some useful and effective programs to lessen the pressures on our economy. I think that they could even consider some sort of lend-lease project to help supply consumer goods, including food, to the Soviet market. Their efforts would be handsomely compensated since our country has unprecedented potential, provided that things here are organized in the right way. ■

I just received my first issue of your magazine and must tell you that I am relieved to find that it is much more down to earth than I had expected. Over 35 years ago, I had subscribed to the USSR Information Bulletin (one of your predecessors) and found its content of heroic art and "Socialism-is-the-only-answer" articles much too propagandistic.

I find your current editorial effort to be a better course toward mutual understanding.

Tom Heller
San Bruno, California

I was moved by your tribute to Andrei Sakharov, just as I've always been moved by any story of any man who gives more of his heart than seems humanly possible.

And while I speak of the heart, you—just like the so-called great thinkers in the West—speak of the triumph of reason.

Alexander Gelman further speaks to us all as having no choice other than "reason or death."

But nay, today we have become addicted to reason. We use logical thinking to attempt to solve problems, but these solutions just don't make sense in terms of real living, in terms of the human heart. For instance, we in the West carry on low-intensity conflicts around the globe (where thousands die and, in the resultant anarchy, authoritarianism prevails) with the logical explanation "to make the world safe for democracy." And it could be said that it was logical for your Communist Party to have become overprotective of itself for the betterment of the country after Lenin died.

Andrei Sakharov was a man who used his heart first—and his heart told him to attempt to do the impossible—and his reason second.

Please don't belittle one of the greatest people of this century, this era,

by saying he acted out of reason. Sakharov followed his heart—not his reason—unto death and that is why we love him. And that, Mr. Gelman to the contrary, is the only real choice the rest of us have left: Either we learn to again feel with our hearts and let our hearts direct us—contrary to all logic—or all life will die as love is for all time lost.

Bill Kidd
Kaiser, Oregon

As a new subscriber to SOVIET LIFE, may I compliment you on a fine job of producing a magazine that should do much to further understanding between our two countries. It has been a long time coming, and I believe it's essential if we are to pass a viable world along to our children.

Another essential task of this generation, if we are to pass on this planet in a livable condition, is environmental protection, and I was glad to see that your April issue had an article on that very important topic.

Bob Lindholm
Jefferson City, Missouri

I was happy with the information in the March issue—"Changing Production" by Vasili Petrov—dealing with the subject of conversion of Soviet industries to consumer requirements.

As this changeover takes place, be conscious of the need not to follow too closely the Western way of doing things. Here, I refer to overpackaging; crass advertising, which results in the overpricing of products; and deplorably lax gun control laws, which clearly contribute enormously to serious crime. Also, homelessness and costly health care should be avoided. As your politicians wrestle to reshape the destiny of your country, be aware of the fact that the grass is not always greener on the other side of the street.

Ed Simpson
Ontario, Canada



SOYUZ-APOLLO: LOOKING BACK

By Alexander Tropkin
Photograph by Ivan Tkachev



The first press conference after the historic Soyuz-Apollo flight in 1975. From left to right: Donald Slaton, Alexei Leonov, Thomas Stafford, Valeri Kubasov, and Vance Brand.

The backdrop for their first meeting in 1971 was sad: American astronaut Tom Stafford arrived in Moscow to attend the funeral of Soviet cosmonauts Georgi Dobrovolsky, Victor Patsayev, and Vladislav Volkov, who had died while returning from orbit. Stafford was met and accompanied by Alexei Leonov, the first man to walk in space in 1965.

The two to three days that the men spent together made them friends, although as Leonov recalls, "God knows in what language we communicated." Leonov didn't know a word of English, and Stafford knew only three in Russian. In those days, a joint

Soviet-American flight seemed farther away than the moon.

Hard to say who suggested the daring idea of the USSR-U.S. space exploration in the early 1970s. The two governments supported it, and the idea rapidly began to take shape as a multipurpose space program, which envisaged a joint Soviet-American flight in two similar spacecraft, the *Soyuz* and the *Apollo*, slated for July 1975.

A cosmonaut could only dream of such a mission, and the selection process was tough. The Soviet team included two ace space pioneers—Nikolai Rukavishnikov and Anatoli Filipchenko—and two promising

newcomers—Vladimir Dzhanibekov and Yuri Romanenko. Nobody knew who would actually fly. The men started their active training and English classes more than three years in advance of the proposed flight.

Cosmonauts Alexei Leonov and Valeri Kubasov say they never expected to be included.

"As a head of the Soviet-American program, I handled organizational details and crew selection. Simultaneously, I was training for the *Salyut* space station," Leonov recalls. "Then, one day I got called to the Kremlin, where I learned that I was to head up the Soviet crew on the Soyuz-Apollo Mission. Everyone spoke as if the de-

cision had been made a long time before. I was asked only to find a good flight engineer. I said my old friend Valeri Kubasov would fit the bill."

The six cosmonauts that made up the main and standby crews dove into their English lessons and space training. In Houston, Texas, the cosmonauts discovered that American space technology was very much like the Soviet and that the medical and biological tests were quite similar. Obviously, the scientists and designers in the two countries had walked their own paths and come up with identical results. Practice validated the idea of combining the space research efforts of the Soviet Union and the United States.

In Houston, would-be flight commander Tom Stafford introduced his fellow astronauts Donald Slayton and Vance Brand, who were slated for the Apollo mission. Leonov was glad to see his old friend Tom, a tall and smiling guy. The Soviet cosmonauts immediately nicknamed Vance "Vasya," in Russian style. By that time Vance had made the most progress with the Russian language. The cosmonauts also liked "reliable fellow" Slayton and admired his experience as a World War II pilot. All eyes of the Soviet-American crews were always on Stafford. Long before the joint mission, Stafford, Leonov, and Kubasov had proved totally compatible psychologically. Leonov recalls the time when he and his wife were visiting the Staffords in Oklahoma. Tom's wife had asked him, "How is it that Tom and I have been married for 25 years, yet you seem to understand him better than I do?"

"You should've been on a space mission together," Leonov told her.

Volumes have been written about the Soyuz-Apollo Mission. Books, memoirs, news stories, and magazine articles, including those in SOVIET LIFE, omitted not one detail. Now years later, the flight is seen somewhat in a new light.

Generals Leonov and Kubasov certainly remember the 5 days 23 hours in orbit with the Americans. What do they think of it now?

Alexei Leonov: "In the history of Soviet-American relations, our linkup in space is second to only the linkup



**"I believe our flight
will be considered
the beginning of
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countries. In the
future, humanity will
settle space, and
our flight will be a
reminder of how it
all began."**

Alexei Leonov

on the Elbe, where the victorious Soviet and American soldiers met in 1945. I believe our flight will be the beginning of broad cooperation between our countries. In the future, humanity will settle space, and our mission will be a reminder of how it all began."

Valeri Kubasov: "Back on earth, we learned from newspapers and our Soviet and American friends that during those six days in July 1975 the Soviet and American people closely followed the developments in orbit.

"What other event could have made millions of people forget about their anxieties and rejoice all together? Relations between our countries were not ideal then. The Soyuz-Apollo flight was an impetus for Soviet-American cooperation in science and culture and led to closer contacts between people of different ages and walks of life."

Remarkably, Tom Stafford said nearly the same in the stadium where, together with Ted Turner and Leonov, he opened the Goodwill Games in Moscow in 1986.

Will the Soyuz-Apollo triumph be the height of our countries' space cooperation? Will all forecasts and wishes remind us of Arthur Clarke's fantasies? Of course not.

Time sobers and heals. The Soviet Union and the United States are departing from the gloomy Star Wars prospect, and joint space exploration is gaining momentum. Gladly, Soviet-American programs in solar system research, space medicine, biology, and ecology are being implemented, and the first commercial contracts have been signed.

Although a joint flight to Mars has been postponed for the time being, specialists in both countries agree that it *must* take place. Estimates call for it occurring sometime around the year 2015.

Until then scientists of the two countries will actively cooperate in unmanned Martian exploration and a joint moon-study project. Kubasov feels that joint long-living lunar laboratories and stations are quite feasible in the next 8 to 10 years.

So, it appears that Soviet-American space cooperation is gaining in scope, a hopeful sign. ■



EAST-WEST: FROM SUSPICION TO TRUST

The principal objective of *perestroika* is political and economic reform inside the Soviet Union. *Perestroika*'s early results, however, have been achieved on the international scene. I mean not only the negotiations that have been held and the agreements that have been signed



**Nikolai Popov,
Doctor of
Science
(History),
analyzes
opinion polls
taken in the
country.**

by the USSR and the USA and the USSR and the Western European countries. I mean also the pulling down of the Berlin Wall, both literally and figuratively, the destruction of the enemy image, and the renunciation of ideological cold war stereo-

types about the West in the Soviet press and in Soviet public opinion.

After the détente of the 1970s and the aggravation of the international situation during the war in Afghanistan, a new era of East-West relations seems to be emerging based on trust that reaches beyond diplomacy and into the public mind.

Fear of war, nuclear annihilation, and suspicion of the West used to be the major components of the ideology of totalitarianism, which justified, albeit partially, the Iron Curtain mentality and inflated military budgets, among other things. All this has now been called into question. True, fear and suspicion have not yet disappeared. But new attitudes are taking shape, bred by a more liberal climate inside the country. What is more, the new attitudes are accelerating democratic reform.

Opinion polls have shown the Soviet people to be, as before, greatly interested in international affairs, despite the dramatic changes occurring in their own country. As many as 31 per cent of the Soviet people are "very interested" in foreign policy issues, and 63 per cent are "interested

to a certain extent."

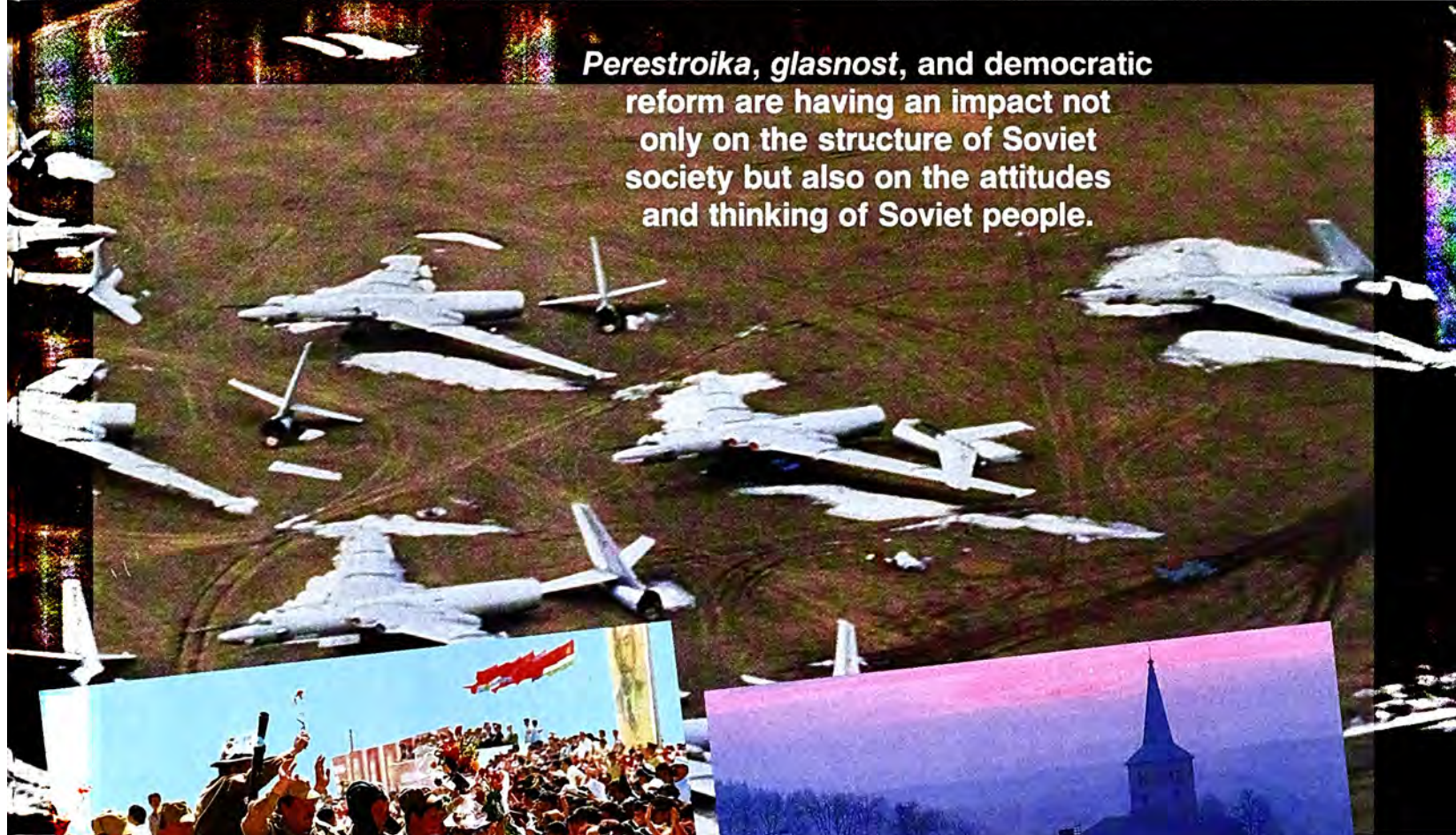
What do Soviet citizens view as the most positive aspects of the USSR's foreign policy over the past three years? An opinion poll conducted last year came up with the following: * 29 per cent—"the USSR's withdrawal from Afghanistan"; 26 per cent—"the INF Treaty"; 16 per cent—"the improvement in political, economic, and cultural relations between the USSR and the West"; 13 per cent—"the enhancement of Mikhail Gorbachev's prestige internationally"; 9 per cent—"Soviet unilateral reductions in arms and armed forces"; and 6 per cent—"the USSR's partial military withdrawal from Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, and Mongolia."

Only one per cent of respondents answered "don't know" or "don't follow developments," while another one per cent answered "don't assess the USSR's foreign policy over the past few years as positive."

The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan meant more than just an

*Total adds up to more than 100 per cent due to rounding off.

Perestroika, glasnost, and democratic reform are having an impact not only on the structure of Soviet society but also on the attitudes and thinking of Soviet people.



end to Soviet soldiers dying in somebody else's war. It spelled an end to secret diplomacy, to military interference in foreign lands without the consent of the people and elected bodies of power. It also meant a step forward in *glasnost* because the withdrawal was conducive to the world reevaluating Soviet foreign and military policies as pursued since World War II. What were formerly considered taboo subjects are now increasingly open for discussion, the press growing ever more unbiased.

The Soviet people now have greater access to information, which enables them to better understand areas of knowledge that were formerly dominated by guesswork and rumor. The general assessment of East-West relations by Soviet citizens is far from

Top: The Soviet peace policy in action. Strategic bombers are destroyed. Insets (left and right): May 15, 1988—the first units of the Soviet limited military contingent in Afghanistan move to the Afghan-Soviet border, signifying the start of the gradual withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Early 1990—Soviet troops withdraw from Czechoslovakia. Within the next two years, the Soviet military contingents in Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, and Hungary will be unilaterally cut by 50,000 men.

euphoric, even though they do not see a high risk of war. For instance, assessing prospects for maintaining peace in Europe, 70 per cent of respondents answered "likely," 6 per

cent "unlikely," and 24 per cent "don't know."

East-West relations were assessed as "average" by 73 per cent and as "good" by only 13 per cent. Three per cent of the respondents referred to them as "bad."

Probably, the vast nuclear stockpiles possessed by both military blocs prevent more people from assessing East-West relations as "good."

A number of important issues now being discussed by politicians, military experts, and the press are mirrored by public opinion in one way or another: How far should the sides go in disarmament, either mutual or unilateral, without jeopardizing their national security? What does the notion "defense sufficiency" mean? Could nations do without nuclear weapons?

altogether? Where the principle of "defense sufficiency" is concerned, only seven per cent of the people polled were "well informed." Thirty-four per cent had "read something" about it or "had a rough idea." The remainder of respondents were totally in the dark. When asked about the key issue of defense, that is, whether or not countries could do without nuclear weapons without jeopardizing their defense capabilities, the respondents broke down into the following three categories: 53 per cent—yes, 21 per cent—no, and 26 per cent—don't know.

Hence, nearly one out of every five people still believes in nuclear deterrence. To a certain extent, this has to do with how the Soviet public views U.S. foreign policy. While the Soviet people's perception of the United States has become more favorable, suspicions linger.

Last year 58 per cent of the Soviet population was of the opinion that the USA sought military superiority over the USSR, and 16 per cent believed the U.S. objective to be military parity. Only 8 per cent thought the Soviet Union was after military superiority over the United States, and 70 per cent estimated the USSR's objective as parity. Other assessments of U.S. foreign policies were less critical. For instance, when asked whether the United States approached global issues with a degree of responsibility commensurate to its role in international affairs, 61 per cent answered "undoubtedly so" and "seems to be the case," while 14 per cent answered in the negative.

In spite of such contradictory assessments, it's obvious that there is much more trust toward the United States now than before. This is corroborated by the massive support for the idea of the withdrawal of American and Soviet forces from Europe, from the territories of allied nations: 90 per cent—for, 2 per cent—against, and 8 per cent—don't know.

On the whole, American foreign policy was assessed as "positive rather than negative" by 30 per cent of respondents, as "negative rather than positive" by 20 per cent. Fifty per cent of respondents had "diffi-

Continued on page 62



"On Cloud Nine"

By Ariadna Nikolenko
Photograph by
Vladimir Vyatkin

Soviet and American relations took another new turn with the marriage of prominent citizens from the two countries. And the world wishes the newlyweds well.

One of the biggest sensations of last winter was the union of Roald Sagdeyev and Susan Eisenhower. The wedding of the 58-year-old Soviet academician and the 38-year-old granddaughter of the late American President Dwight D. Eisenhower took place in Moscow on February 9.

In accordance with Soviet practice, the marriage was recorded at a local registration office, after which a private wedding ceremony was held in the chapel of the U.S. Ambassador's residence.

Though the ceremony was not open to the press, a limited number of journalists—limited at the bride's request—were granted a brief audience with the newlyweds at Spaso House, where a grand reception was given.

The charming bride may be familiar to most Americans, so let me introduce the groom.

Roald Sagdeyev was born in the Chinese Year of the Monkey, an especially propitious year to be born. He agrees that perhaps this circumstance has guaranteed his success in science.

At the young age of 35 he became a full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He is also a Hero of Socialist Labor, a recipient of the Lenin Prize, the chairman of the Soviet Scientists Committee for the Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat, the head of the Vega and Phobos international space projects, until recently the director of the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Space Research, and currently a USSR people's deputy. Academician Sagdeyev is also an honorary lecturer at the University of Chicago.

When Sagdeyev was young, he played soccer. Today he prefers skiing and jogging. As for music, Mozart is his favorite. And he has a fine sense of humor and two grownup children from his first marriage.

Years ago, as a researcher at the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Sagdeyev made the following pledge: to make one discovery of international importance, two of national importance, and three of Siberian importance.

In his native land Academician

Sagdeyev is known not only as an outstanding scientist, but also as a prominent public figure who stands by his convictions. There's the famous photograph that was carried by almost all Soviet newspapers showing Sagdeyev casting the sole vote against a resolution at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He also proposed that the tenure of a director of a research institute be limited to a maximum of 10 years. His proposal was rejected, but, after serving as the director of the Institute for Space Research for 15 years, he resigned his position to become the head of one of the institute's departments.

"Many years ago," he once said in an interview, "when I was a university student, I did my practical training at an institute where Academician Andrei Sakharov headed a department on theory. I think that the moral stimulation that I got then has had a strong impact on my life." Sagdeyev was among the people who insisted that Sakharov have all of his awards returned to him.

The awards were returned, and Sakharov was elected a member of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, but only after Sagdeyev had withdrawn his own nomination in favor of Sakharov.

Incidentally, Yelena Bonner, Andrei Sakharov's widow, was an honored guest at Roald and Susan's wedding.

"How did you two meet?" I asked the groom before he had a chance to run away from our persistent questions. "In Chautauqua," he said.

The rest of the details were filled in by an American acquaintance.

Susan and Roald met three years ago in Chautauqua, New York, at a conference of Soviet and American public figures. Roald said that for him it was love at first sight.

I met Susan's three daughters from a previous marriage at the reception. The youngest, eight-year-old Ann, and I chatted as we stood near the wedding cake. "I'm glad Mom married him," Ann said.

A friend told me that when someone asked Roald how he was going to cope with his new family, he said: "These three young ladies are as dear to me as my wife. I'm on cloud nine."

Golden Arches
arrive in
Pushkin Square



Hamburger Diplomacy

By Boris Alexeyev
Photographs by Yuri Abramochkin
and Alexander Krasavin



If you sit on your hands and wait for someone to come up with proposals, you risk wasting the rest of your life. Apart from your ideas, you need persistence, patience, and more patience. Only then will you be a success. Since we started negotiations in this country, several leaders have come and gone in the Soviet Union," the man sitting opposite me says as he sips strong tea from a paper cup. The man knows what he's talking about. He's George Cohon, the successful businessman who is one of the top men at McDonald's. Over his 14-year-long effort to strike a deal with the USSR to open a McDonald's restaurant in Moscow, Cohon has spent thousands of hours talking to hundreds of officials in various Soviet ministries.

In spite of bureaucratic putoffs and lack of coordination, Cohon never gave in to despair. In January 1987



Members of the militia, who were on hand to control the crowd that turned out for McDonald's grand opening, take a break inside the new restaurant. Left: A Muscovite family enjoying the event. Facing page: The opening was a festival of songs and fun.

his efforts received a powerful impetus. Cohon associates that with Mikhail Gorbachev, who threw his support behind a new Soviet law allowing the establishment of joint ventures with foreign capital. By April 1988 Cohon's team had signed a contract on opening a McDonald's in Moscow.

The Soviet partner in the project is Mosobshchepit Trust, which currently manages 9,200 restaurants, cafés, and cafeterias in schools, colleges, universities, factories, and plants.

"Every day," says Vladimir Malyshev, general director of Mosobshchepit and chairman of the board of the joint venture Moscow-McDonald's, "the trust serves over eight million hot meals and 50 million cups of tea and coffee. Even so, it doesn't meet the demand."

Malyshev is confident that the new project will be a success. He hopes that restaurants from overseas not only will shorten the lines at other Soviet eateries, but also will in-

introduce new cuisines to the Soviet public and will provide first-rate training for Mosobshchepit, which over the years Muscovites have given the dubious honor of being the "provider of hide-and-seek services."

Malyshkov willingly gave me all the facts about the new joint venture, except for the financial aspects. It's always a mystery to me why Soviet business people are reluctant to discuss the monetary aspects of their projects. Malyshkov was no exception in this regard.

"Let's just say that we've invested a lot of money," he said vaguely. His partner George Cohon, the cochairman representing McDonald's, was far more open.

Cohon told me that investments in the project had amounted to 50 million dollars—40 million to set up a food production and distribution center, another 4.5 million to modernize the premises, and the remainder to train personnel.

Fifty-one per cent of the capital belongs to the Soviet side; the remaining 49 per cent to the foreign partner.

The lion's share of the hard currency investment has gone into setting up the food production and distribution center, which was built in the town of Solntsevo in the suburbs of Moscow.

Lyudmila Sviridova, 25, is a chemical engineer. She supervises the quality of the french fries produced by one of the production lines of the Solntsevo Food Center.

By the way, the Russet Burbank potato variety used for the fries has never been cultivated in the USSR before. Since the spring of 1989 this variety has been sowed on four collective farms in Moscow Region. The new technology employed to harvest the potatoes has put the yield at twice the average for Moscow Region. This year as many as 250 hectares will be sowed with the American potato.

Every half-hour Lyudmila checks the quality of the french fries and approves their delivery to the counter. It's a monotonous job, but the pay is good. Lyudmila makes 400 rubles a month and hopes to make a career with McDonald's. She is scheduled to receive a pay raise after a specific period of time. Her earnings are not

bad, considering the national average per worker is 240 rubles a month.

All products processed by the Solntsevo Food Center come from collective and state farms in Moscow Region. Every hour Solntsevo processes 50 kilograms of meat and 3,000 liters of milk and makes 5,000 apple pies. The ingredients obtained locally are up to McDonald's standards.

The new McDonald's restaurant is located in the very center of the Soviet capital, in Pushkin Square, where the former Lira Café used to be. Once a popular eating place of Muscovites, the Lira lost much of its appeal over the years, eventually taking on the look of an unattractive snack bar.

McDonald's was serious about modernizing the premises. The new restaurant can accommodate 700 eating customers. Another 200 will be able to eat outdoors on the patio in the summer. This new McDonald's sets a record for the company in size; it's the largest Golden Arches in the world.

The restaurant is capable of serving 15,000 customers a day. The opening day crush, however, exceeded all expectations. On the first day of business the staff served 30,000 eager customers, breaking another company record.

The 600 members of McDonald's Moscow staff were selected from 27,000 applicants. One of the lucky ones was Yelena Polyachek, a fourth year student at the Moscow Teachers Institute. Yelena recalls that the hiring committee was very selective. Interviews were followed by a four-week training course geared to help the staff cope with the busy pace of work.

The main attraction of the job is the hours, from a minimum of three to an undefined maximum. Schedules are flexible, and workers get free meals. Yelena receives 1.5 rubles an hour. By the end of the month that adds up to what is a sufficient sum from a student's point of view. Many of her fellow workers are university students; others are homemakers.

Unlike other joint ventures that deal solely in hard currency, the Moscow McDonald's displays a large sign on its doors: "Rubles Only."

I asked Cohon how he planned to spend his rubles.

"We're hoping that the restaurant will have catered to from five to six million customers before the year is out. The rubles will come in handy," Cohon answered, "since we're planning to open another 19 restaurants in Moscow. For that, we'll need a sufficient ruble capital. So we're not concerned about how to spend our rubles. We're concerned about how to deal with the lines outside our doors."

Here's what customers pay:

- Big Mac, soft drink, ice cream—5 rubles 65 kopecks; and
- Double hamburger, soft drink, ice cream—4 rubles 65 kopecks.

The meals aren't cheap for the ordinary Muscovite, but the cost hasn't scared off the people in line. The official exchange rate—one that does not reflect the real situation—is approximately one dollar for 60 kopecks.

The opening of the Moscow McDonald's was noted in *Izvestia* by Stanislav Kondrashov, a frequent contributor to SOVIET LIFE magazine. In my view, his article reflects the apprehensions that are often voiced in the Soviet media. In particular, Kondrashov writes:

"Having sold dozens of billions of Big Macs and having become a habit for hundreds of millions of people, McDonald's is yet another triumph of the American business approach.

"It is quite a contrast to our sweeping ideas that have never gotten off the ground, such as introducing the world market to our Russian kvass or Siberian *pelmeni* (meat dumplings).

"McDonald's has arrived in the USSR in the first place because it has been able to keep its preset standard of quality, hygiene, and organization.

"I don't know whether or not the management of the joint venture is aware of the tests that await it in Moscow. One of the main ones is that the project may be swept away by crowds of customers and inquisitive people. Another test, which is even more serious, is to maintain its standards and not reduce its quality. Will McDonald's be able to guard itself against the pitfalls that have swallowed up other ventures?"

Only time will tell. . . .

SOVIET LAWYERS STUDY AMERICAN LAW

By Yevgeni Pozdnyakov

Muscovite Alexander Podolsky loves American bran muffins. Yet this 30-year-old father of three came to the United States last year not to satisfy his palate but to explore "the nooks and crannies" of the American legal maze.

Podolsky is one of 17 young Soviet lawyers who, because of their fluency in English, were selected by the American Bar Association for nine-month internships with legal firms and district attorneys' offices in the United States.

Sitting on the twenty-eighth floor in an office of the San Francisco firm of Heller, Ehrman, White & McAuliffe, Podolsky concentrated mainly on American laws governing joint ventures. Six floors above, another Soviet lawyer—a petite and attractive law professor from the Ukrainian city of Kharkov—Tatyana Zakharchenko, 31, buried herself in the intricacies of American environmental laws.

In another U.S. Pacific city—Portland, Oregon—Igor Kolesov, 34, a lawyer from Riga, the capital of Latvia, worked as a special prosecutor in the Multnomah County district attorney's office. Following the prescribed procedure for the job, Kolesov raised his right hand and swore to uphold the constitutions of Oregon and the United States—for three months, that is.

A few years ago a knowledge of each other's internal laws was the realm purely of Soviet and American

academia. Today the accelerating growth and diversification of contacts between the USSR and the USA make such knowledge a must for an increasing number of jurists on both sides of the Atlantic.

Responding to this new demand, the San Francisco-based law firm of Baker & McKenzie came out with a paperback edition of *Joint Ventures in the Soviet Union: Law and Practice*, an English translation of all legal acts on the subject adopted in the USSR in recent years. The book will be updated annually. The firm also opened a permanent office in Moscow to provide legal advice to foreign and Soviet clients.

An article in a recent issue of the *San Jose Mercury News* about an American law group that was going to the USSR to study the Soviet legal system suggests that American lawyers are finding it necessary to learn (albeit in only two weeks) about Soviet juridical practices and to share their own experiences with their counterparts in the USSR.

This experience has become vitally important for members of the Soviet bar since *perestroika* introduced the notion of a society based on democratic law and order.

According to Tatyana Zakharchenko, who teaches environmental law at the Kharkov Higher Legal Institute, the United States is much more advanced in this field. The Soviet legal system, she thinks, could very well borrow some American ideas while developing its own ecological legal code. "In any case," she says, "I'm planning to include what I've learned

here in the course I teach at the institute. I'll also be taking home a lot of books."

Podolsky thinks that Soviet lawyers shouldn't waste time on "reinventing the wheel." Instead they should try to utilize in some way or another those parts of foreign laws that are suitable for the social and economic system that exists or is being developed in their own country.

Because of the knowledge Podolsky acquired in American business law, Heller, Ehrman asked him to represent the American firm's interests in Moscow upon his return. "Perhaps some of the other Soviet lawyers who took part in the American internship program and I will, in conjunction with the Moscow Bar Association, open up a private counseling firm to help new Soviet and foreign entrepreneurs iron out the legal wrinkles with contacts and contracts," confides Podolsky.

Wey Lundquist, a senior partner at Heller, Ehrman is very enthusiastic about the growing contacts between Soviet and American lawyers. When I last talked to him in April, he was busy arranging a joint American-Soviet-Canadian conference of northern juridical matters in Anchorage, Alaska. "Because these three countries have very similar climatic, geographic, ethnic, and ecological conditions," Lundquist explained, "they also face similar problems. Joint efforts make it easier to find solutions."

Yevgeni Pozdnyakov is a Novosti Press Agency correspondent assigned to San Francisco, California.

USSR**USA**

POTENTIAL ENEMIES BECOME FRIENDS

By Dmitri Marchenkov
Photographs by Victor Chernov



One fruit of the new thinking sweeping the world was the exchange visits of military cadets of the USSR and the USA last winter.

West Point cadets visit the Czar's Cannon and Red Square (above).



Soviet and American cadets have made a contribution to the renewal of a tradition of contacts between representatives of the Soviet and American military forces. Last February a group of Soviet cadets visited the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, and in March their American hosts spent a week at the Moscow Higher Combined Arms Command Academy.

These young people entered military training in the 1980s, when the atmosphere of hostility and suspicion in Soviet-American relations had just begun to recede and the old stereotypes to erode. In their training these cadets engaged in simulated war games against each other, and they studied one another's armaments, history, and language to be able to defend their own country and its people in a real war.

When these potential "enemies" came face to



War games. Above: American cadets get to try out some Soviet BTRs. Inset: Colonel General Dmitri Grinkevich greets the cadets.





Cadet Joel van Timmerman
in front of a World War II victory poster
in an armed forces museum.

Cadet Eric Buller
talks
with a World
War II
veteran.



them against early spring frosts, the 10 fourth year West Pointers and the two officers who accompanied them on this visit looked exactly like Soviet cadets. Only their academy rings—engraved with the U.S. Seal, the motto of the academy, and the Class of 1990—gave them away as Americans. And of course, they were very happy driving Soviet-made BTRs (armored carriers) and BMPs (infantry personnel carriers).

On the second day of the Americans' visit, they went to Zagorsk, the old center of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Americans were



**At Colonel
General
Grinkevich's
reception.**

face, it turned out that they were able to talk about a lot of things and to enjoy each other's company. Their conversations lasted well into the night. The young men tried on each other's uniforms, competed in sports, took trips together, and arrived at a surprising conclusion: They were very much alike.

Wearing Soviet fatigues and fur hats to protect

themselves with the unique beauty of the Troitse-Sergiyevsky Monastery. Major Henry Gillen, who led the delegation, wrote the following in the monastery's guest book: "As we, representatives of the United States Military Academy, visit this monastery, our hopes for the fulfillment of our mutual prayers for peace and understanding are heard within the walls."

Shortly after their arrival, the Americans met with Lieutenant General Alexander Noskov, the head of the Soviet academy, and visited the academy's museum. Established in December 1917, on Lenin's instructions, as the first revolutionary school of submachine-gunners in Moscow, the academy has become inseparable from the history of the Soviet Union, just as West Point is inseparable from the history of the United States. As the Kremlin's guards, the academy's cadets participated in the defense of Moscow during the Second World War. Many of the academy graduates became Heroes of the Soviet Union and prominent military leaders. At present, the academy has 1,380 cadets, one-third the number enrolled at West Point.

The Soviet and American systems of military training are very different. At West Point the emphasis is on academic education, while military training is reduced to two summer months and subsequent service in the army. In the So-



viet Union the hours are divided equally between academic and military instruction throughout the years of study.

The American guests also visited the Borodino Memorial, the Moscow Circus, the Armored Troops Museum at Kubinka, near Moscow, and the Museum of the Soviet Armed Forces. They strolled through the streets of Moscow at night, were received by the U.S. Military Attaché at the embassy, saw Red Square and the Kremlin, and spent a day in Leningrad. "Fabulous," "Majestic," "Unbelievable"—that's what they said about Leningrad.

They also participated in various tactical and technical exercises and sports competitions.

On the eve of their departure, the Americans were received by Colonel General Dmitri Grinkevich, Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Ground Forces. "The world is in the hands of your generation," he said. "There are future ministers, chiefs of staff, and diplomats among you. You must continue contacts at all levels. Such contacts will help you to learn about each other, doing away with suspicion and destroying the image of the enemy we have created over the years."

Leaving Moscow, Eric Buller said: "The people are great. They are very friendly."

"It's a land with a great history and with great

people," said Paul Schmitt. "I think your country is very similar to my country."

"You read so much about how wonderful and how powerful the country is, but you really don't know it until you see it. You just can't get the whole idea of what the Soviet Union has to offer—its history, its traditions—without coming here," Robert Jones added.

They say that the holiest place on earth is where old enemies become new friends. No one had previously counted military academies among the holy places. But these exchanges proved that, in a way, they are. ■

Cadet Alexander Petukhov (left) and Cadet Robert Scott Jones at tactical training. Below: The cadets take every opportunity to catch up on sleep.



THE PAMIRS

ALMOST TO THE STARS

By Yuri Kushko
Photographs by Gennadi Ratushenko

People who live in the Pamirs, a mountainous region of the Central Asian republic of Tajikistan, refuse to believe that the conglomeration of rocks that surrounds them is the handiwork of God. According to Pamir legend, it's the work of Satan because the Almighty would never have created such difficult conditions for human existence.



Of the 64,000 square kilometers of Pamir territory, 97.5 per cent are mountain ridges. The highest elevations in the Soviet Union are located there: Communism Peak (7,495 meters) and Lenin Peak (7,134 meters). The scanty remainder of the territory is made up of thin strips of sandy soil along riverbanks and narrow cultivated terraces on the mountain slopes. How do people survive under such conditions and what is it that keeps the 150,000 population here?

"Ours is certainly not an easy life," answered 74-year-old Kuchkar Saifov, whom I met in the little mountain village of Kukhilyal. "But few of us are eager to move down into the valleys because of it. Some stay to be near the graves of their ancestors; others are held here by the *ostons*, or sacred boulders, which are said to protect us from misfortune. Still others remain because of our pure water and fresh,

Among the Pamiris, age means wisdom.

Right: Though some would consider Khorog, the capital of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region, a "one-horse town," it has everything residents need. Facing page: This mountain goat greets visitors driving into Khorog.




clean mountain air. We'd choke if we were to descend into the valleys."

A number of Pamiris, as the people here are called, maintain that they can trace their roots to the start of the fourth century B.C. when the territory of present-day Tajikistan was overrun by the mounted warriors of Alexander

the Great. The mountain folk claim that some of the horsemen who reached the villages high up in the peaks decided to settle there, and they founded a new clan.

Historians are skeptical of the Pamiris' version principally because the routes of Alexander the Great's con-



*A bird's-eye view
of the chain
of alpine lakes
that beautify
the majestic
Pamir landscape.*

quests lay a bit farther away. That is supported by ancient written sources and archeological expeditions on the territory of the republic.

According to Rakhim Dodkhudoyev, a leading Tajik Orientalist, members of different tribes and peoples arrived in the Pamirs at different times. "The inaccessible mountains isolated the tribes from one another and that served to preserve their specific cultures and languages," said Dodkhudoyev. "Possibly the ethnic and linguistic diversity of the Pamirs is the result. The customs and vocabulary of the people of the Vakhn Mountains are completely different from those of the inhabitants of the Yazgulem River valley, while those of the people of the Shugnan Range resemble neither. The 1,000 inhabitants of Tsordzh village are quite unique; they speak a language only they can understand, and they adhere to customs all their own."

At the turn of the century Russian Academician Vladimir Obratsov predicted that pack and cart transport would long remain the only means of transportation in the Pamir Mountains. However, his prediction proved false. Camel caravans were replaced by automobiles when the building of the East Pamir Highway was completed in 1933. A new highway from Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, to Khorog, the main city in the Pamirs, was blasted through in 1940, and it became the new Pamir Highway.

Only on the Afghan bank of the Pyanj River, which skirts the southern extremity of the Pamirs and marks the border between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, do you still see the narrow mountain paths and the shaky *ovrings* (bridges of wood and tree limbs suspended between sheer



Calendula is a curative herb used in modern medicine. The plant's bright yellow flowers add to the local color. Top: In our age of high-speed jets, the mountain yak is still the most reliable means of transportation in the Pamirs.

cliffs). The inscription—"Travelers, here you are like teardrops on an eyelash"—that is carved into a rock is a reminder of the hazards at every turn that awaited travelers of yore.

"Communication with the 'big world' is a matter of life and death for us," said truck driver Alifbek Zarifbekov. "All of our flour, building materials, fuel, and schoolbooks come from outside. Every year the other drivers and I transport about 100,000 metric tons of freight along the serpentine roads above the clouds. As a

rule, we return empty because the economy here in the Pamirs is still too underdeveloped to offer other regions of the country anything substantial."

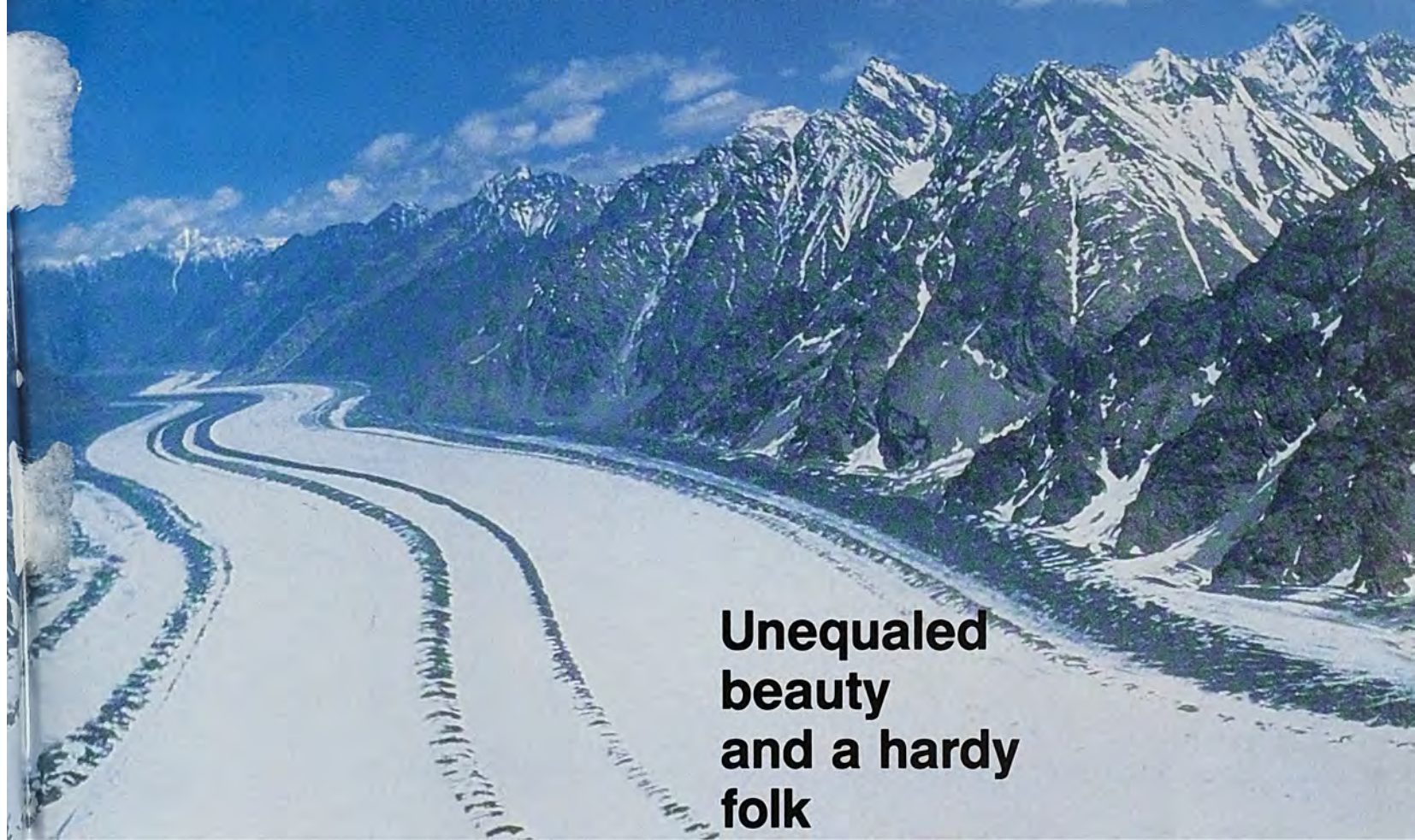
Heavy snows, torrential rains, and unpredictable slides of mud and stone sometimes disrupt the Pamirs' vital link with the outside world, especially in spring and fall. I met Zarifbekov precisely at such a time. A powerful mud slide had taken out a section of the road and carried away the iron and concrete supports of a bridge. We had to wait more than 24 hours before the skilled road builders came to the rescue.

Of the 27,000 mountain glaciers in the Soviet Union, one-third are located in the Pamir Mountains. The glaciers occupy an area of 8,500 square kilometers, more than the total arable land in the republic.

"I have been studying the local glaciers for 30 years," said Gennadi Kernosov, head of the hydrographic group on the Tajik Hydrometeorological Board. "And I've learned a lot about how they behave. Some of the glaciers are tranquil, but others, especially the ones that are fast moving, are prone to act up at any moment, threatening harvests and humans."

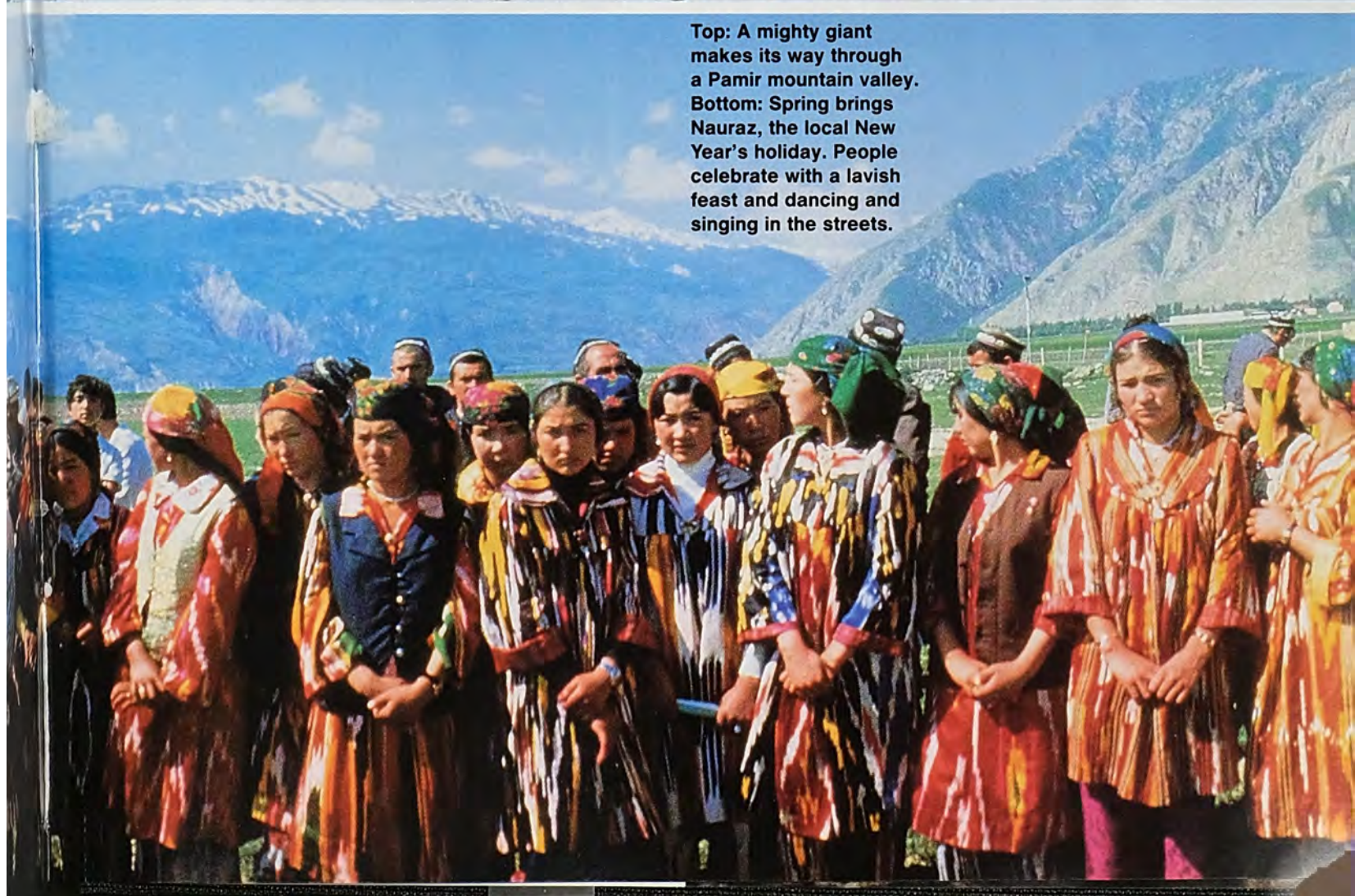
Kernosov's "favorite" ice river is the Fedchenko Glacier, which stretches for more than 70 kilometers among mountain gorges. Having accumulated more than 93 cubic kilometers of ice, Fedchenko ranks among the largest continental glaciers on earth. When you fly over it at a high altitude, it looks like toothpaste squeezed out of a tube. At close range you can distinguish enormous gaping caves and multiton boulders on its surface. Fedchenko is a sleepy giant, not a bit like its neighbor, Medvezhy, which sprints like a track and field





Unequaled beauty and a hardy folk

Top: A mighty giant
makes its way through
a Pamir mountain valley.
Bottom: Spring brings
Nauraz, the local New
Year's holiday. People
celebrate with a lavish
feast and dancing and
singing in the streets.





Mud slides, especially in spring and fall, are a serious threat to the people who live in the mountain settlements. Top: A rainbow crowns the mountain after a torrential rain. Above: A convoy of trucks carrying needed supplies arrives in a settlement whose main road had been washed away by a powerful flow of mud and stones.

athlete every 11 years. Medvezhy took everyone by surprise by an unscheduled dash in 1989. Scientists reasoned that it was the result of the weather anomalies of recent years.

"We keep an eye not only on the glaciers, but also on most of the hundreds of Pamir lakes," said Kernosov. "Our special concern is Lake Sarez, which was created during a severe earthquake in 1911. It is impossible to describe the lake's beauty. Once you've seen it, you'll never forget it. But the scene is deceiving because at any moment the lake could break through its banks, unleashing a torrent of 17 billion cubic meters of water. So it hangs like the sword of Damocles over the neighboring villages. Obviously, we're going to have to drain some of the water."

The Pamirs hold more than scenic beauty. They are also a treasure-trove of mineral wealth.

"Every one of these are worth thousands of dollars on the world market," said geologist Nikolai Zakharchuk, pointing to a pile of dark blue stones lying at the bottom of the display case in a local Pamir museum. The stones were lazurite (lapis lazuli)—a relatively rare, semiprecious mineral. The most valuable variety is mined in only two areas on the globe. One is the Sar-i-Sang Mine in the mountains of Afghanistan. The other source lies in the Soviet Pamirs at a height of over 4,500 meters above sea level, in difficult-to-access veins hidden deep inside a sheer marble cliff.

Thirteen large deposits of semiprecious minerals (not counting mountain crystal) have been discovered so far in the Pamirs. Among them are deposits of tourmaline, garnet, topaz, and other stones. Especially popular among jewelers is the Badakhshan lal, or ruby spinel, described by Marco Polo, the Venetian merchant and traveler of the thirteenth century.

As the search for precious minerals continues in the Pamirs, geologists are revealing many intriguing mysteries. Up to 20 new deposits of precious and semiprecious stones are found every year.

The future prospects for the Pamirs are in the development of the mining industry, tourism, and the cultivation of local medicinal herbs. ■

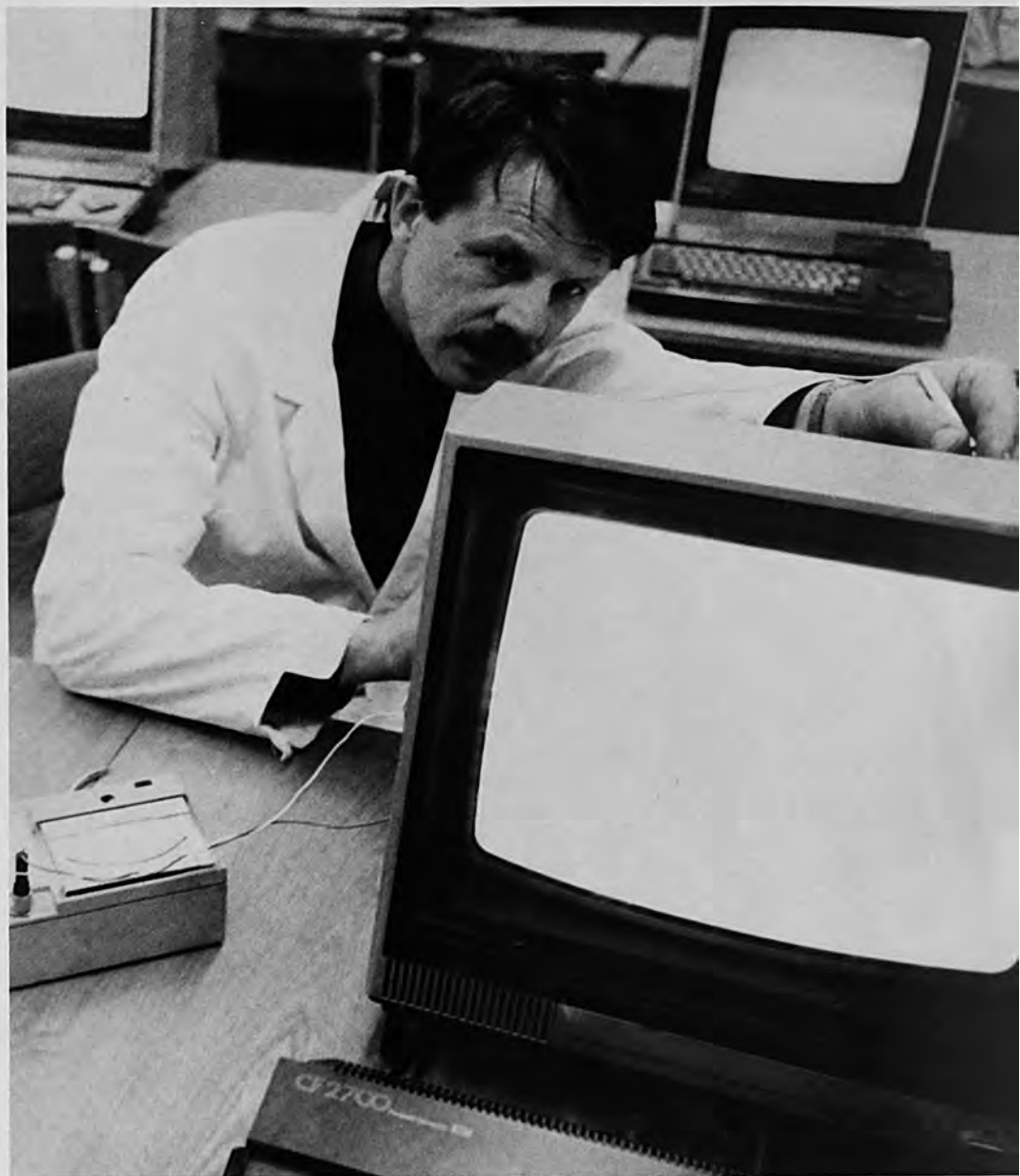
A traveler and his car are dwarfed by one of the Pamir glaciers, which are often several dozen meters thick.



Lev Ippolitov (center) is like thousands of other Soviet men in their forties. He grew up in the fifties and entered the prime of his life just as perestroika and glasnost came on the scene.

JUST YOUR AVERAGE man in the street

By Olga Afanasyeva Photographs by Alexander Polyakov



Lev Ippolitov on the job as an adjuster at the Moscow Electronics Center. Left: Lev (center) at a rally for radical reforms in the economic and social areas.

We're living in strange times. On the one hand, we want change. On the other hand, it's hard to give up old ways. There's still too much talk and not enough action," Lev Ippolitov told me as I caught him just finishing his swim in an icy pond last February. The 43-year-old adjuster at the Moscow Electronics Center and I continued talking as we walked along a snow-covered path in Neskuchny Garden in Moscow. Our conversation turned to the prospective candidates for the Moscow City Soviet. ▢

"I never thought I'd be taking an election campaign so much to heart," said Lev. "Last year was the first time I felt that my opinion mattered. I attended meetings and rallies with other workers, and we weren't afraid to say what we believed. We chose the people we thought were the worthiest among us. Actually, I was sure that's what everybody was doing, but when the Congress of People's Deputies opened its session, I was surprised to see many of the same old faces from the period of stagnation. Why? Perhaps they got elected because not everybody in the nation has learned yet to pursue his own aims."

Born after the war, Lev grew up as Stalin's personality cult was on the wane. He remembers the sorrow his parents felt when "the great leader" died. When the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956 exposed the evils of Stalinism, it was a revelation for Lev's folks. His father, a war veteran and an invalid, was especially devastated.

"My school years coincided with Khrushchev's thaw," Lev said. "My mother, brother, and I moved from the converted barracks to a big apart-

ment that we shared with several other families.

"I entered adulthood during Brezhnev's time, and the hypocrisy of that period was the air I breathed. For a long time, however, I didn't notice that our leaders' words were at variance with their deeds and that the actual situation was going from bad to worse. Everything else was just wishful thinking. At that time I was more concerned with my own problems, for example, that I couldn't legally combine two jobs. Besides, I wanted a car, an apartment, and good furniture.

"About that time I started studying electronics and got a job at a promising electronics center. Things seemed to be going my way. I married, became a father, received a good apartment, and bought my car. I was also excelling in sports and won the title of Candidate Master of Sport (Downhill Skiing).

Lev says there's nothing quite like a dip in an icy pond to get him going. Right and facing page: With his wife, Alyona, at an avant-garde art exhibit and at home.

"Around the same time I also started thinking about joining the Communist Party, but I was hesitant because I thought it would mean attending a lot of dull meetings. I wondered how many other people contemplated this step with equal cynicism and shared this thought with the local party organizer. That really took him by surprise, and my prospective membership ceased to be an issue."

Just about then Lev started thinking about people's words and actions, about saying one thing and doing another. But like many other young people, he didn't believe he could change anything.

In 1983 his seemingly happy family fell apart. When Lev learned that his wife of 17 years had been unfaithful, he, without a word, packed his things and moved out. To keep from brood-

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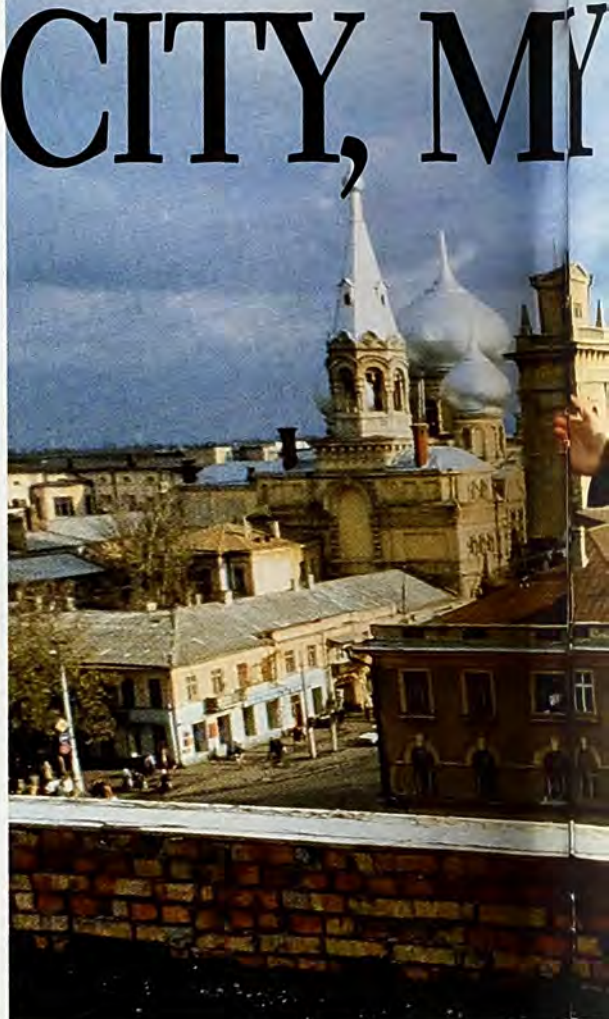




*Lev says he is nothing like the man he used to be,
and he likes who he is now.*

MY CITY, MY

A detail of a woodcarving in the lobby of *Vechernaya Odessa's* editorial offices.



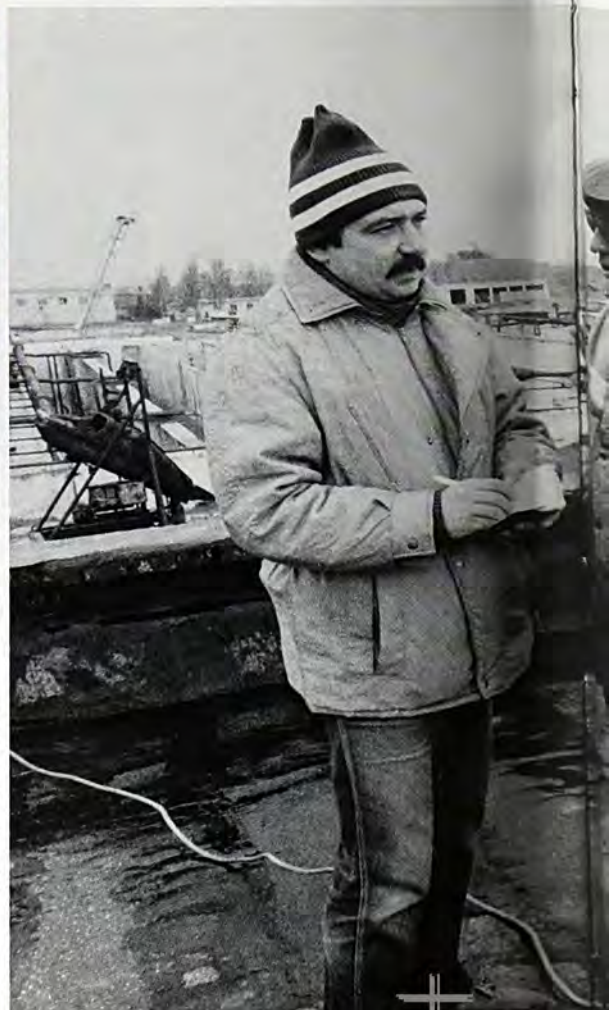
People who live in Odessa are famous for their sense of humor. So as an Odessan and a writer, I shouldn't have been surprised to be asked to write a light-hearted piece about my city and my newspaper. I agreed to do my best in honoring the request, but I made no guarantees. First, I'm not much of a humorist, and second, the material itself is more likely to provoke thought than to evoke laughter.

The first issue of the *Vechernaya Odessa* (*Evening Odessa*) appeared on July 1, 1973, during the third year of the Ninth Five-Year Plan period, titled "Heroic." In turn, the year 1973 got the name "Decisive"—not that anyone could specify the heroic merits of the period 1971–1975 or say just what the year 1973 was destined to decide.

It was no time for people to be asking such questions, especially us, the fourth estate. We knew there was no point in getting the truth. That was the cut-and-dried message we got from our bosses, who knew better. Our duty as reporters was to carry the



With a circulation of over 200,000 and growing, the newspaper is flourishing in the city. Editor and chief Boris Derevyanko on the job.

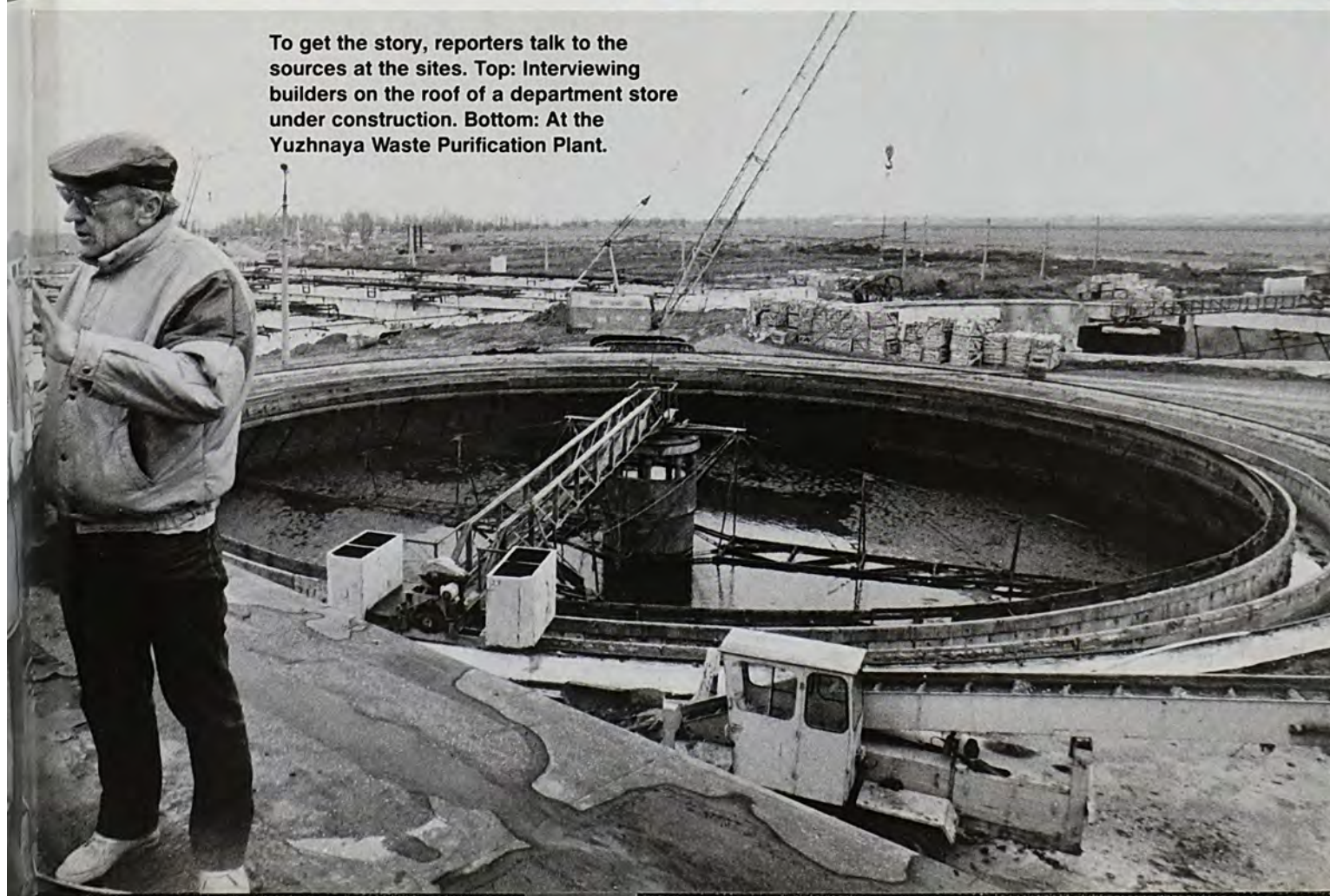


Y NEWSPAPER

By Boris Derevyanko
Photographs by Andrei Slomonov



To get the story, reporters talk to the sources at the sites. Top: Interviewing builders on the roof of a department store under construction. Bottom: At the Yuzhnaya Waste Purification Plant.





word far and wide and to eulogize the wisdom of the decisions that were made.

Not that criticism was taboo. On the contrary, it was encouraged. But—there's always a but—it was to be *constructive criticism*. No generalizations, our betters boomed with voices of steel.

That was the situation in which our paper came into the world, or, to be more precise, into the sweet subtropical area of it where my beloved city, a major Black Sea port, lies. Our initial circulation was 65,000—nothing to write home about for a city with a population of a million. The other three regional papers had many more readers.

Since our modest beginnings, our

circulation has grown to top 200,000, with subscribers now both inside and outside the city. Other publications

Elected a USSR people's deputy, Derevyanko uses the short walk from the Kremlin to his hotel to think over what has taken place during the day. Facing page: The printers are the paper's first readers and severest critics.



The *Vechernaya Odessa* takes up one floor of this building, which houses the offices of all regional and city papers. Left (top and bottom): The morning meeting, which is not always smooth, starts the day at the paper.



have not fared as well. For instance, the local youth newspaper has not been very successful, which makes me very sad. After all, I was editor of that paper early in my career. I earned my professional stripes there, and, what is most important, worked with Yervand Grigoryants, from whom I learned a great deal. Like myself, Grigoryants also moved on—in his case to work for Moscow's *Literaturnaya gazeta* (*Literary Gazette*). Yet, unlike me, he never lived to see *perestroika*. He committed suicide in 1981, just a year before Leonid Brezhnev's death. Apparently a real knight in shining armor both on and off the



job, Grigoryants was an honest and sad philosopher who just couldn't take any more. Period.

Now that I've embarked on a sad path, I'll tell you the story of another journalist, Yuri Khmelkovsky, whose daughter Tatyana, incidentally, now works on the *Vechernaya Odessa*.

Khmelkovsky had been the editor of a publishing house before being "banished" to our paper as a severe reprimand by the party higher-ups. What brought on his banishment? His novel, *Dry Estuary*, about the boat builders, dockworkers, and sailors in Ilyichevsk, a port outside Odessa.

The first thunder rolled from the then chief of the Black Sea Steamship Line, one of the uncrowned rulers of the city, who took issue with the two instances in the novel where it described his penchant for holding a hand over his heart whenever he engaged in debates at the ministry. The chief felt the passages cast aspersions on the state of his health, which, he feared, would prompt his early retirement. The newspaper that had published the excerpts from the novel was made to apologize—a slap on the wrist.

The full force of the storm hit after the book was published and scrutinized at a session of regional party activists. The activists questioned the book's entire ideological bent. The result was that Khmelkovsky was fired.

True, the *Vechernaya Odessa* became his safe port and even published one of his stories, a grievous affair. But then, what is a safe port to a talented and proud man? It is humiliation inspired by pity. Nothing more. Yuri didn't live long after that. His ailment was diagnosed very accurately—the disease of an unneeded leader. Now a dead one.

It's my strong hope that the law on the press will do away with the need for the repetition of any such dramas.

Some claim that the *Vechernaya Odessa* should be referred to as a resumed publication. The thing is that at one time Odessa had an evening paper. If you count those years, our newspaper is 70. But we were young and ambitious when we launched our project and had no desire to think that we were continuing what someone else had started. We insisted that

we were the founders. That's why, to us, the *Vechernaya Odessa* is a youthful 17.

Before I proceed, I should tell you that all Soviet publications are members of a well-organized hierarchy. Some of them are marshals, others officers, and still others soldiers. The latter are factory and plant papers and newspapers printed in rural areas. The junior members of the hierarchy had only one thing to do as far as the senior members were concerned, that is, to admire them and to praise their superiors for "correct assessments" and "principled positions." The seniors would occasionally tap the juniors on the shoulder and teach them a thing or two about life, in a rather condescending way. They also could make short work of them.

And now to the story itself.

What happened was that we set up a 192 Steps Club column in our newspaper. The number "192" refers to the number of steps in the famous Potemkin stairway in Odessa, depicted in Sergei Eisenstein's film *Battleship Potemkin*—a way for the newspaper to look into the past. Under this rubric we included pieces about the history of Odessa and profiles of the people who were born here and some of their works. In one issue we ran an essay titled "Olesha" by Yuri Olesha, an author who reached his heyday in the 1920s and 1930s until his name had almost become taboo. (It was not until a few years after Olesha's death that his wonderful book *A Line a Day* was published. The book was as gentle, bitter, cheerful, sad, careless, and painful as the author himself, who was known as a daydreamer, soccer player, circus enthusiast, and card player. Olesha was a daring, gloomy, complex-ridden, proud person who was a great connoisseur of wine and women, but cared nothing about material success.)

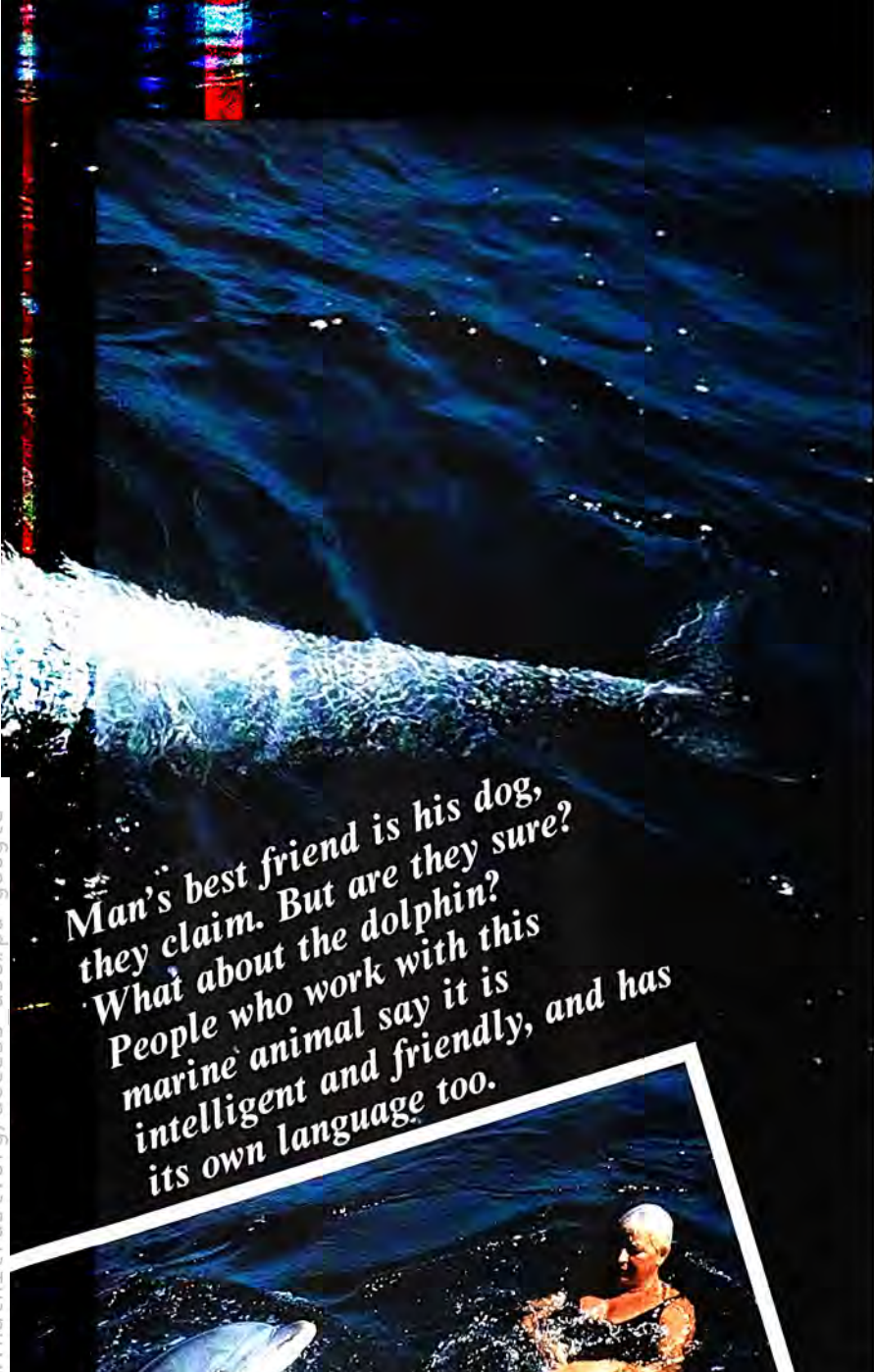
In his brilliant essay "Olesha," among other things, Olesha put in a word for the first builders of the city, the adventure seekers from Europe. Now that smote the soul of some "local patriots." Why even mention those French, Greeks, Italians, and Germans? they reasoned. They were bloodsuckers, insatiable thieves, swin-

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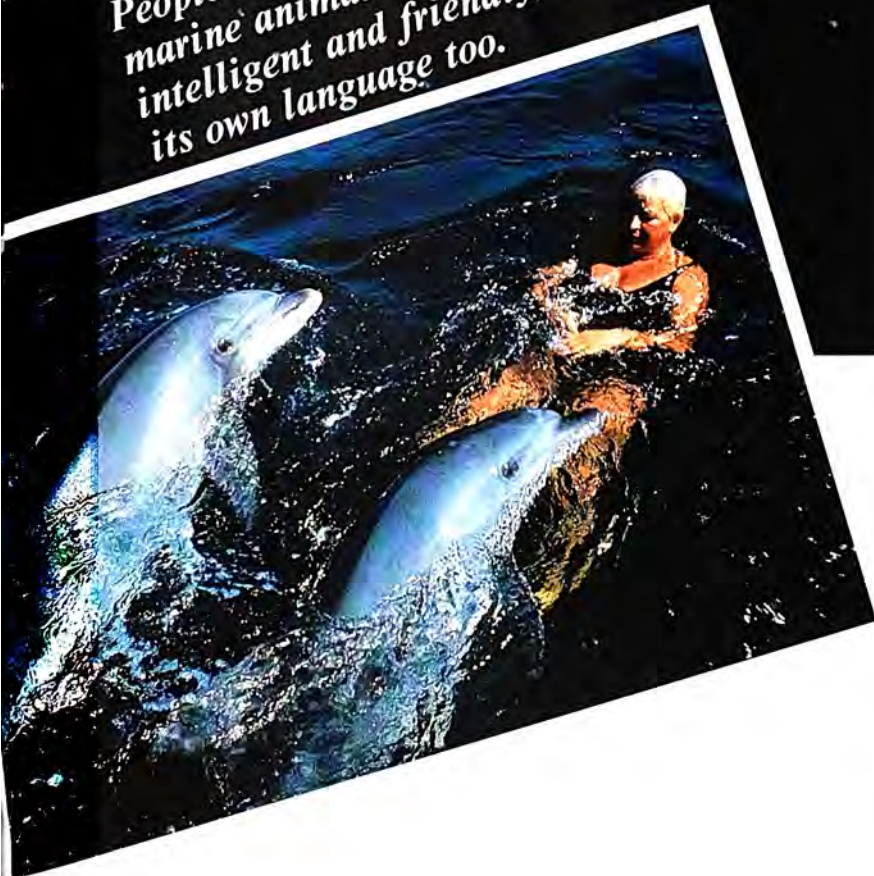


THOSE SMART DOLPHINS

Text and Photographs by Sergei Zholus



Man's best friend is his dog,
they claim. But are they sure?
What about the dolphin?
People who work with this
marine animal say it is
intelligent and friendly, and has
its own language too.



I first became acquainted with dolphins during the shooting of the documentary *There's Something About It*, studying the human potential. The filming took place at the dolphinarium of the Institute of the Evolution of Animal Morphology and Ecology near Anapa, a town on the Black Sea coast.

The movie focused on a small boy who had learned to dive to a depth of six meters with mask and flippers and to swim underwater with scuba gear before he could even walk. Moreover, the boy swam with dolphins.

The task wasn't altogether simple, taking into account that the boy playing the lead wasn't even three years old. And though dolphins are known to be quite friendly and harmless, their large size and mouthfuls of large and sharp teeth look anything but benign.

So, before the child got anywhere near the pool, I had to be certain that it was safe. But that was only one of my motives. Let's face it. I've always been interested in knowing his playmates, which seemed now to include marine animals. You see, the small boy is my son, Nikolai.

After several days of swimming with a male dolphin named Gray, I was convinced that he was well worth having as a pal. Only then did Nick come in contact with him.

For the first meeting Gray was all tact. Seemingly aware that the child was unprotected, Gray made every effort not to frighten him. His actions paid off. As Nick grew more and more confident, he offered his new pal treats of fish, which Gray would happily accept, being careful not to hurt his benefactor with his hundred or so teeth. In time it became clear that Gray preferred Nick's company to anyone else's. The two had developed a trusting and warm friendship.

Whenever Gray saw Nick in his scuba gear, he'd show particular interest by swimming around the child, gently brushing him with his streamlined body, and making high-pitched sounds. The dolphin seemed surprised that his new playmate never needed to surface for air.

Alexei Sabitov was in charge of preparing the dolphins for the film. He has been studying their habits for more than 20 years and now has a most unique occupation—that of a dolphin coach. Sabitov also coached me on how to understand his pupils better.

I stood in the outdoor swimming pool watching the process of... I was about to say "training" but thought better of it. I wouldn't call human-dolphin relations a "training" process. Maybe I'll stick to the word "coaching."

The playful dolphins changed their behavior completely, however, whenever the coach waved his hand. "School" was in session. The dolphins watched the coach's every move, jump-↪



ing in and out of the water, ready to obey every command. A mask and flippers thrown into the water were quickly retrieved. Balls one by one disappeared from the surface of the water as the dolphins collected them in their mouth and carried them to the coach.

Donning a black wet suit, the coach swam to the middle of the pool. One slap of his hand on the water brought a male dolphin to the surface. Sabitov stroked him and took him by the fin. The dolphin swam through the water performing various maneuvers, finally returning the coach to his raft.

As I watched Sabitov work with the dolphins, my admiration for him and his pupils grew and grew. How well they understood each other was amazing. One command was beyond the dolphins' comprehension, and they started dashing nervously around the pool. The coach repeated the command, but the dolphins still were confused. When the coach broke the command down into several simple tasks, the dolphins had no trouble coping. After carrying out the tasks step by step, the animals were able to perform

the entire original command without difficulty.

Sabitov told me that at times he's not so sure who is training whom. Once, becoming frustrated by his unsuccessful attempt to get a dolphin to jump through a hoop, Sabitov started gathering the training paraphernalia before leaving the pool. All the while, the dolphin did his best to attract the coach's attention, but in vain. Suddenly the dolphin dove underwater and in a minute leaped out of the pool and jumped through the ring. The coach quickly darted here and there looking for a fish to reinforce the exercise. Finally, finding a small mackerel, he rushed back to the pool... and stopped dead in his tracks. Slyly popping his head out of the water, the dolphin seemed to be smiling. Sabitov had the feeling that he was the one performing, not the dolphin.

It appears that friendship with humans suits dolphins. They often work with a coach in the open sea, but when the command is given, they readily return to the dolphinarium. These freedom-loving animals seem to like the human touch. ■

A trainer offers a dolphin a treat. Scientists are trying to find out why the dolphin, which is feared by sharks, is so docile toward humans.

NEWSPAPER

Continued from page 44

dlers, and exploiters. Only one person built the city of Odessa, the Russian Generalissimo Suvorov.

Oh, those homegrown patriots! Why did they have to assume an either/or approach? Why couldn't Odessa have been built by Russia's Suvorov, who was instructed by Catherine II to generally supervise the construction, and Spain's De Ribas and France's Devollan, who were responsible for the logistics?

One particular patriot was so angered by the essay that he sought retaliation. After all, ideological mistakes could not be forgiven under any circumstances. The patriot insisted that the editor who had not bothered to "correct" the author be fired.

Fortunately, that didn't happen, and the editor kept his job. Why? Was Olesha's article not articulate enough? Of course it was. But the times have changed since *perestroika* began.

Only recently we'd measure progress in terms of how we used to be at the turn of the century. That was our yardstick, and statements like "The Odessa of today is five times bigger than the Odessa of 1913!" were the

norm. In size, it was true. But the "old" Odessa had its own identity, its soul, its song after all. What have we built? Gloomy, identical blocks of apartments with monstrous layouts. Is that what we want to call progress? Our only consolation is we have a lot of them, but it's a poor consolation.

For every family in our city to have an apartment of its own by the year 2000, as is promised by the Soviet Housing Program, the experts calculate we'll need another 11 million square meters of floor space. It turns out, that's almost as much housing as we currently have. Are they being realistic? No. At the moment Odessa has one of the worst housing shortages in the Ukraine. We're at the bot-

Alexander Rybak, a Vechernaya Odessa photographer.



tom of the list in many other areas too. For instance, we rank twenty-third among the 25 regional centers in the Ukraine in terms of hospital beds. How about schools, kindergartens, cultural centers? Again, we've been building them at much slower rates than the rest of the Ukraine.

Small wonder that our infant mortality rate is high. Odessa is next to last in the "natural population growth" among the country's 30 largest cities, but it ranks among the first in cancer.

I could have avoided saying all this. I could have once again sung the praises of our unique courtyards, our famous Privoz Market, our restoration work under way on Maritime Boulevard, the quaint architecture of our Opera Theater, and our city's 500 historical monuments. But no. You should come to Odessa and see for yourself. And you *should* come.

The point of my article is to say that, yes, there's much in our city that needs to improve. But, we're headed in the right direction. And we here on the *Vechernaya Odessa* are dedicated to keeping us on the right path. ■

Boris Derevyanko, a people's deputy of the USSR, is the editor of the newspaper the Vechernaya Odessa (Evening Odessa).

The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs magazine

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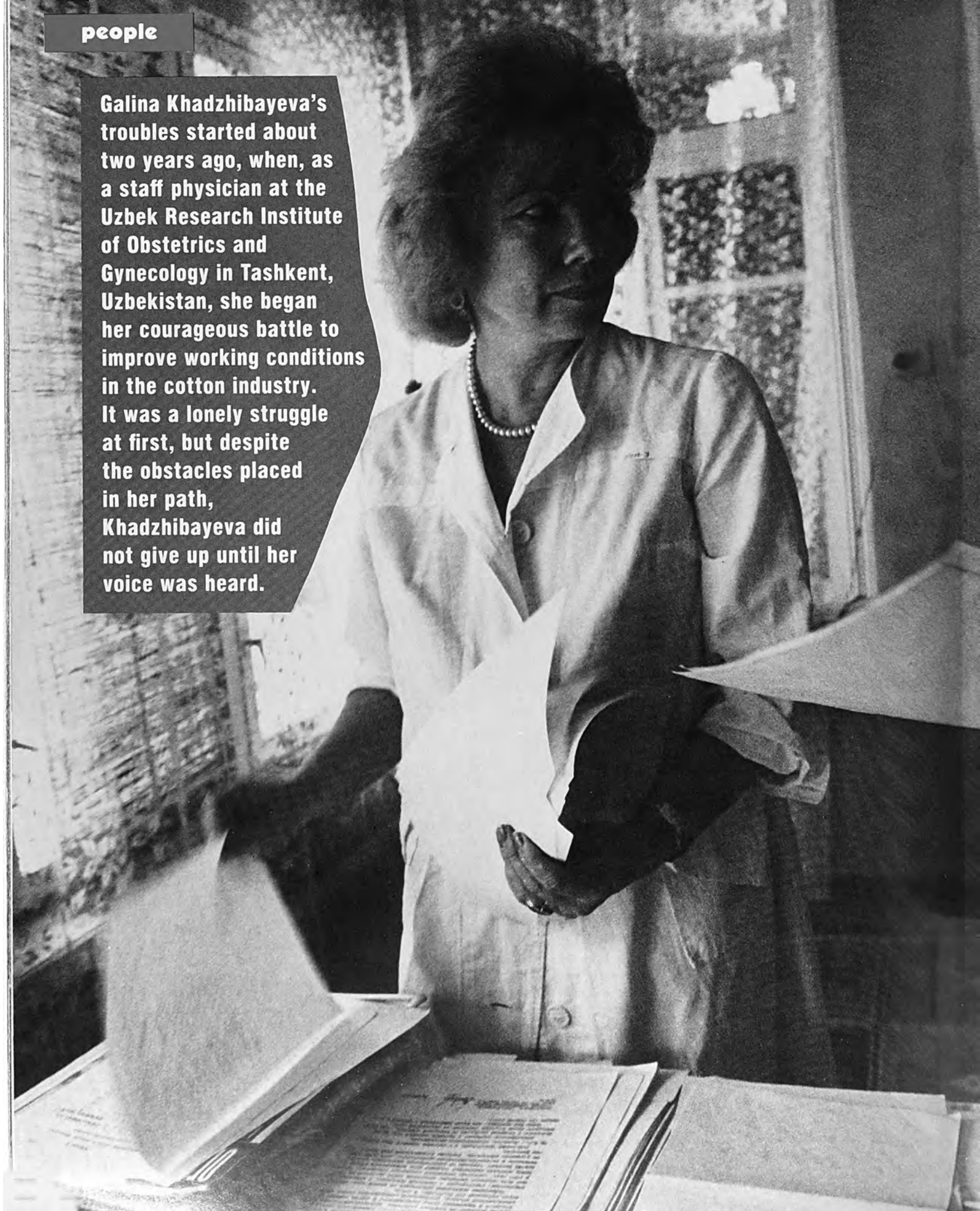
- A business section, including practical hints for the traveling businessman, information on joint ventures, and business opportunities;
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- Reports on personnel changes in key positions in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and
- Biographies of new appointees.

The English-language edition of the magazine is published by the joint venture company Vestnik, established by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which has been publishing the magazine *Vestnik MID SSR* in Russian, and the firm *Algemeiner Bauten-Vertriebe MBH (ABV)* in Vienna, Austria.

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Galina Khadzhibayeva's troubles started about two years ago, when, as a staff physician at the Uzbek Research Institute of Obstetrics and Gynecology in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, she began her courageous battle to improve working conditions in the cotton industry. It was a lonely struggle at first, but despite the obstacles placed in her path, Khadzhibayeva did not give up until her voice was heard.



TAKING ON THE COTTON INDUSTRY

By Alexander Minkin
Photographs by Alexander Jus



It all started when Galina Khadzhibayeva was collecting data for her advanced degree in medicine. She noticed an alarming trend: The incidence of serious ailments of the internal organs, eyes, and skin of Uzbek women and children was increasing yearly along with a growing number of miscarriages, stillbirths, and infants born with birth defects.

Dr. Galina Khadzhibayeva visits a collective farm on which pomegranates are organically grown. Top: The doctor at a scientific conference on ecology.

In an effort to find the cause for such unsettling figures, Khadzhibayeva discovered that all of the people who had been examined were involved in the cotton industry.

An examination of the working conditions in the industry showed that the Uzbek women were working nine hours a day at manual jobs without being provided with regular meals. The situation for children was even worse. Many adults brought their preschoolers with them to the cotton fields to help with the work, while school-age children spent two or three months every spring and

summer planting and harvesting. Some of the children got sick and had to be taken to hospitals, which were crowded and short of medicines and drinking water.

Khadzhibayeva's studies revealed a criminal excess of pesticides and defoliants being used in the cotton fields. It was the result, the researcher explained, of the mad race for profits spurred on by the "cotton mafia"—the underworld clans of party officials, economic managers, and local government officials of various rank, which had long since emerged as an invisible yet potent force in Uzbekistan. In essence, the health of the workers was being sacrificed for the sake of increased profits.

As Khadzhibayeva began to understand what was happening, she felt compelled to do what she could to help. She reported her findings to the scientific council and the administration of the institute and to the appropriate agencies. The response was almost unanimous: "You're making a mountain out of a molehill; nothing awful is going on. Cotton is a strategic raw material and the basis of the republic's well-being. Plan targets have to be fulfilled at any cost."

Almost everyone Khadzhibayeva approached advised her to abandon her cotton field studies and to find another topic for her doctoral dissertation. "Don't make waves," they warned. However, Khadzhibayeva would not be swayed. She continued to raise her concerns, even though it was becoming increasingly difficult to do so. The Uzbek newspapers refused



Once shunned as a troublemaker, the doctor now is back at her job at the Uzbek Research Institute of Obstetrics and Gynecology and sought out for her advice. Talking with an assistant in the Hormone Studies Lab (above) and with the President of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet, Rasul Gulyamov (left).

to publish her findings, and the doors of high-ranking officials slammed in her face.

Fearing repercussions from her findings, the institute refused to give Khadzhibayeva any support whatsoever. She was also publicly denounced as a troublemaker, and her patriotism was called into question.

It was around this time that Khadzhibayeva met a correspondent for the Moscow-based magazine *Ogonyok*. The magazine was sympathetic to her plight and published an article titled "Murderous Infection," reporting the findings of her research.

With a circulation of over four mil-

lion copies a week, *Ogonyok* is one of the most popular Soviet publications, and the news of the criminal application of pesticides and defoliants and the slow murder of the local population in Uzbekistan was brought home to a cross section of Soviet readers. The article aroused a storm of protest: Thousands of letters began arriving at *Ogonyok's* editorial office demanding that the perpetrators be brought to justice and that the local Uzbek authorities take action.

And that's exactly what was done. Khadzhibayeva was fired from her job and blacklisted from further research. As in previous years, on September 1, while children across the country began their academic year, Uzbek children went to work in the defoliant-poisoned cotton fields. As before, Uzbek women breathed in poisonous cotton dust at the cotton-processing plants. Neither the working conditions nor the situation in the local hospitals changed. In actuality, nothing changed at all.

Even now, it's hard for Khadzhibayeva to recall that period. Fired from her job, shunned by many of her colleagues, she had to struggle alone against her feelings of despair. Despair turned to bitterness as she considered giving up her research altogether. But she never gave in. She believed that things would have to change for the better.

Khadzhibayeva went on the offensive. She again approached *Ogonyok* with the latest events. The magazine responded by dispatching a correspondent to Uzbekistan to do a followup story. The correspondent met with the Uzbek Minister of Public Health and officials of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party, and with the scholars at the Research Institute of Obstetrics and Gynecology. Everywhere he went, the story was the same: "Khadzhibayeva is a troublemaker."

Ogonyok ran an article entitled "Consequences of the Infection," telling about the local Uzbek authorities' campaign against Khadzhibayeva. Convinced that her activity was to save people, the magazine demanded that she be reinstated in her job.

Others, including the USSR Academy of Sciences, leading research in-

stitutes, and the Uzbek Union of Writers, declared their support for Khadzhibayeva. This time public opinion made a difference.

Khadzhibayeva is now back at her job at the research institute. She is continuing her studies and preparing to defend her doctoral dissertation. She has scored some practical results. For instance, the cotton-cleaning plants have accepted her recommendations for protecting the health of

the workers on the job and for improving working conditions in general. Also, tight control has been established to monitor compliance with the child labor laws.

The charming and courageous Galina Khadzhibayeva has become somewhat of a popular hero. Apart from her scientific studies and multiple public projects (Khadzhibayeva is a member of the Commission for Ecology of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet), Khadzhibayeva is also a wife and a mother. She hopes that her efforts will ensure a cleaner and safer environment for all generations to come. ■

Dr. Khadzhibayeva celebrating with her husband and daughter, who has recently married.





ONCE WE BOUGHT A

RAILROAD

By Elvira Mezhenaya
Photographs by Vladimir Perventsev

The narrow-gauge rail line was built in 1929 to carry peat from the vast marshes of Yaroslavl Region in Central Russia. On the map, the line looks like a four-legged spider, with Kupan Township as the body. Two legs stretch to the peat quarries, another embraces Pleshcheyevo Lake to reach the medieval town of Pereslavl-Zalessky, and the fourth joins the main line at Beklemishevo Station.

As the demand for peat diminished, life at the quarries began to ebb, and the railroad, which cost the state one million rubles a year to maintain, was running at a huge loss.

The new economic overhaul sweeping the country called for many unprofitable enterprises, such as the railroad, to lose their state subsidies. What were the Ministry of Fuel Industry and the local Soviets to do?

The ministry felt it had no other choice but to shut down the railroad. The workers received a severance pay amounting to two months' wages and were laid off without further ado.

It was a tragedy for Kupan. The community had no other means of sustenance.

Decor, a Yaroslavl cooperative, is the proud new owner of a railroad that had been putting a costly drain on the State Budget.

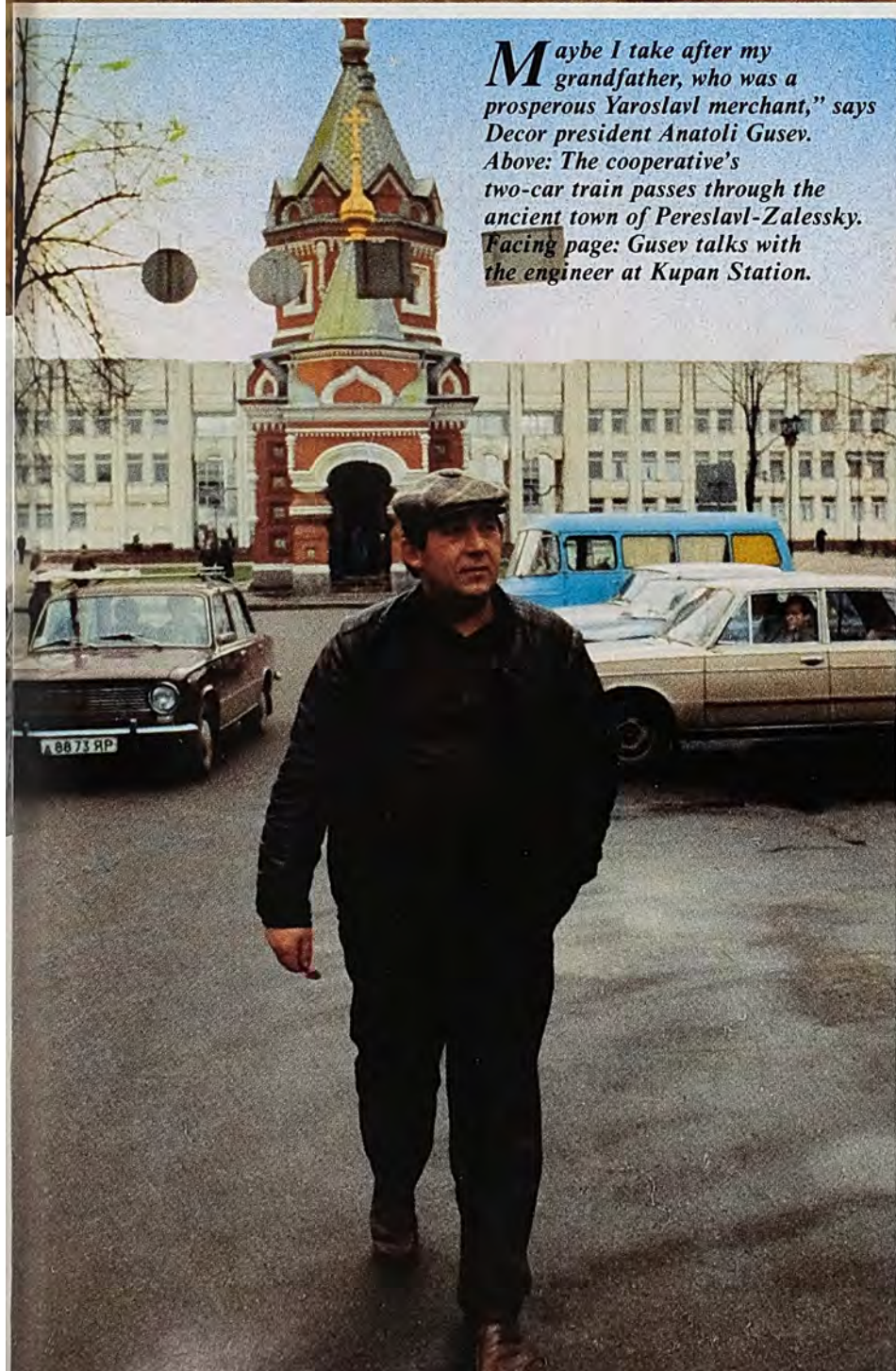
"The news hit us like a thunderbolt," says Nadezhda Miroshnikova, now chief accountant of the cooperative railroad. "Many of us had worked on the line for decades. I had worked there for 20 years. There were no other jobs for us in the township. So there we were, left high and dry, all of us with families to support."

The Decor cooperative stepped in and offered to buy the railroad. The price—one million rubles to be paid in installments over a period of 20

years. That was music to the ears of the local people, the ministry, and the municipal authorities. The cooperative promised to maintain not only peat deliveries and passenger services but also the local welfare.

Under new ownership, the railroad, which had employed over 300 workers, including 52 office workers housed in a spacious two-story building, cut its office staff to five, accommodated in two small rooms. The remainder of the premises was





Maybe I take after my grandfather, who was a prosperous Yaroslavl merchant," says Decor president Anatoli Gusev. Above: The cooperative's two-car train passes through the ancient town of Pereslavl-Zalessky. Facing page: Gusev talks with the engineer at Kupan Station.

refurbished for a shop manufacturing plastic containers for environment-friendly organic fertilizers.

After many years of decay, the railroad turned its first profits only two months after changing hands, and average wages rose by 50 per cent.

"I can make the most desperate enterprise profitable in no time," says the confident 42-year-old president of Decor, Anatoli Gusev. That's not an idle boast. A building engineer, Gusev has much experience in business. Before heading Decor, he was the assistant manager of a major construction firm.

Gusev is married and has two daughters and a grandchild. His wife also works at Decor.

I accompanied the enterprising businessman on a day-long auto tour of Pereslavl District. The landscapes on both sides of the road were of untold beauty, the blue of the vast lake on the right and the green of the woods on the left.

Our first stop was at Decor's principal concern, the local logging office, which stands next to the cottage where the Russian writer Mikhail Prishvin (1873-1954) lived. Lumber and logging hold much promise for



Decor. They mean jobs for the local people and expanded business and overseas transactions. The cooperative, a thrifty enterprise using every splinter, is involved in all stages of the wood industry—from cutting trees to manufacturing products. Decor also plans to start an afforestation program soon.

Apart from the railroad, Decor has bought a gate saw and other timber-processing technology. It cedes 66 per cent of its produce to the state; the remainder it owns outright.

The cooperative is currently making sleepers for its railroad and producing

building materials and prefab housing for the local population. Another new venture includes an agreement with British businessmen to make wooden toys.

Decor is also working out an arrangement with the authorities whereby the cooperative will lease land in the game-rich forests. It plans hunting trips for groups of 10 to 12 tourists, complete with steam baths and other exotic Russian pleasures.

Whatever some people feel about big business's being callous, that's one word that you could never apply to Gusev and his associates. Take this

instance: St. Barbara's Spring near Kupan is famous for its sacred curative water, which had attracted pilgrims for centuries until the local authorities ordered the grassy patch around the spring to be bulldozed and the nearby chapel torn down. Local believers soon cleaned the patch, and the spring babbled again, but only an old sketch survived of the house of worship.

Now, Decor is building the chapel from scratch, using the sketch for its model. "We want to do something nice for the local parish," says Gusev. "There are many old people here who

have toiled their whole life on this land. We wanted the grandmothers to be able to tell their grandchildren that the chapel was built with the help of a cooperative."

The railroad, with which Decor started its ventures, is something of a charitable venture too. I saw the tiny two-car Decor train pull into Kupan in the afternoon. It was a homey scene. The engineer leaned out of his locomotive to greet Gusev, while a handful of people with baskets on their way from the Pereslavl market gathered on the platform to wave. A dozen overalled men and two young women arrived—a road maintenance crew going to their jobs.

"A cooperative can't afford to put all its eggs in one basket. We're thinking of starting many small farms, handicraft stores, and maintenance shops along the road," says Gusev. "Our ultimate goal is ambitious: an independent economic zone of combined state and cooperative property, with the councils as shareholders.

"It has been an uphill battle—people are suspicious of any new idea—but we're gaining ground. There's no other way for cooperatives than self-

sufficiency. And the state must guarantee our safety. Meanwhile, new cooperatives go out of business every day."

Gusev no longer has to look for new ventures. Eager partners are clamoring for his help. Take the mineral water factory in Uglich, a picturesque little town a hundred miles from Yaroslavl. On the brink of bankruptcy, the factory had received 300,000 rubles in annual subsidies out of regional budgets, and it never made a ruble's profit. At a recent general meeting, the workers voted to ask Decor to lease the factory. Gusev gladly consented.

"Why?" I asked in consternation. "Don't the Uglich losses show that it really doesn't pay to trade in mineral water?"

"It does," he replied. "But the factory doesn't know how to use what it has to make money. I'm ready to help give the factory a new lease on life."

Anatoli Gusev is an optimist if I ever saw one, though his work is a never-ending fight against mulish functionaries and stubborn public opinion. And many people wish him well!

A passenger looks out at the changing countryside. Below: Anatoli Gusev at home with his family. Right: Gusev loves to visit the local market.



BE KIND TO YOUR HEART

Corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Yevgeni Sokolov talks with SOVIET LIFE's Vladimir Yashin about new methods of evaluating the human body's resistance to stress and its impact on the heart.



Q: These are tempestuous times that overload us with events and information and place an ever-increasing strain on our nervous system and psyche. Our body responds with physiological reactions collectively known as stress. How dangerous is stress for the heart?

A: Judge for yourself. Negative emotional stress is a kind of explosion that causes an instant increase in the heart rate, a rise in the arterial pressure, and an increased susceptibility to the formation of thrombi. Even for someone in the best of health, such a strain is bad. You can imagine the impact on a sick person.

Cardiovascular diseases remain the leading cause of death in the economically advanced countries. Negative emotional stress, or distress, is one of the serious risk factors contributing to that sad statistic.

Over the past 20 years the stress factor has been particularly worrying medical experts. Rapid scientific and technological progress is spawning new professions that, unfortunately, are often accompanied by stress. Take, for example, the people who work at nuclear power plants. Even the slightest mistake by a control panel operator could lead to very grave consequences.

Q: You've been studying the relationship between emotional stress and

cardiac diseases for many years. Have you published the results of your research on this subject?

A: As it happens, I'm concerned about the effect of stress not only on cardiac patients but also on healthy people. A great deal often depends on how people behave in critical situations, on what decisions they make.

I first became attracted to this problem when, as a doctor, I took part in selecting the men and women with the highest potential for becoming cosmonauts. You'd think that healthy people who had undergone rigorous screening by the best medical panels would be automatically cleared for space training too. Yet, far from all of those people passed the tests on the centrifuge, in the pressure chamber,

or in confined space. Their nerves let them down or, rather, the inability of their central nervous system to withstand heavy emotional and physical loads. Observations that I accumulated during that work were the backbone of my first study *Emotional Strain and Reactions of the Cardiovascular System*.

In a second book, *Emotions and Cardiac Pathology*, I explore the treatment of cardiovascular cases and trace the development of such diseases in correlation with stress factors.

A third book, *Emotions and Atherosclerosis*, continues that work.

Homeostasis is the medical term describing the relative dynamic stability in the body of the internal medium, that is, the blood, lymph, and tissue fluids, and the stability of the main physiological functions, that is, circulation, respiration, and metabolism. In stress situations, healthy people maintain homeostasis thanks to their body's natural system of self-regulation.

In atherosclerosis patients, negative emotions often upset this homeostasis—first of all, because of the increased hormone count in the blood and a number of other undesirable changes. The result is a more intensive development of thrombi, often ending in hypertensive crises and infarctions of the myocardium.

I'm currently examining the relationship between atherosclerosis and emotional strain in people suffering from endocrine diseases. It has been found, for example, that atherosclerosis is more pronounced in diabetic patients than in patients suffering from thyrotoxicosis and that it progresses quickly under the impact of stress factors. Other conclusions, based on extensive results of clinical observations, are also of interest to doctors.

Q: So it seems that atherosclerosis combined with emotional strain is a fairly treacherous mix. But people do live and work under stress. What would you recommend?

A: Try to avoid stress at all costs. I realize it's easier said than done, yet you shouldn't forget that any family conflict or trouble at work may cause an invisible but very dangerous strain on the heart, especially if the stress is

chronic. That's why I'd recommend that people with atherosclerosis get into professions and jobs that don't involve excessive emotional strain. As for healthy people whose work involves constant nervous and psychological strain—pilots, air-traffic controllers, locomotive engineers, and so on—they should have regular expert evaluations of their reactions under stress.

To this end, we've worked out a procedure that helps assess the body's resistance to extreme external irritants. First, we test the person's reaction to so-called momentary stress, such as the student encounters during a math exam. The time limit itself

Cardiovascular diseases remain the leading cause of death in the economically advanced countries. Negative emotional stress, or distress, is one of the serious risk factors contributing to that sad statistic.

produces strain. But what happens if we add mild external irritants, such as loud noises or flickering lights? That's the first stage of the test.

The second stage, which uses a special table, studies reactions under the effect of several extreme irritants.

Finally, the third stage is a test of the stability of the nervous system with the so-called homeostat: an instrument for modeling the body's ability to maintain the dynamic balance between the internal medium and the physiological functions.

For example, two volunteers attempt to set the needle of a gauge at zero, while a doctor following the course of the experiment covertly tries

to interfere with their task with the use of another appliance. A stress situation naturally arises in which the participants vie to be the one to complete the task.

This test helps verify the degree to which the body will resist emotional overloads and helps evaluate a person's inclination to enter into conflicts. The test also helps distinguish the natural leaders from the people more inclined to be followers. Thus, using this method to study a rowing crew working in a synchronous routine, we advised the coach to replace the coxswain because he lacked leadership qualities, dooming the team to defeat in a crucial competition.

Q: Does this mean that your method has gone beyond the limits of medicine proper and can be used for the accomplishment of social and psychological tasks?

A: Yes, of course. It's already being used by Aeroflot doctors to predict the nervous and psychological endurance of pilots and air-traffic controllers. It's also being applied in evaluating the potential of people who work in confined spaces, say, submarine crews.

The methods help us prevent crises in patients due to emotional strain. For example, we recommend patients with hypertension to take drugs that reduce the arterial pressure in anticipation of unpleasant experiences, while people with arrhythmia should take drugs that stabilize the heart pace. What's more, if we know how a particular patient will react under stress, we can select and prescribe the proper medication and dosage that will have the best effect. Of course, all this is done in combination with recommendations that people watch their diet and follow a good exercise program, among other things.

Q: So, knowing the forecast, it's possible to some extent to avert the body's adverse reaction to possible stress or, at least, to minimize its effect, right?

A: Definitely. Prevention is the most important thing. It's impossible to avoid stress altogether, but you can certainly lower your risk factors by being kind to your heart. ■

APPEARING SOON ON AMERICAN STAGES...

By Robert Tsfasman Photographs by Vladimir Rodionov



Galina Volchek (left) as Martha in a production of Edward Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*

At the end of a tragically absurd final scene, where a group of frenzied women prisoners at one of Stalin's forced labor camps sings an optimistic march popular in the 1930s, a strange stillness blankets the hall, but only for a moment. Suddenly the audience leaps from its seats and bursts into applause. Every performance of *The Steep Route* staged by Moscow's Sovremennik Theater brings the same response.

The final scene is set in a women's forced labor camp, on one of the in-

numerable islands of the Gulag Archipelago. Just as in the famous book by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, nothing in the play has been invented by the author. *The Steep Route* is a stage version of a documentary by Yevgenia Ginsburg, who lived through the hell of Stalin's camps, surviving only by a miracle. (Ginsburg is the mother of the well-known Soviet writer Vasili Aksyonov, who now resides in the United States.)

Americans will soon be able to see the play firsthand. For a few weeks in July and August, *The Steep Route* will be shown in Seattle, Washington.

Since Sovremennik's tour will overlap the timing for the Goodwill Games, the theater will be part of the cultural program attached to the sports competition. From Seattle, the theater may go to Washington, D.C.

Americans will also have an opportunity to see Sovremennik's version of Chekhov's *Three Sisters*. Whereas *The Steep Route* premiered this season with great success, Chekhov's play was first staged long ago but still evokes controversy among critics.

A few facts about the theater's history: In 1955 graduates of the Moscow Art Theater's school and studio



Anton Chekhov's *Three Sisters*.



A scene from *The Steep Route*.

independently staged Victor Rozov's play *Alive Forever*. After the play's initial run for teachers, students, and friends, it unexpectedly turned into the season's box-office smash. The show was bold and innovative.

After they graduated from the drama school, the students joined different theaters, but they did not give up their common interest. They rehearsed new productions at their studio at night. Soon they got their own stage and official status. They named the new theater Sovremennik and chose Oleg Yefremov, who was under 30 years old at the time, to head it. Yefremov is presently the head of the Moscow Art Theater.

Sovremennik quickly gained popularity. At that time it was one of the few places to tackle contemporary themes and to profess progressive ideas. Some of the best Soviet playwrights, like Victor Rozov, Alexander Volodin, and Mikhail Shatrov, were eager to have their plays staged by Sovremennik. The theater premiered Chinghiz Aitmatov's first play, *The*

Ascent to Mount Fuji. Along with it, Sovremennik staged the never-aging Russian classics as well as plays by foreign authors, including Americans. For example, Tennessee Williams' play *Garden District*, which was received coolly in the United States, was a great success in Moscow.

Yefremov left Sovremennik in 1970, passing the baton to Galina Volchek, a budding producer and a veteran stage actress, who had appeared in the theater's first student performance.

Volchek soon found herself in a predicament. "The more you achieve, the greater the demands," she says. However, she has managed to keep the theater at its high level.

Sovremennik is again in the forefront of contemporary Soviet drama of the restructuring period. Its latest premieres are encouraging—*The Steep Route* and the witty grotesque performance, *A Cat of Average Fluffiness*, a stage version of Vladimir Voinovich's satire *Cap*.

Volchek has already made a name

for herself in the United States. During the 1978-1979 season she staged *The Train* by Moscow playwright Mikhail Roshchin in Houston, Texas. It was the first performance staged in the U.S. by a Soviet producer.

Since then, Volchek has visited the States many times. She has many friends among American actors and is always happy to entertain them in Moscow. Heading the Sovremennik and staging new performances has not made her forget about her first love—acting. She plays the lead in Edward Albee's play *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* staged by talented producer Valeri Fokin.

"You don't have to be an American to understand Albee's plays," explains Volchek. "You just have to be human." One of her prized possessions is a book that was given to her by Albee. The inscription in it reads: "To my Russian Martha. But when?" Albee presented her with the book before Sovremennik staged his play but, judging by the inscription, he expected it to happen. ■

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ing, he threw himself into karate, museums, and downhill skiing.

When *perestroika* began in the spring of 1985, Lev at first thought it was another futile campaign. He continued to be skeptical until the newspapers began publishing things about which he had had only a vague idea.

Today Lev says things are changing, but he's dissatisfied with the pace of *perestroika* and what he calls half-measures. A great deal, in his view, depends on everyone in the country taking a civic stand.

In Lev's opinion, a person doesn't

have to be a political activist to help *perestroika* along. He thinks political pluralism is good, feeling that competition will revitalize things in the economic and social areas. He'd prefer higher wages and lower prices for manufactured goods and thinks radical changes are needed. Though he now can earn extra money moonlighting as a taxi driver in his own car, he'd rather receive higher wages on his regular job so he could spend his free time in a more useful and interesting way.

Lev is against privileges for the few and thinks that there won't be true equality until city hospitals have the same standards of what are known as the *kremlyovkas*, that is, hospitals for the party elite.

He is for independent trade unions, various forms of property ownership, and the personal ownership of land.

Two years ago Lev met his present wife, Alyona, at an alpine ski resort, and they've been inseparable ever since. The couple has a four-month-old daughter, Natasha. Though Lev says life isn't easy with having to stand in long lines in shops for goods, he would never trade *glasnost* for stores filled to the brim. And he is convinced that the new democratically elected leadership, freedom of views, and consistent work are the components that will lead to success.

Lev says he is nothing like the man he used to be, and he *likes* who he is now—someone who lets his conscience be his guide. ■

TRUST

Continued from page 18

culty answering the question."

The Federal Republic of Germany is another major interest for the Soviet people. No doubt World War II has a lot to do with it. One poll sought to identify whether or not the Soviet people still associate a mention of West Germany with the war. The response was mixed: 48 per cent—yes, 40 per cent—no, and 12 per cent—don't know.

And yet associating West Germany with the war does not necessarily mean that the Soviet people are hostile to West Germany and its population. Opinion polls show the Soviet people's attitude toward West Germans to be on the whole favorable. The answers were as follows: 38 per cent—positive, 43 per cent—neutral, 6 per cent—negative, and 13 per cent—don't know.

There's no doubt that the popular assessment of other countries and their foreign policies has a lot to do with the way of life in those countries. Some people base their opinions on what they hear or read in the mass media, especially when they have no direct contact with citizens of other countries. Perceptions can also have been borrowed from history books. On the whole, these opinions, which

are largely subjective, may be a far cry from the actual national identity of other peoples, may be prejudiced, and may project one's own shortcomings and suspicions of others. And yet opinion polls help clarify the emotions that set the context for new information coming from either personal experience or the media. An opinion poll taken in the USSR comparing the personalities of West German, American, and Soviet citizens provided interesting information. Of a total of 28 traits the following were chosen as the most typical:

West German	
Disciplined, reserved	62%
Diligent, industrious	61%
Polite	43%
American	
Active, dynamic	64%
Progressive	45%
Religious	44%
Soviet	
Peaceful	75%
Friendly, cooperative	74%
Patriotic	68%

On the whole, West Germans and Americans look rather attractive to the Soviet mind. If these are stereotypes, they are close to the long-standing images of the two nations in world literature. In any case, such perceptions cannot be referred to as an "enemy image."

Many people both in the USSR and in other countries are concerned

about the future of *perestroika* and its influence on future international relations. A vast majority of the Soviet people believe that the success of reform in the USSR will be a major prerequisite for cooperation between the East and the West in tackling such global issues as famine and pollution. This view was shared by 70 per cent and opposed by 6 per cent. To a general question about what kind of influence *perestroika* will have on East-West relations, 75 per cent answered "positive." "Negative" was the response of only one per cent.

What do the Soviet people think about the prospects of *perestroika*? Their attitudes are far from euphoric. Many are unhappy about *perestroika* being too slow and the reforms coming as half-measures, which the respondents maintain have not raised their standard of living nor solved social issues. In this context doubts are emerging as to *perestroika*'s success.

An opinion poll jointly conducted by the USSR Center for Public Opinion Studies and several West German organizations exposed these sentiments as follows: Sixteen per cent agreed that "*glasnost* and *perestroika* will be thwarted by bureaucracy," 45 per cent did not agree, and 39 per cent had difficulty answering. Recent polls show that similar sentiments of cautious optimism and concern over social, economic, and ethnic issues continue to prevail. ■

SOCCER is our game

By Vladimir Ilyinsky

With millions of avid followers, soccer is the No. 1 summer sport in the USSR. Though its results have been uneven in the past, the Soviet National Soccer Team is considered a strong contender at the world championships in Italy this summer.



Celebrated Soviet goalie Lev Yashin blocks a shot in a 1957 game. Below: After winning top honors at the 1960 European Cup, the USSR national squad parades in Moscow's Lenin Stadium.



Not long after it was founded in 1924, the Soviet National Soccer Team faced Turkey, then a strong opponent. The USSR won 3-0, but the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), the world governing body of association football (soccer), did not record the result of that match since the USSR was not a member of the organization at the time.

By the 1930s the sport had developed and gained popularity in the country, and in 1936 the Soviet players resumed occasional contests with foreign teams.

In 1946 the USSR joined the FIFA, but it was not until 1952 that the Soviet National Soccer Team played its



On his sixtieth birthday, well-loved Soviet soccer great Igor Netto (left) is presented with a Moskvich car. Left: A joyous Vsevolod Bobrov, a star in soccer and ice hockey, poses with the European and World cups in 1954.



first official international match, defeating Bulgaria 2-1. And in 1958 the Soviet team made its debut at the world championships in Sweden. The Soviet players advanced to the quarterfinals, only to be defeated by the hosts, who went on to win the silver medal.

The Soviet team repeated its performance at the world championships in Chile in 1962 by making it into the quarterfinals and again ceding to the hosts. At the 1966 World Championships in Great Britain, the USSR placed fourth, its best result to date.

Four years later, in 1970, at the

next world matchups in Mexico, the quarterfinals again proved the stumbling block for the Soviet players. And in subsequent showings in 1974 and 1978, the Soviet team failed to enter the final tournaments for the world crown altogether.

In the 1980s Soviet soccer fans and experts were encouraged by the seemingly improved play of their team. Even so, it still couldn't come up the victor at the 1982 and 1986 world championships in Spain and Mexico, where it never made it to the quarterfinals at either event.

The Soviet players have scored more impressive successes at the Olympics and in Europe. The USSR won the Olympic gold in 1956 and 1988 and the bronze in 1972, 1976, and 1980. The Soviet team also walked away with the top prize at the 1960 European Cup and was the runner-up in 1964. It also took silver medals at the 1972 and 1988 European championships.

Though ceding in their over-all standings to powerful soccer teams from Brazil, Argentina, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Italy, the USSR's players are regarded highly on the international soccer scene and are considered among the favorites at

all major international events, especially in recent years.

Veteran Soviet soccer fans still recall the 1960s, when Lev Yashin, Albert Shesternev, Valeri Voronin, Valentin Ivanov, Eduard Streltsov, and Slava Metreveli starred on the national team. But even such gifted players failed to bring home the world crown. Is the present crop of Soviet players up to the task?

Valeri Lobanovsky, head coach of Dynamo Kiev and the Soviet national squad, is optimistic. "Our team is strong enough to win, and we will have to be reckoned with at the coming world championships," he said. "We have a talented blend of youth and experience, and we're counting on success."

The experts say its quite possible that the Soviet team could win top laurels, and the fans are hopeful. ■

The top Soviet soccer player in 1989, Fyodor Cherenkov, shown in one of his famous attacks.



**NEXT
ISSUE**



JOURNALISTS IN SPACE

Who will be the first to fly aboard the Soviet *Mir* orbiter, a Japanese or a Soviet journalist? Six Soviet journalists have already been approved for the mission. Yuri Karash, a correspondent for *Sovetskaya kultura*, writes about his trials and tribulations. Although he is an experienced amateur pilot, he did not make the group of finalists.



PROPOSED DAM UNDER FIRE

Government agencies can no longer ignore public opinion, but vestiges of the old attitudes remain. An example is the plan for a dam and hydroelectric power station in southern Siberia. The terrain is exceptionally beautiful there, and most experts believe that damming the river would upset the ecological balance for sure. The conflict that has arisen will be the subject of an article in July.

COMING SOON

Turkmenian Tour



MAGNIFICENT NATURE

*A helicopter
lands on the
bank of a
crystal-clear
river in the
foothills of
the Pamirs.*



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